Boston Public Library
3 9999 10589 529 4

PER. RM

No. AP2.N7

V.126

1878

THE TRVSTEES OF THE PVBLIC LIBRARY OMNIVM LVX CIVIVM OF THE CITY OF BOSTON 1852 1878

PER. RM

No AP2.N7

V.126

1878

THE

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

* 31 13.2

VOL. CXXVI.

1878.

Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur.

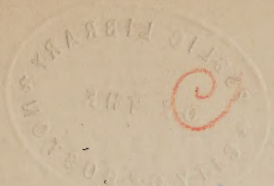
PUBLIC LIBRARY OF THE CITY OF BOSTON

NEW YORK:
D. APPLETON AND COMPANY,
549 & 551 BROADWAY.
1878.

704 7

NOV 10 1964

Per. Dept
*AP2
.N7
Vol 126



208.931

Mech 17/79

COPYRIGHT BY
ALLEN THORNDIKE RICE.
1878.

CONTENTS OF VOL. CXXVI.

PAGE

CHARLES SUMNER. By GEORGE F. HOAR, United States Senator from Massachusetts 1

A CRUMB FOR THE "MODERN SYMPOSIUM." By JOHN FISKE 27

THE ART OF DRAMATIC COMPOSITION. Part I. By DION BOUCICAULT 40

GENERAL AMNESTY. By JOHN RANDOLPH TUCKER, Member of Congress from Virginia 53

THE ENGLISH ARISTOCRACY. By W. E. H. LECKY . . 62

REMINISCENCES OF THE CIVIL WAR. By Gen. RICHARD TAYLOR 77

THE ORIGIN OF THE ITALIAN LANGUAGE. By W. W. STORY 97

EPHESUS, CYPRUS, AND MYCENÆ. By BAYARD TAYLOR . 111

CAPTURE OF KARS, AND FALL OF PLEVNA. (With Maps.) By Gen. GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN 132

CURRENCY QUACKS, AND THE SILVER BILL. By MANTON MARBLE 156

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE:

Woolsey's Political Science, 171.—Proctor's Myths and Marvels of Astronomy, 174.—Geikie's Life and Words of Christ, 175.—Sullivan's New Ireland, 176.—Bowen's Modern Philosophy from Descartes to Schopenhauer and Hartmann, 178.—Avery's Californian Pictures in Prose and Verse, 179.—Linderman's Money and Legal Tender in the United States, 180.—Victor Hugo's Histoire d'un Crime, 180.—Cook's House Beautiful, 182.—Trowbridge's Book of Gold, and other Poems, 184.—Klunzinger's Upper Egypt, 185.—Habberton's Budge and Toddie, 188.

THE ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES. By General JAMES A. GARFIELD, Member of Congress from Ohio. With Letters of Generals SHERMAN and HANCOCK . . . 193

ENGLISH AND AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES COMPARED. By CHARLES W. ELIOT, LL. D., President of Harvard College 217

STONEWALL JACKSON AND THE VALLEY CAMPAIGN. By Gen. RICHARD TAYLOR 238

THE DEATH-STRUGGLE OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY. By GEORGE W. JULIAN 262

THE POSITION OF THE JEWS IN AMERICA. By Rabbi GUSTAV GOTTHEIL 293

PAGE

THE POLITICAL ALLIANCE OF THE SOUTH WITH THE WEST. By JOHN F. MORGAN, United States Senator from Alabama 309

THE DOCTRINE OF ETERNAL PUNISHMENT 323
By The Rev. NOAH PORTER, D. D., LL. D., President of Yale College.
The Rev. O. B. FROTHINGHAM.
The Very Rev. THOMAS S. PRESTON, V. G.
The Rev. HENRY W. BELLOWS, D. D.
The Rev. WILLIAM R. WILLIAMS, D. D.
The Rev. THOMAS J. SAWYER, D. D.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE:

May's Democracy in Europe, 358.—Fisher's Beginnings of Christianity, 361.—Moore's Prose and Verse, 363.—Harvey's Reminiscences and Anecdotes of Daniel Webster, 365.—Ribary's Essai sur la langue basque, 368.—The New Republic; or, Culture, Faith, and Philosophy, in an English Country-House, 369.—Frothingham's Gerrit Smith, 370.—Adler's Creed and Deed, 372.—Jennings's Field-Paths and Green Lanes, 373.—Newcomb's Popular Astronomy, 374.

IS THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IN ITS DEATH-STRUGGLE? By T. O. HOWE, United States Senator from Wisconsin . 381

THE SOVEREIGNTY OF ETHICS. By R. W. EMERSON . . 404

COMMERCIAL RELATIONS WITH FRANCE. By J. S. MOORE . 421

DISCIPLINE IN AMERICAN COLLEGES. By JAMES MCCOSH, D. D., LL. D., President of the College of New Jersey 428

THE ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES. Part II. By General JAMES A. GARFIELD, Member of Congress from Ohio. With Letters of Generals M. F. FORCE and JOHN POPE 442

IS MAN A DEPRAVED CREATURE? 466
By The Rev. O. B. FROTHINGHAM.
The Rev. T. W. CHAMBERS, D. D.

THE IRREPRESSIBLE CONFLICT UNDECIDED. By ANGUS CAMERON, United States Senator from Wisconsin . . 485

CHINESE IMMIGRATION. By M. J. DEE 506

THE PHONOGRAPH AND ITS FUTURE. By THOMAS A. EDISON, the Inventor of the Instrument . . . 527

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE:

Masson's Life of John Milton, 537.—Lecky's History of England in the Eighteenth Century, 542.—Lewes's Actors and the Art of Acting, 545.—Page's Thoreau: His Life and Aims, 546.—Proffatt's American Decisions, 548.—Curtis's Last Years of Daniel Webster, 550.—Topinard's Anthropology, 551.—Dyrsen's Goethe's Poems, 554.—Hunfaldy's Ethnographie von Ungarn, 555.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED 558

INDEX 561

THE

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

JANUARY–FEBRUARY, 1878.

No. 260.

Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur.

NEW YORK:
D. APPLETON AND COMPANY,
549 & 551 BROADWAY.
1878.

COPYRIGHT BY
ALLEN THORNDIKE RICE.
1877.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

JANUARY-FEBRUARY, 1878.

ART. PAGE

I. CHARLES SUMNER. By GEORGE F. HOAR . . . 1

II. A CRUMB FOR THE "MODERN SYMPOSIUM." By JOHN FISKE 27

III. THE ART OF DRAMATIC COMPOSITION. Part I. By DION BOUCICAULT 40

IV. GENERAL AMNESTY. By JOHN RANDOLPH TUCKER . 53

V. THE ENGLISH ARISTOCRACY. By W. E. H. LECKY . 62

VI. REMINISCENCES OF THE CIVIL WAR. By RICHARD TAYLOR 77

VII. THE ORIGIN OF THE ITALIAN LANGUAGE. By W. W. STORY 97

VIII. EPHESUS, CYPRUS, AND MYCENÆ. By BAYARD TAYLOR 111

IX. CAPTURE OF KARS, AND FALL OF PLEVNA. (With Maps.) By GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN 132

X. CURRENCY QUACKS, AND THE SILVER BILL. By MANTON MARBLE 156

XI. CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE:

1. Woolsey's Political Science, 171.—2. Proctor's Myths and Marvels of Astronomy, 174.—3. Geikie's Life and Words of Christ, 175.—4. Sullivan's New Ireland, 176.—5. Bowen's Modern Philosophy from Descartes to Schopenhauer and Hartmann, 178.—6. Avery's Californian Pictures in Prose and Verse, 179.—7. Linderman's Money and Legal Tender in the United States, 180.—8. Victor Hugo's Histoire d'un Crime, 180.—9. Cook's House Beautiful, 182.—10. Trowbridge's Book of Gold, and other Poems, 184.—11. Klunzinger's Upper Egypt, 185.—12. Habberton's Budge and Toddie, 188.

NOTICE.

The Editor regrets that the increasing volume of manuscripts offered for publication in the "North American Review" will put it out of his power to return volunteer contributions.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CCLX.

JANUARY-FEBRUARY, 1878.

I.

CHARLES SUMNER.*

After much debate among critics, the judgment of mankind seems agreed that the task of biography is best performed by loving, or, at least, by friendly hands. Few of the great pictures of famous men, from Tacitus' Agricola down, have been done by strangers. Mr. Pierce, who edits these volumes, and is the author of the biography which fills out the spaces left vacant by Mr. Sumner's own journals and letters, heard, when a boy of sixteen, the oration on "The True Grandeur of Nations." The acquaintance, made soon afterward, ripened into a friendship as intimate and confidential as any of Sumner's life. Mr. Sumner was not misled by this friendship when he associated Mr. Pierce with Mr. Longfellow and Mr. Balch as one of his literary executors, doubtless with the expectation that his friend would become his biographer.

Mr. Pierce has uncommon qualifications for his task. He is far from being the blind admirer and follower of anybody. He is an excellent lawyer and scholar. He has done much good service of his own in various important public stations. He contributed some able and admirable pamphlets to the discussion of

* "Memoir and Letters of Charles Sumner." By Edward L. Pierce. 2 vols. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1877.

the difficult problems of reconstruction and dealing with the freedmen, and is entitled to very great praise for his service in the Legislature of Massachusetts in procuring the passage of the law limiting the powers of municipal corporations to contract debts. Above all, he has been quite familiar with American political history from 1848 to the present hour, and could probably supply from his own memory a narrative of all the great transactions in which the subject of his biography has borne a part.

He will fail in answering the just expectations of his countrymen, and will lose an opportunity for literary fame such as is offered to few persons, if he does not proceed seasonably to complete the record of this great life which he has so well begun. There can certainly be no reason, except the necessity for thoroughness in execution, to delay the completion and publication of that portion of Mr. Sumner's life which precedes the war. The character of his friendships forbids the fear that any man, living or dead, will be put to shame by any record that his correspondence may bring to light.

These volumes contain the history of Mr. Sumner's preparation for statesmanship. They cover the period from his birth until, on the 4th of July, 1845, at the age of thirty-four, he delivered the oration on "The True Grandeur of Nations," which is the first of his productions to which he has given a place among his collected works. This oration gave its author a conspicuous position among the public men of the country. He held no office until his election to the Senate, six years later. It is probable that when Sumner accepted the invitation of the city authorities of Boston to deliver the 4th of July oration, he had no other expectation for his life than to gain a living by a not very distinguished or successful practice at the bar of Suffolk, and that the height of his ambition was to be the companion or successor of Story, or Greenleaf, as a teacher of law at Cambridge. There are traces in the letters of his friends of great though vague expectations of his future greatness. Mr. Webster, in giving him a prize for an essay just after he left college, remarked kindly that "the public held a pledge of him." But each of these friendly prophets would probably have deemed Sumner's opinions and methods, at that day of the greatest social and political

intolerance of unpopular opinion, an insuperable obstacle to his success. But this oration reveals its author full grown. It was an attack on the most gigantic evil of all history, in the presence of a hostile audience, without regard to the dissenting opinions of friends, the orator planting himself on the simplest maxims of right as his premises, and justifying his argument by citing the opinions of great authorities in literature, ethics, and jurisprudence. We do not think of any change of method, opinion, style, or manner, which came to Sumner after that day, except, perhaps, a certain heaviness of delivery and loss of magnetism, partly the result of the habit of reading his important speeches from printed slips in his later years, and partly the physical result of the assault made upon him in the Senate-chamber. The courage, the glowing eloquence, the lofty confidence, the faith in the ideals to which he ever remained true, each of these is here disclosed. The oration opens by summoning the venerable forms of the Fathers of the Republic—from Plymouth, from the companionship of Raleigh and Penn, from the councils of the Revolution—to rise before their children in the procession of the successive generations, not to utter words of vainglory, or to witness with exultation the great growth and achievements of the nation they had formed, but to recall them from the paths of prosperity and ease to an imitation of their own example. "Cease to vaunt what you do," he makes the Fathers say, "and what has been done for you. Learn to walk meekly, and to think humbly. Cultivate habits of self-sacrifice. Never aim at aught which is not right, persuaded that without this every possession and all knowledge will become an evil and a shame." Accepting the lesson, the orator declares his own conception of the duties incumbent on his own generation. "Not in words only, but in deeds also, let us testify our reverence for their name, imitating what in them was lofty, pure, and good, learning from them to bear hardship and privation. May we, who now reap in strength what they sowed in weakness, augment the inheritance we have received! To this end, we must not fold our hands in slumber, nor abide content with the past. To each generation is appointed its peculiar task; nor does the heart which responds to the call of duty find rest except in the grave." He speaks of the threatened war with Mexico, then imminent, as a contest "springing

manifestly from an ignorant and ignoble passion for new territory, strengthened, in our case, in a republic whose star is liberty, by unnatural desire to add new links in chains destined yet to fall from the limbs of the unhappy slave. In such contests God has no attribute that can join with us." He declares: "In the clear eye of that Christian judgment which must yet prevail, vain are the horrors of war, infamous its spoils. He is the benefactor, and worthy of honor, who carries comfort to wretchedness, dries the tear of sorrow, relieves the unfortunate, feeds the hungry, clothes the naked, does justice, enlightens the ignorant, unfastens the fetters of the slave; and, finally, by virtuous genius in art, literature, science, enlivens and exalts the hours of life, or, by generous example, inspires a love for God and man. This is the Christian hero; this is the man of honor in a Christian land." These things are commonplace enough, even when clothed with Sumner's stately rhetoric, and adorned with the affluence of his vast learning, if that were all. But they are among the sublimest utterances in literature, as we look back to them through that thirty years of warfare in which he never for a moment, or in a single act, "broke faith with his ideals."

Before he left college Sumner had become a good scholar in Latin and Greek. He failed utterly in mathematics. "He delighted in Scott's novels, but most of all in Shakespeare, from whom he was perpetually quoting in conversation and letters." He kept a commonplace-book. His industry increased after leaving college. He rose for study at a quarter-past five in the morning, keeping up often until midnight. He became familiar with all heroic literature. He was an eager student of the old English poets and prose-writers. The results of the studies of this time abound in his speeches. Marston's lines—

> "Oh! a fair cause stands firme and will abide;
> Legions of angels fight upon her side"—

which he quoted in Faneuil Hall, in his speech of August 22, 1848, are extracted in the commonplace-book which he had in college.

He took the second Bowdoin prize in his senior year for a dissertation on "The Present Character of the Inhabitants of New England, as resulting from the Civil, Literary, and Relig-

ious Institutions of the First Settlers." He invested his prize-money in books, among which were Byron's Poems, the "Pilgrim's Progress," Burton's "Anatomy of Melancholy," Hazlitt's "Select British Poets," and Harvey's "Shakespeare." The last two were kept through life on his desk or table, ready for use. Mr. Pierce records the touching fact that the "Shakespeare" was found open on the day of his death, as he had left it, with his mark between the leaves at the third part of "Henry VI.," pp. 446, 447, and that his pencil had noted the passage:

> "Would I were dead! if God's good will were so;
> For what is in this world, but grief and woe?"

He spent the first year after leaving college in study, reading, among other things, Tacitus, Juvenal, Persius, Shakespeare, and Milton, Burton's "Anatomy," Wakefield's "Correspondence with Fox," Moore's "Life of Byron," Butler's "Reminiscences," Hume's "Essays," Hallam, Robertson, and Roscoe, and making a new attempt at the mathematics.

He then, rather reluctantly, chose the law as his pursuit in life. No trace can be found in his biography of any inclination toward the practice of the legal profession, or of much respect or capacity for the logic of the common law. We do not remember that he anywhere speaks with enthusiasm of great advocates, unless, like Erskine, they have rendered some service to liberty, or maintained and established some great principle against hostile governments or courts. In his eulogies on Pickering and Story, delivered in 1846, his distaste toward the function of the lawyer, or even of the ordinary judge, is strongly manifest. He says that to Pickering "litigation was a sorry feast, and a well-filled docket of cases not unlike the curious and now untasted dish of 'nettles' in the first course of a Roman banquet." In the eulogy on Story he speaks of "the niceties of real law, with its dependencies of descents, remainders, and executory devises, also the ancient hair-splitting technicalities of special pleading—both creatures of an illiterate age, gloomy with black-letter and verbal subtilties." He returns again and again to the contrast between the lawyer or the judge, "*both practising law*," and the jurist. "All ages have abounded in lawyers and judges. There is no churchyard that does not contain their forgotten

dust. But the jurist is rare. . . . The jurist is higher than the lawyer, as Watt, who invented the steam-engine, is higher than the journeyman who feeds its fires and pours oil on its irritated machinery—as Washington is more exalted than the Swiss, who, indifferent to cause, barters for money the vigor of his arm and the sharpness of his spear."

Mr. Sumner reaffirms this contrast with even greater zeal and force in his opinion in the great case of the "Impeachment of Andrew Johnson." We are stating his opinions, not our own. If there were to be stricken out from the history of constitutional liberty what has been won for her by those lawyers whose training and life have been that of the advocate, not of the jurist, there would be little of it left to recount.

But Sumner became, forthwith, a zealous student of that branch, or rather, we should say, of that main trunk of the science of jurisprudence which is somewhat inexactly called by many writers the "Law of Nature." This science, first declaring the great fundamental principles of morality, which are applicable to the whole private and public conduct of men, then determines the limitation of the authority of the State speaking through its legislative or judicial tribunals in compelling that application; then deduces from these principles the rules which should govern men in their transactions and controversies with each other, whether these transactions and controversies arise between independent nations or between private citizens. Its pursuit requires the study of the great writers on ethics, on the law of nations, maritime and commercial law. Its paths lead into those most attractive fields of history, which include the cases where nations, in adjusting or waging great controversies, have recognized their obligation to obey a law above that of their own inclination. It invites to a comparison of the jurisprudence of different nations. It tempts the student aside from the investigation of its principles, to a reverent and loving contemplation of the lives of the great scholars who have adorned it by their writings, and the statesmen who have furnished examples of obedience to its behests in the great emergencies of public life. To this pursuit, if Sumner had needed any stimulant, he would have found it in the friendship and instruction of Judge Story. If Sumner had gone to Cambridge in 1845 to

succeed his beloved teacher and friend, he would have been a great writer in this department of legal science. He would have completed the task which Mackintosh left unfinished.

A most important part of Sumner's education was his visit to Europe. To say that he had a longing to see Europe would be only to say what is true of most educated men and women. But with Sumner the desire grew into a passion, which led him to leave his profession at the age of twenty-seven, when it would seem that to be absent for a year would be to throw away all the clients he had gained. Some of his wisest friends felt great doubt of the wisdom of his determination. Old Josiah Quincy told him that all Europe would do for him would be to spoil him, "sending him home with a mustache and a cane." These doubts troubled Sumner more than any opinion of anybody else as to his conduct ever troubled him again. He repeatedly recurs to this fear in his letters: "Tell me frankly, do you and the judge think it would have been better if I had staid at home? . . . . Do my friends think I am spoilt?"

But he was clearly right. He went to Europe as a student, not as a lounger. He did not allow the attractions of architecture, galleries, or society, to prevent his accomplishment of his chief objects, the study of language and of jurisprudence. He acquired the three languages, French, German, and Italian, well enough to read and converse in them easily, and to understand the lectures which he attended. His knowledge of language, jurisprudence, foreign politics, foreign statesmen, social life, gained in this visit, all were of infinite value to his later career.

Some complaint has been made that Mr. Pierce has given too much space in his volumes to the letters which describe Mr. Sumner's social life in Europe. We do not think so. Those memoranda, if the subject of this biography had died on his return, before he ever addressed a public audience, would have been well worth publishing. Books like the "Greville Memoirs," which give us glimpses of the social life of famous men, always retain their charm. Sumner seems to have had much of that rare social gift which his townsman Ticknor possessed in so eminent a degree, which inclined the interesting characters whom he met abroad to accord to him on a very brief acquaintance a

friendship and confidence to which they admitted few of their own countrymen.

These journals and letters which tell the story of his three years' life in European society, written by the traveler of twenty-seven for the eyes of his most intimate companions, furnish a testimony, that cannot deceive us, of the pure and lofty nature of the youth who writes them. Hours of midnight study, the lecture-rooms of great jurists and philosophers, conversation with wise and famous men, attendance upon courts of justice, fill up the record. There is no trace of sensual indulgence. His reports of European society bring no accounts of banquets, of choice wines, of splendid furniture, of luxury, or sloth. His friend Mr. Davies, commending him to Earl Fitzwilliam, writes of him: "What his friends especially prize and cherish in his character, is that ardor and enthusiasm in whatever is connected with the learning of his profession and the elevation of its office, which leads him to aspire to an acquaintance with all that is ennobling in itself, or even joined to it in excellence." He carried abroad, and he brought home, a love of excellence as ardent, a taste as pure, a soul as white, as Milton's when he went on a like errand to Italy two hundred years before; and he was in training for a greater battle. His journey was not broken, like Milton's, by a summons to hasten home to take part in the great contest for liberty which his countrymen were just about to wage: "Turpe enim existimabam, dum mei cives de libertate dimicarent, me animi causa, otiose peregrinari." But the summons was not long delayed.

Sumner arrived at home May 3, 1840. The time of mere preparation had ended — the time of devotion to life's duties begun. The next five years were spent in diligent study, in writing for the magazines, in conducting an extensive correspondence, and in the practice of his profession. He threw himself with characteristic earnestness into the defense of the conduct of Mackenzie in the case of the Somers mutiny. He had some practice at the bar, and conducted successfully a few important causes. He took little interest in politics, and seems to have been much disgusted with the great popular excitements of the presidential campaign of 1840.

If any man remain incredulous as to the character of Sum-

ner's after-life, let him see what, beyond all question or peradventure, he was at thirty-four. No man who reads these volumes will entertain the least doubt that he sees, through and through, in and out, the Charles Sumner of 1845. Growing up in a great city, school and college life, ten years at the bar, three years spent in the most brilliant society in Europe, will disclose foibles, and vices, and meannesses, and selfish ambitions, if they exist. If they do not show themselves at thirty-four, they are not likely to spring up afterward.

We have here a man of thirty-four, of a nature vehement and self-confident, tempered slightly with respect for elders; of strong family affections; taking great delight in friendship; so attracting and so being attracted by the best and greatest men that, in that large circle of intimacies which these letters disclose, embracing a list of famous names unapproached by any other biography of modern times, there cannot be found the name of a bad or mean and scarcely that of an obscure man; of an innocence and purity absolutely without a stain; of a singular sincerity and directness of speech and conduct; of marvelous industry; of almost miraculous memory; without humor; without a personal enemy; never having had a quarrel; loving the contemplation of the highest models of excellence; and of the loftiest and simplest maxims of virtue; delighting especially in the study of that science which applies the rules of the moral law to the conduct of men; fearless of opposition; of commanding presence; with the faculty of rapid and thorough investigation; with vast stores of learning always at his command; of a magnetic eloquence which inspired and captivated large masses of men as he molded the lessons of history, the ornaments of literature, the commandments of law human and divine, into his burning and impassioned argument; yet without political ambition; disliking the contentions of his profession, and dreaming fondly of the life of a student and teacher in the shades of a university, as the highest bliss which an indulgent Heaven could bestow.

Such is the blaze of light which these volumes shed upon the great and stormy career to which they are the introduction. When the story of that career, with all its fiery trials, is fitly told, there will be nothing of substance to subtract from the list of

great mental and moral qualities we have ascribed to Charles Sumner. There will be this to add, that throughout he found in the voice of conscience a guide which he implicitly followed, and an authority which he implicitly obeyed, as he filled out these outlines to the full measure of a noble and heroic character.

We shall not attempt, in the brief space at our command, a narrative of the public life of the great Massachusetts Senator. Until the biographer shall give to the public the story for which it is so eager—shall admit them to the rich stores of his correspondence, and the reminiscences treasured by that large circle of loving friends—we must be contented with the possession of the volumes of his published works. To mere eulogy, and to mere funeral sorrow, the greatest orators and poets of the country, while his death was still recent, gave adequate expression. But we may be pardoned if we linger a little over a theme so attractive.

Sumner has been sometimes likened to Edmund Burke. There is a slight resemblance between some of the prints of Burke and some likenesses of Sumner. Sumner had been a student of Burke, and had caught something of the style of his statelier passages. They were both men of great intellectual independence, and paid little deference to the opinions of their associates, so far as related to their action upon political questions. But here the resemblance ends. Sumner had none of Burke's subtlety of intellect. He had neither the taste nor the capacity for philosophical analysis. Burke loved to dwell upon a subject, to consider it in all its relations, discover the most occult resemblances in things seemingly most unlike, and to develop differences in things apparently the most similar. Sumner planted himself on the most general statements of right, on the simplest maxims of morals and duty—the opening sentences of the Declaration of Independence, the Sermon on the Mount, the Golden Rule, the Beatitudes, the two sublime commandments on which hang all the law and the prophets. His conclusion was always but one step from his premise. Sumner's decision, in the greatest emergencies, was prompt, instinctive, unhesitating. Burke called himself "a philosopher in action." Sumner was a moralist in action. Sumner would be absolutely worthless as a defender of a bad cause. Burke is never more instructive than when he

is in the wrong. The consciousness that he has to encounter the adverse judgment of the wisest and best men is a stimulant which brings out all his vast stores of eloquence, of subtle reasoning, of profound philosophy, of wisdom, of poetry, of wit, of pathos. Burke is seldom indebted to the understanding of any other man for an argument, an illustration, or an image. Sumner contributes little of mere argument that is wholly original to the discussion of any question. The object of his speech is to arouse his countrymen, by appeal to their conscience to do what is right. He liked to find a literary precedent for his method of dealing with a subject. Many of his best passages are, if not imitations of, at least suggested by, some famous passage in the works of some other orator or writer. The opening of his oration on "The True Grandeur of Nations" is a paraphrase of part of the funeral discourse in the "Menexenus" of Plato. The "White Slavery in the Barbary States" is suggested by Dr. Franklin's parody on the speech of Mr. Jackson, of Georgia, written March 23, 1790, only twenty-four days before the author's death. The unsavory comparison of Senator Douglas to a "noisome, squat, and nameless animal," wrung from Sumner by a savageness of personal attack almost unparalleled, even in those days when slavery turned the Senate-chamber into a bear-garden, is borrowed from a shaft which Burke launched at Lord North. The eulogy on Fessenden is, perhaps, the best specimen of his original genius, as it is one which his friends delight to contemplate as evidence of the nobility of his nature. Even here, he has to recall the reconciliation between Adam and Eve, in the "Paradise Lost."

Sumner's methods were very simple. They have been pointed out a thousand times. He applied to every political question the plainest maxim of justice. He was sure that the people would see it, and, when they did see it, it would speedily prevail. He had the power to make them listen to him, and to make them see it as he did. He attacked the adversary in his stronghold. He would yield nothing by way of compromise. In other words, conscientiousness, faith in the people, power to move their moral nature, courage which attacked the strongest enemy, and an absolute refusal to compromise one jot or tittle of what he deemed right, though it were to save the universe from threatened destruction—these were his open secrets.

See the absolute simplicity of all his reasonings. He encountered slavery intrenched in every department of the Government, in the constitution of the nation and of half the states, in the interests of trade and manufacture, in the public sentiment of the whole country stronger than constitutions or statutes, with the simple declaration, "Nothing is settled that is not right!" He encountered war with its hold on the habits, opinions, history, enthusiasm, pride of all mankind, with the declaration, "True greatness consists in cultivating those highest perfections, justice and love." He met the follies of inflation, every form of repudiation, with the simple declaration that the public faith is pledged to the payment of the bond and the greenback in coin. "On such a question deliberation is dangerous. He who deliberates is lost."

The cultivated taste may, perhaps, award the palm of excellence in oratory to some of his contemporaries; but no discourse moved the popular heart like his. Each of his great speeches is an historical event. He told De Tocqueville that of his speech on "The Crime against Kansas" half a million copies had been circulated.

He attacked evil in its strongest hold. Like the knight of Ivanhoe in the tournament, he struck with the sharp end of his spear the shield of its bravest champion. He never hesitated to go counter to the prejudices or the affections of the men whom he seeks to persuade. In his oration on "The True Grandeur of Nations" he does not content himself with depicting the horrors of war or its cost, topics where he might expect easily to take with him the sympathies of his auditors. He cites the great authorities in history and literature who have defended war, the passages in great poets that have stirred the hearts of mankind with its praises, the great exploits and great deeds of chivalry or self-devotion that have ennobled it, and covers them with his eloquent denunciation as part of the great crime of war. He cites Lord Bacon where he says that "wars are trials of right, where princes and states put themselves on the justice of God for the deciding of their controversies," only to declare that "in these quarters we catch our first authentic glimpses of its folly and wickedness." He asserts that "the word honor, as used by the world, fails to express any elevated sentiment." . . . "The

sentiment, *our country right or wrong*," he explains, "is a sentiment dethroning God and enthroning the devil." He points out that Bayard, the exemplar of chivalry, "was described by the qualities of beasts, being, according to his admirers, *ram in attack, wild-boar in defense*, and *wolf in flight*." . . . "Washington rises to a heavenly stature, not when we follow him through the ice of the Delaware to the capture of Trenton, not when we behold him victorious over Cornwallis at Yorktown, but when we regard him, in noble deference to justice, refusing the kingly crown which a faithless soldiery proffered, and at a later day upholding the peaceful neutrality of the country, while he met, unmoved, the clamor of the people wickedly crying for war." He denounces the venerable escutcheon of his own Commonwealth, its Indian with the bow in his hand, and the crest, the right arm brandishing a sabre, as "an allegorical emblem, fit only for corsairs," and proposes a more pacific substitute for the Latin motto with its menace of the sword. He denounces our Fathers' choice of the eagle as the emblem of the republic, quoting with approval Erasmus's description of what he calls the unrepublican bird. "Of all birds, the eagle has seemed to wise men *the apt type of royalty:* not beautiful, not musical, not fit for food; but carnivorous, ravenous, plundering, destroying, fighting, solitary, hateful to all, the curse of all, and, though able to do the greatest harm, yet wishing to do more than he can." What master of the art of oratory, in seeking to enlist the youth of his country on his side in a great cause, ever before summoned to the assistance of his antagonist the authority of Bacon, the venerable form of Washington, the sentiment of honor, the memory of the chivalrous Bayard, the adored emblems of his country and his Commonwealth? His antagonists in the Senate were ever the strongest champions of the opposing party. His first political speech was an attempt to recall Webster, then in the height of his fame and power, to his duties to liberty. Those of his friends who regretted his attack upon Grant, were at least proud that, if the strife were to come, he struck his blow at the lion, and not at the jackals.

Nothing is more wonderful or absolute than his faith in the early overthrow of slavery. He declares in his first speech, just after the annexation of Texas, and as the war with Mexico is

just breaking out, that "the fetters are soon to fall from the limbs of the slave." These confident expressions abound in his speeches. To his triumphant anticipation every victory, every crime, every outrage of slavery, was but an added ground of hope, as helping to open the eyes of the American people to the power of whose awakened conscience he implicitly trusted.

His absolute refusal to make any compromise or concession to the presence of danger, to the judgment of friends, to the necessity of harmonious action, was characteristic of him alone among our statesmen. No argument of political expediency, no whisper of administrative caution, no deference to associates, no regard for venerated authorities, no consideration of fitness of occasion, no fear for himself, would induce him to yield one jot unless his Puritanic sense of rectitude was satisfied. Mr. Curtis, in his exquisite eulogy delivered before the Legislature of Massachusetts, relates the following anecdote of the time in 1861, when some of the States had seceded, and others were preparing to secede:

"Mr. Sumner was one evening surprised by a visit in Washington from a large number of the most conspicuous citizens of Boston, all of whom had been among his strongest and most positive political opponents. He welcomed them gravely, seeing that their purpose was very serious, and, after a few moments, the most distinguished member of the party made an impassioned appeal to the Senator. 'You know us all,' he said, 'as fellow-citizens of yours, who have always and most strongly regretted and opposed your political course. But at this awful moment, when the country hangs upon the edge of civil war—and what civil war means, you know—we believe there is one man only who can avert the threatening calamity, one man whom the North really trusts, and by whose counsels it will be guided. We believe you are that man. The North will listen to you and to no other, and we are here in the name of humanity and civilization, to implore you to save your country!' The speaker was greatly affected, and after a moment Mr. Sumner said: 'Sir, I am surprised that you attribute to me such influence. I will, however, assume it. Be it so—what, then, is it you would have me do?' 'We implore you, Mr. Sumner, as you love your country and your God, to vote for the Crittenden compromise.' 'Sir,' said Charles Sumner, rising to his lofty height, and never more Charles Sumner than in that moment, 'if what you say is indeed

true, and if at this moment the North trusts me, as you think, beyond all others, it is because the North knows that under no circumstances whatever would I compromise.'"

He seems to have been absolutely without the sense of humor. This is Mr. Story's statement, and is confirmed by that of many of his intimate friends. His classmate, the Rev. Dr. Emery, who contributes some interesting reminiscences to Mr. Pierce's life, seems to be of a different opinion. He says: "He was ready for a joke with any one whom he chanced to meet; e. g., he met a classmate the morning after the parts had been announced for exhibition, and congratulated him thus: 'Good-morning, I am happy to meet with a man of *parts*.'" The doctor adds a little later: "I do not remember a single instance of his being called before the Faculty for any impropriety, and only one instance in which the Parietal Board took him in hand, and that was more for a joke on his part than anything serious." If the above specimen be a fair sample of his jokes, it is no wonder that the authorities of the university took him in hand. We trust the punishment was severe enough to prevent any repetition of the offense.

When Mr. Sumner had any important question to deal with, he desired to collect everything that had been said or written upon it. He did nothing, if he could help it, without a literary authority. We have heard a story, *si non vero, ben trovato*, that he was, in his younger days, taken dangerously sick, so suddenly that he could not be carried home, and lay in great agony on a couch in his office. The friend who was with him thought it his duty to intimate to him the danger of his condition, and asked him if he wished to do anything by way of preparation. "I am prepared to die," whispered Sumner, in a voice weak from suffering; "I have read through Calvin's 'Institutes' in the original."

His industry never abated or relaxed until he was struck by death. During the period while he held the important station of chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, he investigated each of the important subjects which came before him as if it were a science of itself. A recent attack on him has called from the secret records of the Senate the dates of the reference and reporting of nine treaties, which were the last that were

referred to this committee while he was its chairman. When we remember that these are the instances which his able and zealous antagonist has selected to show his neglect—when we remember the importance of the subjects—when we remember his relation to all the other great questions before the country, and the numerous calls upon his time that his correspondence and the visits of his countrymen, for purposes of business or friendship, must have occasioned, we are amazed at the proof of diligence which this evidence gives. We believe no other committee could show such a record. The writer knows personally that he not infrequently made appointments for the hour of midnight with persons who sought him on public business, after a day of arduous labor. Few Senators had such demands on their time. His constituency was the whole republic, and it seemed as if every lover of the cause in which he was leader, and every man who was oppressed, felt that he had the right to call on him as his special representative and defender. Two of his associates, who had served with him longest, bear a testimony on this subject which must be taken as evidence. Mr. Morrill, of Vermont, says: "Mr. Sumner's habits of industry, though the sands of his fourth term as Senator were fast running out, clung to him to the very last, and in no three months of his life were they much better displayed, nor rest and pastime more habitually shunned, than in those which brought his labors to an end." John Sherman, of Ohio, says: "Mr. Sumner was industrious to a remarkable degree. His seat was rarely vacant. He was prompt and faithful in his attendance on committees of which he was a member. Mr. Sumner was always busy, and, even in social life, sought for or conveyed information."

Mr. Sumner has been often charged with vanity or egotism. It is a difficult question to answer, how much less a man is bound to think of himself than he deserves. We do not think he ever claimed for himself or his opinion a consideration which would not now be accorded to them by the concurrent judgment of mankind. He was never jealous of other men's title to respect. On the contrary, no man welcomed more heartily, or with more bountiful commendation, any service to the cause he held dear. Undoubtedly, he met with impatience and indignation any denial of the truths which seemed to him so clear, and

this indignation sometimes carried him beyond the limits of the respect due to his equals in official station.

The judgment we have expressed of Mr. Sumner is, we believe, with a near approach to unanimity, now the concurrent judgment of the American people, without distinction of party or section. It was noticeable and gratifying to see from what opposite and unexpected quarters the tributes to his great qualities came. The eloquent words of Mr. Lamar, of Mississippi, so touched and moved the hearts of the people of the North that they may be fairly said to have been of themselves an important influence in mitigating the estrangements of a generation. He says:

"It is of his high moral qualities that I wish to speak, for these have been the traits which, in after-years, as I have considered the successive acts and utterances of this remarkable man, fastened most strongly my attention, and impressed themselves most forcibly upon my imagination, my sensibilities, my heart. . . . These, indeed, were the qualities which gave him eminence, not only in our country, but throughout the world, and which have made the name of Charles Sumner an integral part of our nation's glory. . . . Charles Sumner was born with an instinctive love of freedom, and was educated from his earliest infancy to the belief that freedom is the natural and indefeasible right of every intelligent being having the outward form of man. In him, in fact, this creed seems to have been something more than a doctrine imbibed from teachers, or a result of education. To him it was a grand intuitive truth, inscribed in blazing letters upon the tablet of his inner consciousness, to deny which would have been to deny that he himself existed; and, along with this all-controlling love of freedom, he possessed a moral sensibility keenly intense and vivid, a consciousness which would never permit him to swerve by the breadth of a hair from what he pictured to himself as the path of duty. Thus were combined in him the characteristics which have in all ages given to Religion her martyrs, and to Patriotism her self-sacrificing heroes."

There is but one man, so far as we know, whose biography will be worth writing or worth reading six months after he is dead, who has been supposed to dissent from the general feeling of affection and respect entertained by the American people for the memory of Charles Sumner. We have had so often of late

years to learn by experience to distrust assertions that we see very confidently made in print, that we are not ready to believe that President Grant made the statements which have been attributed to him in what purports to be a report of a recent interview, still less that he made them with the expectation that they would be made public. If they should turn out to have been truly reported, we would make no comment on them here. We would only place by their side the words of Charles Sumner when he resumed his place in the Senate-chamber after three years of absence, of sickness, and of pain, caused by the blows of Preston S. Brooks—Brooks and Butler having in the mean time been called to their account:

"I have no personal griefs to utter; only a vulgar egotism could intrude such into this Chamber. I have no personal wrongs to avenge; only a brutish nature could attempt to wield that vengeance which belongs to the Lord. The years that have intervened and the tombs that have opened since I spoke have their voices, too, which I cannot fail to hear. Besides, what am I, or what is any man among the living or among the dead, compared with the question before us?"

It is certainly not strange, however great the pity, that a misunderstanding should have grown up between the great representative of the military forces that subdued the rebellion and the great civic leader.

The training, the mental characteristics, the field of service, the capacities, the virtues, the foibles of each, tended to make him under-estimate and misunderstand the other. The man of war and the man of peace—the man whose duty it was to win battles and conduct campaigns, and the man who trusted to the prevalence of ideas in a remote future; the man who wielded executive power and the man who in a fierce contest with executive power had sought to extend the privileges, power, and authority of the Senate; the man who adhered tenaciously to his friends through good and evil report, and the man whose friendships were such that evil report of personal dishonor never dared assail them; the man of little taste for letters, and the man of vast and varied learning; the man of blunt, plain ways, and the man of courtly manners; the man of few words, and the man

who ever deemed himself sitting "in a lofty pulpit, with a mighty sounding-board, with the whole wide-spread people for the congregation"—how could they understand each other? In alluding to the testimony of all who have best known these men from earliest youth, friend and foe alike are agreed as to the absolute truthfulness and sincerity of both. In attempting to determine the degree of blame which should rest on either for this most unnecessary and unhappy estrangement, we confess ourselves utterly puzzled. We are sure that Sumner did injustice to Grant; we are sure that Grant did injustice to Sumner. The judgment of each was warped and clouded till it looked "with a blood-shotten eye" at the conduct of the other. Which was most to blame, or which to blame at all, can only be fully known when the time shall come, if it ever shall come, when the daily life of Grant, when the character of his intimacies, when the persons who surrounded him, when the details of the communications he permitted to be made to him, shall be subjected to a blaze of light like that which they to whom he was dearest in life invite to those of Charles Sumner.

Mr. Sumner was pained by the vote of the Legislature of Massachusetts disapproving his resolution providing that the names of the battles won over our fellow-citizens in the war of the rebellion should be removed from the regimental colors of the regular army and from the army register. He was deeply touched and gratified by the rescinding of this vote, the information of which reached him just before his death. Mr. Schurz represents him as mourning and brooding over this sorrow: "Oh, those were evil days, that winter; days sad and dark, when he sat there in his lonesome chamber, unable to leave it, the world moving round him, and in it so much that was hostile, and he prostrated with the tormenting disease, which had returned with fresh violence, unable to defend himself, and with this bitter arrow in his heart!" We are confirmed by a careful and extensive inquiry among those who were most intimate with Mr. Sumner, and who saw him most frequently during the last two years of his life, in our own confident belief that this picture, if correct at all, is applicable to very few and brief moments. Mr. Sumner's last years, down to the evening when he was struck with his final sickness while dining with some friends, were a

season of cheerfulness, of courage, of great literary and social delights, and of hard work. We regret the ill-advised Massachusetts resolution; we rejoice at its revocation. But it is to be remembered that Mr. Sumner would have expressed with the fullest freedom and emphasis his own dissent from any measure or opinion, no matter who had uttered it—Legislature, Senator, or whoever else. While he loved the venerable Commonwealth as he loved few things else on earth, he learned in a thousand ways, long before this resolution was rescinded, how unbroken was his hold on her affection and reverence, and how certain, in spite of all recent differences, she was, if he lived, to manifest that affection and reverence by his election for the fifth time to his seat in the Senate.

Was Charles Sumner a great statesman? If to be a great statesman is to deal with questions of the greatest moment to the state; to know what are its governing forces; to retain his hold on those forces; to direct them; to cause sound principles of action to take effect in the government of the state in great emergencies; to adapt his methods to the condition of things by which he is surrounded; in brief, to accomplish great and wise public ends by great and wise means—if this be statesmanship, then was Charles Sumner a great statesman, if one ever trod the face of the earth.

Let us judge him by all these tests. The great statesman must deal with the great and not with the small things that pertain to the national life. Sumner dealt with the question of war between nations, with its attendant crime, misery, death, suffering, waste, and burden upon labor; with slavery, which, when he entered public life, was the scarcely disputed ruler of the whole policy of the Government; with the difficult questions of civil administration which arose during four years of war, perplexed by the novel difficulties which came from a condition which was war and rebellion both; with great contests between parties for the presidency, and for the supremacy of their principles in the Government; with the preservation of the public credit; with currency and finance; with restoring great States that had rebelled to their original place in our system; with amnesty to rebels; with securing equality of civil rights to men lately slaves; with the foreign relations of the Government in

all their variety, including the claim against England for the vast wrong sustained from her breach of the obligation of neutrality. For twenty-three years of his senatorial career, while Charles Sumner did his full share of the lesser duties of a Senator, it is not too much to say that, in regard to all these great subjects, he not only took a prominent part in the debates, but was the acknowledged leader on one side of the question. From this statement we should, perhaps, except the financial question. But, if his life had been prolonged, that would have furnished no exception. It will be difficult to find in American history, or in history anywhere, a statesman not clothed with supreme authority, whose fortune it was to deal with great questions more numerous or more momentous.

The great statesman must, of course, be able to maintain his own hold upon power. When he cannot do this, even if his obedience to the supreme mandate of duty be the cause, he has, at best, only the capacity for statesmanship without the opportunity. From the time when Charles Sumner took the seat of Webster in 1851, through three successive reëlections, he was returned to the Senate, without a contest, and without a competitor. If he had lived, the same thing would have happened again.

Did Charles Sumner know what are the governing forces in the republic? Did he cause sound principles to take effect in the government of the state in great emergencies? If we have rightly described him, to ask this question is to ask the one important question of human history and human destiny. Is there a force in this universe so permanent and prevailing in the affairs of men, like that of gravitation in the world of matter, that to act in harmony with it insures success and prosperity in the lives of men and states, and to act against it brings disappointment, failure, and sorrow? Is that force the power of an Omnipotent Being, sanctioning and vindicating what we call Justice? This Charles Sumner believed. This belief was the key and the inspiration of his whole public life. He has left behind him no evidence, so far as we are aware, of a belief in the statement of faith of any religious sect. But this simple and sublime confidence finds expression everywhere in his speech and life. It breathes through his first great oration. It comes

in, like a chorus, in every one of his great public utterances. In the last speech in his collected works, he speaks of equality of right—"the great promise of Nature to man"—as given by God, and as at last attained in this republic by his blessing. Those who thus believe with Charles Sumner, will concede to him that other attribute of a great statesman, the understanding of the governing forces in the republic, and causing sound principles to take effect in its administration, unless they deem that he erred in his judgment as to what was just, or lacked the capacity to impress his convictions on other men.

Mr. Sumner never hesitated to appeal with confidence to the judgment and conscience of the people. He never refrained from insisting on what he deemed absolutely just, from the fear of risking a larger good for a lesser; he scarcely ever failed to make his appeal effective and successful. One of the most courageous and characteristic instances of his brave disregard of danger to his own fortunes was in his attack on the Know-nothing party in Massachusetts in the autumn of 1855. This organization had carried every town in Massachusetts, except the town of Northampton, in 1854. It had elected the entire State ticket, the whole Senate and Council, and every member of the House of Representatives but two. Its secret organization and its opposition to foreign citizens were alike distasteful to Mr. Sumner. But his own reëlection was to depend on the Legislature to be elected in 1856. Many of his friends, sensible of the great importance to the cause of freedom, that his seat in the Senate should not be endangered, urged him, at least, to keep silent in the campaign of 1855, in which the Know-nothings carried the State again by a large majority. It might be supposed that the antislavery cause was enough for one man's hands in those days. Sumner paid no heed to this advice. He made the Commonwealth ring with his unsparing denunciation of Know-nothingism. "You have no principle that can stand," he said; "you found yourselves on injustice! You are nothing but a party of Gardnerites!" The result vindicated Sumner. Know-nothingism disappeared in two years more, and its partisans in 1857 dared to make no opposition to his reëlection.

Men who concede the purity of Sumner's purposes and the soundness of his principles, like to speak of him as a mere vi-

sionary, and deny to him the quality which they call "practical statesmanship." It is true that he did not give evidence of possessing in a great degree the capacity to adjust the practical details of measures of legislation. It may be conceded to such critics that he did not possess that capacity. He embodied his scheme in a general resolution, or comprehensive bill, or constitutional amendment, and then addressed himself to convince the Senate or the country of the soundness of the principle which was involved. But we affirm that this was practical statesmanship of the highest character. Was it practical statesmanship to do the thing he could best do—the thing that most needed to be done, the thing most effective at the time, the thing which no other man did or could do, and leave to others to do what hundreds of others could do well enough? He contributed largely to the government of his country, in the most trying period of her history, its motive and its direction. That is a pretty practical contribution to the voyage which furnishes to the steamship its engine and its compass.

There are few statesmen whose public action will stand the test of its practical results better than his. He was no darkener of counsel by words without knowledge, no visionary enthusiast, uttering lofty rhapsodies amid the stern realities of life—as Cuddie Headrigg said of his mother, "bleezing awa' about the marriage-garment, when the job is how we are to win by hanging." His oration on "War" tended largely to produce the public sentiment which led to the Geneva arbitration. It was practical statesmanship that rejected the Crittenden compromise. It was practical statesmanship that met the public feeling, excited to anger when England demanded the restoration of Mason and Slidell, with the great argument that did so much to save us from having two wars on our hands at once. It was practical statesmanship which extracted from the peril that menaced us as a precedent, which compelled England to place herself for the future on the ground for which America had always contended.

The plan of reconstruction adopted by the Republican party after the rebellion, owed many of its features to his persistent and inflexible will. But its chief element, as he conceived it, indispensable to its success, was not adopted. Sumner's opinion was, that the rebellious States should be readmitted when, and

only when, four things were established and made safe—universal suffrage, equality of all men in civil rights, universal amnesty, and universal education. The last was not secured. The last time that the writer saw him in his home, except on his deathbed, was in the evening, about a week before he died. He was alone. After the business which led to the visit was transacted, Sumner, with a yearning for companionship which was almost painful, took the visitor by the arm and insisted on his seating himself again, and remaining to spend the evening. In the course of a long and interesting conversation, the writer was led to say to Mr. Sumner, that while he conceded the great importance and justice of the Civil-Rights Bill, he thought Mr. Sumner had overrated it as compared with the necessity of insisting on universal education. With education, equality of civil rights would be easily maintained; without it, it would be of little value. Sumner replied with great earnestness that the belief did him great injustice. He said he had earnestly labored, but without avail, to have the establishment of complete school systems secured as a condition of reconstruction, and that on one occasion when he had moved as amendment to the article which passed in 1867, known as the second Reconstruction Bill, an amendment securing this condition, that his amendment was lost by a tie-vote, twenty to twenty, and that he was so much distressed and discouraged that when the result was announced he left his seat and burst into tears. His speech on this interesting occasion will be found in his works, vol. xi., p. 141. The whole debate will be found in the *Globe* for March 15 and 16, 1867, and is full of interest. Both Sumner and Wilson declared that without this condition the new State governments could be "born only of the bayonet." Another kind of "practical statesmen," representing States whose people, after generations of self-government, declare in their constitutions that without universal education universal suffrage is impossible, were willing to impose by extraneous authority such suffrage on States, half whose population had been slave and the other half masters, sixty per cent. of whom were unable to read and write, and dreamed that the black race could maintain itself against the brave, unscrupulous, and hostile whites, without the defense of education. They thought it "sentimental legislation" to require, in constructing such new State

governments, what centuries of experience had proved essential to their own. Between the "sentimental legislation" of Charles Sumner and the "practical statesmanship" of those who differed with him, the present condition of reconstruction affords us an opportunity to judge.

To this fatal defect in the scheme of reconstruction, Sumner refers again and again in his speeches, down to the time when the last rebel State resumed its place.

The claim of Charles Sumner to be held as one of the most conspicuous examples which history affords of the highest and most practical statesmanship, may be briefly stated in the words of the greatest orator of antiquity, and the greatest political philosopher of modern times—words which Sir James Mackintosh, at the close of his noble discourse, declares "state the substance, the object, and the result of all morality, and politics, and law:"

"Nihil est quod adhuc de republica putem dietum, et quo possim longius progredi, nisi sit confirmatum, non modo falsum esse illud, sine injuria non posse, sed hoc verissimum, sine summa justitia rem publicam geri nullo modo posse."

"Justice is itself the great standing policy of civil society, and any eminent departure from it, under any circumstances, lies under the suspicion of being no policy at all."

Surely that is the greatest and most practical statesmanship whose power is most enduring. This is a figure which will grow with added years. When the men, not yet grown old, are gone, who shared the studies, the hopes, the joys, of that youth of richest promise; when no man lives who remembers the form of manly beauty and manly strength, and the tones of the mellow and far-sounding voice which arraigned the giant crime of all ages, or set forth for the imitation of the youth of the university, in exquisite eulogy, the four ideals which he kept ever before his own gaze; when no survivor is left of the fifteen years of strife, and labor, and anxiety, and danger, and victory, which began with the passage of the Fugitive-Slave Law and ended with the surrender at Appomattox and the adoption of the thirteenth amendment; when the feet are dust that were wont to cross the

threshold of that hospitable home, rich with its treasures of art and literature; when the eloquent voices of eulogy from orator, and poet, and pulpit, are a tradition and not a memory—the character and career of Charles Sumner will still be efficient forces in history, and will have a still higher place than now in the gratitude of mankind.

GEORGE F. HOAR.

II.

A CRUMB FOR THE "MODERN SYMPOSIUM."

No one to whom the question of man's destiny is a matter of grave speculative concern can have read, without serious and solemn interest, the discussion lately called forth in England by Mr. Frederic Harrison's essay on "The Soul and Future Life." * In no way, perhaps, could the darkness of incomprehensibility which enshrouds the problem be more thoroughly demonstrated than by the candid presentation of so many diverse views by ten writers of very different degrees of philosophic profundity, but all of them able and fair-minded, and all of them actuated—each in his own way—by a spirit of religious faith. This last clause will no doubt seem startling, if not paradoxical, to many who have not yet come to realize how true it is that there is often more real faith in honest skepticism than in languid or timorous assent to a half-understood creed. But no paradox is intended. I believe that there is as much of the true essence of religion—the spirit of trust in God that has ever borne men triumphantly through the perplexities and woes of the world, and the possession of which, in some degree, by most of its members, is the chief defferential attribute of the human race—I believe that there is as much of this spirit exhibited in the remarks of Prof. Huxley as in those of Lord Blachford. In the serenity of mood with which the great scientific skeptic awaits the end, whatever it may prove to be, in the unflinching integrity with which his

* The articles are all reproduced in *The Popular Science Monthly Supplement*, Nos. 1, 2, 6, and 7.

intellect refuses to entertain theories that do not seem properly accredited, in the glorious energy with which, accepting the world as it is, he performs with all his might and main the good work for which he is by nature fitted—in all this I can see the evidence of a trust in God no less real than that which makes it possible for his noble Christian friend to "believe because he is told." I am sure that I understand Prof. Huxley's attitude; I think I understand Lord Blachford's, also; and it seems to me that the difference between the two attitudes, wide as it is, is still a purely intellectual difference. It has its root in differently blended capacities of judgment and insight, and in no wise fundamentally affects the religious character. It will be well for the world when this lesson has been thoroughly learned, so as to leave no further room for misapprehension. That great progress has already been made in learning it, we need no other proof than the mere existence of this "Modern Symposium" on the subject of a future life. Three centuries ago it would have been in strict accordance with propriety for the ten disputants to have adjourned their symposium to some ecclesiastical court, preparatory to a final settlement at Smithfield. One century ago there would have been wholesale vituperation, attended with more or less imputation of unworthy motives, and very likely there would have been some Jesuitical paltering with truth. To-day, however, the tremendous question is discussed on all sides—alike by Protestant and Catholic, by transcendentalist, skeptic, and positivist—with evident candor and praiseworthy courtesy; for, in spite of Prof. Huxley's keen-edged wit and Mr. Harrison's fervent heat, there is no one so fortunate as to know these gentlemen who does not know that manly tenderness and good feeling are by no means incompatible with the ability to exchange good hard blows in a fair English fight.

It is with some diffidence that I venture to add my voice to a conversation carried on by such accomplished speakers, but the present seems to be a proper occasion for calling attention to some of the misconceptions which ordinarily cluster around the treatment of questions relating to the soul and a future life. In thus entering upon the discussion, I do not feel called upon to defend any particular solution of the main question at issue. Going by the "light of Nature" alone—to use the old-fashioned

phrase—it will be generally conceded that the problem of a future life is so abstruse and complicated that one is quite excusable for refraining from a dogmatic treatment of it. Nay, one is not only excusable, one is morally bound not to dogmatize unless one has a firmer basis to stand on than any of us are likely to find for some time to come. We may entertain hypotheses in private, but we are hardly entitled to urge them until we feel assured, in the first place, that we have duly fathomed the conditions requisite for a rational treatment of the problem. It would appear that some of the participators in the "Modern Symposium" have not sufficiently heeded this obvious maxim of philosophic caution. Loose talk about "materialism" is apt to imply loose thinking as to the manner in which the metaphysical relations of body and soul are to be apprehended. Perhaps Mr. Harrison, as a positivist, will say that he has nothing to do with apprehending the metaphysical relations between body and soul; but, however that may be, there is some laxity of thought exhibited in charging Prof. Huxley with "materialism" because he speaks of "building up a physical theory of moral phenomena." At the same time, I think we must admit that Prof. Huxley is talking somewhat loosely when he uses such an expression. To try to explain conscience, with metaphysical strictness, as a result of the grouping of material molecules, is something which I am sure Prof. Huxley would never think of doing; but, unless I am entirely mistaken on this point, there is no ground for Mr. Harrison's charge of materialism.

To see Prof. Huxley charged with materialism, and in a reproachful tone withal, by a positivist who does not acknowledge the existence of a soul, save in some extremely Pickwickian sense, is a strange, not to say comical, spectacle. "What next?" one is inclined to ask. Positivists are apt to have, indeed, an ecclesiastical style of expression, and one would almost think, from his manner, that Mr. Harrison was making common cause with theologians. Into the explanation of this curious phenomenon I cannot here profitably enter. The reasons for it are somewhat recondite, and are subtilely linked with the general incapacity under which positivists seem to labor, of understanding the real import of the doctrine of evolution. However this may be, the impression that the group of opinions represented by Mr. Spencer and

Prof. Huxley are materialistic is so widely spread, that it is worth our while to spend a few moments in ascertaining what materialism is, and how far it is involved in recent scientific speculations. Is the present drift of scientific thought really setting toward materialism, or is it not?

No epithets are more familiarly used nowadays than "materialism" and "materialist," but their ordinary function is vituperative rather than logical. As vague terms of abuse they are hurled about with a zeal that may be praiseworthy, but with an indiscreetness that is scarcely commendable, being aimed, as often as not, at the heads of writers who doubt or deny the substantial existence of matter altogether! Such blunders show (among other things) how difficult metaphysical studies are, and indicate that a little more care expended upon analysis and definition would not be thrown away. It is true that something has already been said upon this point—enough, one would think, to obviate the necessity of turning back to slay the resuscitated ghosts of thrice-slaughtered misconceptions. On the character of materialism as a philosophical hypothesis, Mr. Spencer has been tolerably explicit. Prof. Huxley has summed up the case with his customary felicity, at the close of that famous Edinburgh lecture which everybody is supposed to have read.* In my work on "Cosmic Philosophy," I have devoted a very plain-spoken chapter to the subject. Nevertheless, as Mr. Freeman says, it is not a bad plan, when you have once got hold of a truth, to keep hammering it into people's heads on all occasions, even at the risk of being voted a tedious bore or a victim of crotchets. We live in a hurried and not over-intelligent world, wherein the wariest of us do not always pay due heed to what we are told, and the keenest do not always divine its sense; but, after we have heard it repeated fifty times that Alfred was an Englishman, and Charles the Great was not a Frenchman, we may perhaps succeed in waking up to the historical import of such statements. In this pithy though somewhat cynical suggestion I shall seek an excuse for recurring here to what I have said more than once already.†

From one point of view materialism may be characterized as

* "The Physical Basis of Life"—"Lay Sermons," p. 160.

† "Outlines of Cosmic Philosophy," ii., 79, 432–451. "The Unseen World," 41–53.

a system of opinions based on the assumption that matter is the only real existence. On this view the phenomena of conscious intelligence are supposed to be explicable, as momentary results of fleeting collocations of material particles, as when a discharge between two or more cells of gray cerebral tissue is accompanied by what we call a thought. It requires but little effort to see that materialism, as thus defined, does not comport well with the most advanced philosophy of our time. Materialism of this sort has plenty of defenders, no doubt, but not among those who are skilled in philosophy. The untrained thinker, who believes that the group of phenomena constituting the table on which he is writing has an objective existence independent of consciousness, will probably find no difficulty in accepting this sort of materialism. If he is devoted to the study of nervous physiology, he will be very likely to adopt some such crude notion, and to proclaim it as zealously as Dr. Maudsley, for example, as if it were a very important truth, calculated to promote, in many ways, the welfare of mankind. The science of such a writer is very likely to be sound and valuable, and what he tells us about woorara-poison and frogs' legs, and acute mania, will probably be worthy of serious attention. But with his philosophy it is quite otherwise. When he has proceeded as far in subjective analysis as he has in the study of nerves, our materialist will find that it was demonstrated, a century ago, that the group of phenomena constituting the table has no real existence whatever in a philosophical sense. For by "reality" in philosophy is meant "persistence irrespective of particular conditions," and the group of phenomena constituting a table persists only in so far as it is held together in cognition. Take away the cognizing mind, and the color, form, position, and hardness of the table—all the attributes, in short, that characterize it as matter—at once disappear. That something remains we may grant, but this something is unknown and unknowable: it is certainly not the group of phenomena constituting the table. Apart from consciousness there are no such things as color, form, position, or hardness, and there is no such thing as matter. This great truth, established by Berkeley, is the very foundation of modern scientific philosophy; and, though it has been misapprehended by many, no one has ever refuted it, and it is not likely that any one ever will. Concerning the value

of Berkeley's idealism, when taken with all its ontological implications, there is plenty of room for disagreement; but his psychological analysis of the relation of consciousness to the external world is of such fundamental importance that, until one has mastered it, one has no right to speak on philosophical questions. It is not unfair to say that materialists, as a rule, have not mastered the Berkeleian psychology, or given much attention to it. In general, their attention has been too much occupied with filaments and ganglia, to the neglect of that close subjective analysis which they unwisely stigmatize as dreamy metaphysic. Hence, on the whole, materialism does not represent anything of primary importance in modern philosophy; it represents rather the crude speculation of that large and increasing number of people who have acquired some knowledge of the truths of physical science, without possessing sufficient subtilty to apprehend their metaphysical bearings. Büchner, the favorite spokesman of this class of people, occupies a position precisely similar to that of Lamettrie in the last century, and will, no doubt, in the days of our grandchildren be as thoroughly forgotten as his predecessor, while the same barren platitudes will be echoed by some new writer in the scientific phraseology then current.

But there is another way of looking at materialism which makes it for a moment seem important, and which serves to explain, though not to justify, the alarm with which many excellent people contemplate the progress of modern science. A conspicuous characteristic of materialism is the endeavor to interpret mind as a *product*—as the transient result of a certain specific aggregation of matter. To a person familiar with post-Berkeleian psychology it seems clear that such an endeavor is quite hopeless, and that no such interpretation of mind can ever be made. But a multitude of very respectable readers, who are not so profoundly conversant with metaphysics as Spencer and Huxley, have taken it into their heads that the doctrine of evolution is advancing with rapid strides toward just such an interpretation of mind; and hence it is quite common to allude to Spencer and Huxley as "materialists," which, to my mind, is very much as if one were to allude to Mr. Wendell Phillips as a distinguished pro-slavery orator. The mistake, however, is not unnatural when we consider its causes. In point of fact the terminology

of science is thoroughly materialistic, though probably not more so than the language of ordinary discourse. It is intensely materialistic for us to speak of the table as if it had some objective existence, independent of a cognizing mind; and yet, in common parlance, we invariably allude to the table in terms which imply or suggest such an independent existence. Just so in theoretical science. In describing the development of life upon the earth's surface, when we say that consciousness appeared on the scene *pari passu* with the appearance of nervous systems, it is not strange if we are supposed to mean that consciousness is somehow *produced* by a peculiar arrangement of nervous tissue—that "spirit" is in some way or other evolved from "matter." In reality, however, nothing of the kind is intended. Laxity of speech is mainly responsible for the misapprehension. The evolutionist, in describing the course of life upon the earth, is simply imparting to us, so far as he is able, a piece of historical information. Through various complex and indirect processes of inference, he has become capable of telling us, with some probability, how things would have looked to us in the remote past if we had been there to see. He tells us that if we had been on hand in palæozoic ages we should not have seen the phenomena of consciousness manifested in connection with a fragment of porphyry or a handful of sand or a tree-fern, any more than we see such things to-day, but only in connection with animals endowed with nerves. In thus extending the results of present experience to the past, the element of sequence in time is introduced in such a way as to suggest the *causation* of consciousness by nerve-matter. Nevertheless the assertion of the evolutionist is purely historical in its import, and includes no hypothesis whatever as to the ultimate origin of consciousness; least of all is it intended to imply that consciousness was evolved from matter. It is not only inconceivable *how* mind should have been produced from matter, but it is inconceivable *that* it should have been produced from matter, unless matter possessed already the attributes of mind in embryo, an alternative which it is difficult to invest with any real meaning. The problem is altogether too abstruse to be solved with our present resources. But it is curious to hear honest theologians gravely urging against Mr. Spencer that you cannot obtain mind from the

"primordial fire-mist" unless the germs of mind were somehow present already. I hope I am not accrediting Mr. Spencer with any opinion he does not hold, and I speak subject to correction; but, if my memory serves me, I have more than once heard him in conversation urging this very objection to any materialistic interpretation of evolution. His wonderfully subtile chapter on "The Substance of Mind" * contains, as I understand it, the same argument; but it is easy to miss an author's meaning sometimes when the point expounded is so formidably abstract and general. Be this as it may, we are not helped much by supposing the germs of mind to have been somehow latent in the primeval nebula. The notion is too vague to be of any use. The only point on which we can be clear is, that no mere collocation of material atoms could ever have evolved the phenomena of consciousness. Beyond this we cannot go. We are confronted with an insoluble metaphysical problem. Of the origin of mind we can give no scientific account, but only an historical one. We can say *when* (i. e., in connection with what material circumstances) mind came upon the scene of evolution; but we can neither say *whence* nor *how* nor *why*. In just the same way we see to-day that mind appears in connection with certain material circumstances, but we cannot see how or why it is so. Least of all can we say that the material circumstances produce mind; on the contrary, we can assert most positively that they do not.

The proof of this rather dogmatic assertion is to be found in the careful study of that very doctrine of the "correlation of forces" which superficial materialists have exultingly claimed as their own, and which their superficial opponents have foolishly conceded to them. We have been wont to hear this doctrine—the crowning achievement of modern science—decried as lending support to materialism. If this were really so, we anti-materialists would have a poor case, for the doctrine in question is established beyond all possibility of refutation. But it is not really so. On the contrary, the final and irretrievable discomfiture of materialism follows as a direct corollary from the discovery of the correlation of forces.

By the loose phrase, "correlation of forces," what is strictly

* "Principles of Psychology," second edition, ii., 145–162.

meant is the transformation of one kind of motion into another kind. What used to be called the "physical forces"—such as light, heat, magnetism, and electricity—are now known to be peculiar kinds of motion among the imperceptible molecules of which perceptible bodies are composed. The discovery of the "correlation of forces" was the discovery of the fact that any one of these kinds of molecular motion is constantly liable to be transformed into any one of the other kinds, or, now and then, into the molar motion of a perceptible body. Heat is all the time being converted into light, or into electricity, or into the peculiar kind of undulatory motion known as "nerve-force"—and *vice versa*. And the law of the correlation is that, when any one of these species of motion appears, an equivalent amount of some other species disappears in producing it. Throughout the world the sum-total of motion is ever the same, but its distribution into heat-waves, light-waves, nerve-waves, etc., varies from moment to moment.

Let us now apply these principles to the case of an organism, such as the human body. All of the "force"—i. e., capacity of motion—present at any moment in the human body, is derived from the food that we eat and the air that we breathe. As food is turned into oxygenated blood and assimilated with the various tissues of the body—which themselves represent previously-assimilated food—the molecular movements of the food-material become variously combined into molecular movements in tissue—in muscular tissue, in adipose, in cellular, and in nerve-tissue, and so on. Every undulation that takes place among the molecules of a nerve represents some simpler form of molecular motion contained in food that has been assimilated; and, for every given quantity of the former kind of motion that appears, an equivalent quantity of the latter kind disappears in producing it. And so we may go on, keeping the account strictly balanced, until we reach the peculiar discharge of undulatory motion between cerebral ganglia that uniformly accompanies a feeling or state of consciousness. What now occurs? Along with this peculiar form of undulatory motion there occurs a feeling—the primary element of a thought or of an emotion. But does the motion *produce* the feeling, in the same sense that heat produces light? Does a given quantity of motion disappear, to be re-

placed by an equivalent quantity of feeling? By no means. The nerve-motion, in disappearing, is simply distributed into other nerve-motions in various parts of the body, and these other nerve-motions, in their turn, become variously metamorphosed into motions of contraction in muscles, motions of secretion in glands, motions of assimilation in tissues generally, or into yet other nerve-motions. Nowhere is there such a thing as the metamorphosis of motion into feeling or of feeling into motion. Of course I do not mean that the circuit, as thus described, has ever been experimentally traced, or that it can be experimentally traced. What I mean is, that, if the law of the "correlation of forces" is to be applied at all to the physical processes which go on within the living organism, we are of necessity bound to render our whole account in terms of motion that can be quantitatively measured. Once admit into the circuit of metamorphosis some element—such as feeling—that does not allow of quantitative measurement, and the correlation can no longer be established; we are landed at once in absurdity and contradiction. So far as the correlation of forces has anything to do with it, the entire circle of transmutation, from the lowest physico-chemical motion all the way up to the highest nerve-motion and all the way down again to the lowest physico-chemical motion, must be described in physical terms, and no account whatever can be taken of any such thing as feeling or consciousness.

On such grounds as these I maintain that feeling is not a product of nerve-motion in anything like the sense that light is sometimes a product of heat, or that friction-electricity is a product of sensible motion. Instead of entering into the dynamic circuit of correlated physical motions, the phenomena of consciousness stand outside as utterly alien and disparate phenomena. They stand outside, but uniformly parallel to that segment of the circuit which consists of neural undulations. The relation between what goes on in consciousness and what goes on simultaneously in the nervous system may best be described as a relation of uniform concomitance. I agree with Prof. Huxley and Mr. Harrison that along with every act of consciousness there goes a molecular change in the substance of the brain, involving a waste of tissue. This is not materialism, nor does it alter a whit the position in which we were left by common-sense before

nervous physiology was ever heard of. Everybody knows that, so long as we live on the earth, the activity of mind as a whole is accompanied by the activity of brain as a whole. What nervous physiology teaches is simply that each particular mental act is accompanied by a particular cerebral act. In proving this, the two sets of phenomena, mental and physical, are reduced each to its lowest terms, but not a step is taken toward confounding the one step with the other. On the contrary, the keener our analysis, the more clearly does it appear that the two can never be confounded. The relation of concomitance between them remains an ultimate and insoluble mystery.

I believe, therefore, that modern scientific philosophy, as represented by Spencer and Huxley, not only affords no support to materialism, but condemns it utterly, and drives it off the field altogether. I believe it is even clearer to-day than it was in the time of Descartes, that no possible analytic legerdemain can ever translate thought into extension, or extension into thought. The antithesis is of God's own making, and no wit of man can undo it.

The bearing of these arguments upon the question of a future life may be very briefly stated. So far as I can judge, I should say that, among highly-educated people, the belief in a continuance of conscious existence after death has visibly weakened during the present century. I infer this as much from the timorousness of conservative thinkers as from the aggressiveness of their radical opponents. In so far as this weakening of belief is due to an imperfect apprehension of the scientific discoveries which our age has witnessed in such bewildering rapidity, a word of caution may not be out of place. For all that physiological psychology has achieved there is no more ground for doubt as to a future life to-day than there was in the time of Descartes: whatever grounds of belief were really valid then are equally valid now. The belief has never been one which could be maintained on scientific grounds. For science is but the codification of experience, and it is helpless without the data which experience furnishes. Now, science may easily demolish materialism and show that mind cannot be regarded as a product of matter, but the belief in a future life requires something more than this for its support. It requires evidence that the phenomena we

class as mental can subsist apart from the phenomena we class as material; and such evidence, of course, cannot be furnished by science. It cannot be furnished until we have had some actual experimental knowledge of soul as dissociated from body, and under the conditions of the present life no such knowledge can possibly be obtained. But this undoubted fact has a twofold import. While on the one hand it shuts us off from all scientific proof of immortality, on the other hand it shows that the absence of scientific proof affords no valid ground for a negative conclusion. If soul can exist when dissociated from body, we have no means for apprehending the fact; and therefore our inability to apprehend it does not entitle us to deny that soul may have some such independent existence. We cannot allow the materialist even this crumb of consolation—that, although he cannot prove that consciousness ceases with death, nevertheless the presumption is with him and the burden of proof upon his antagonists. Scientifically speaking, there is no presumption either way, and there is no burden of proof on either side. The question is simply one which science cannot touch. In the future, as in the past, I have no doubt it will be provisionally answered in different ways by different minds, on an estimate of what is called "moral probability," just as we see it diversely answered in the "Modern Symposium." For my own part, I should be better satisfied with an affirmative answer, as affording perhaps some unforeseen solution to the general mystery of life. But there is one thing which every true philosopher ought to dread even more than the prospect of annihilation; and that is, the unpardonable sin of letting preference tamper with his judgment. I have no sympathy with those who stigmatize the hope of immortal life as selfish or degrading, and with Mr. Harrison's proffered substitute I confess I have no patience whatever. This travesty of Christianity by positivism seems to me, as it does to Prof. Huxley, a very sorry business. On the other hand, I cannot agree with those who consider a dogmatic belief in another life essential to the proper discharge of our duty in this. Though we may not know what is to come hereafter, we have at any rate all the means of knowledge requisite for making our present lives pure and beautiful. It was Jehovah's cherished servant who declared in Holy Writ that his faith was stronger than

death. There is something overwhelming in the thought that all our rich stores of spiritual acquisition may at any moment perish with us. But the wise man will cheerfully order his life, undaunted by the metaphysical snares that beset him; learning and learning afresh, as if all eternity lay before him—battling steadfastly for the right, as if this day were his last. "*Disce ut semper victurus, vive ut cras moriturus.*"

JOHN FISKE.

III.

THE ART OF DRAMATIC COMPOSITION.

PART I.

When Horace was asked whether art or inspiration is the more important factor in the composition of a dramatic work, he replied, "I cannot see what one can accomplish without the assistance of the other." Art may be considered to be the body or machine in which genius is the soul or motive power; lacking the soul, the body is helpless; and, without the body, the soul has no expression. But in these impatient times many artists grudge the diligence and patient devotion necessary to acquire a thorough knowledge of their craft; affecting to be all soul, they feel contempt for what they call the mechanical part. They aspire to succeed by effusion, and to produce, by a kind of divine visitation, without condescending to the vulgar process of labor.

The writer of these lines has been reproached with exhibiting too much workmanship in his dramas, and too little genius. He made the most of the little he had. But the reproach induces him, while remembering the many years of patient and ardent study he devoted to acquire the craft with which he ekes out his meagre gifts, to reflect how vainly he sought for sources of artistic instruction or advice. Therefore he proposes to place such experience as he has gathered, during his artistic life, at the disposal of those more gifted than himself. So, as the Roman critic has it, "I will serve as a grindstone, where others may sharpen their wits—though I am incapable of cutting."

No art becomes respectable until its principles are acknowledged, methodized, and housed in a system. All arts, the

drama excepted, possess such a home; but this, the greatest of all, remains a vagrant.

If a young dramatist desire to study the *art of dramatic composition*, there is no work wherein its precepts may be found. If a young actor seek for the elementary rules of his craft, there is no work of accepted authority on *the art of acting* to which he can apply.

The *system and discipline of a theatre* are unwritten traditions, yet they form the process by which the drama is translated from the poet's mind to the stage.

But there are precepts for the dramatist, and rules for the actor; and there are a system and good discipline in a theatre. They lie scattered over the stage. Let us gather them, and set them in order. And if some things of which we speak shall appear wanting in dignity and importance toward the rest of the subject, let it be remembered that the good builder thinks no part of his building beneath his care, and he stoops to handle the meanest ingredient to be employed in his work: so let nothing that concerns a drama, from its conception in the mind of the poet to its performance in the presence of the public, be deemed too small a matter for attention and for record.

*A drama is the imitation of a complete action formed by a sequence of incidents designed to be acted, not narrated, by the person or persons whom such incidents befall.**

Its object is to give pleasure by exciting in the mind of the spectator a sympathy for fellow-creatures suffering their fate.

A complete action is one that has a beginning, a middle, and an end, and is composed of matters which relate to each other and not to any other action. The beginning is a thing which requires nothing antecedent to account for it, but causes an expectation of something to follow. The end is that which is natural-

* In defining tragedy, Aristotle labors under a self-imposed difficulty, of including two things within one definition—drama, and a particular kind of drama. He says: "Tragedy is an imitation of an action, important, entire, and of a proper magnitude, by language embellished and rendered pleasurable, but by different means in different parts, in the way not of narration but of action, effecting through pity and terror a correction and refinement of such passions." The obscurity of this interpretation seems to be owing to the complexity of the matter. By a definition of drama in the first place, each kind of dramatic composition may be subsequently more clearly distinguished.

ly after something else, but requires nothing beyond. The middle is that which requires something to precede, and something to follow it.*

By a *sequence of incidents* we mean such a succession that each incident composing it, except the first and last, is the result of some one of the preceding incidents, and the cause of one of the incidents coming after it in the series.

The action is *designed to be acted, not narrated*, the essential object of a drama being to imitate human creatures suffering their fate; and we feel more deeply for those whose sufferings we see, and we believe in a thing we see done to a greater degree than if we heard the same things narrated.

The sequence of incidents must befall a *person* or *persons;* for, if they befall an animal or inanimate objects, as may happen during a convulsion of Nature, such an imitation is not a drama. It is sufficient that one person shall be the sufferer, for a sequence of incidents may happen to a single individual; as indeed was the plan of all tragedies written before the days of Æschylus, who first introduced a second person, and thus invented dialogue.

And no other things beyond these are necessary to constitute a drama.†

The drama, therefore, has two parts: The action which causes suffering, and the persons who suffer. But persons differ by their natures, and suffer differently both in manner and degree according to their natures; this self-distinction defines the *character* of each. Yet character is only a quality issuing from and belonging to the persons. And, as the sequence of incidents is supposed to take place somewhere, scenery becomes convenient to represent such places; or articles, such as costume, weapons,

* Arist. Poet.

† Some few years ago, during a trial before the Court of Queen's Bench, in London—and the bench was a full one, the presiding judge being the Lord Chief-Justice Sir Alexander Cockburn—the question arose what was a dramatic composition, and how it was to be distinguished from a "variety" entertainment; the case before the court being the managers of the London theatres *versus* the Alhambra Music Hall, the managers complaining that dramas were represented at the Alhambra, which building was not duly licensed for a theatre. The Alhambra, in defense, contended that its exhibitions were not dramas. The question seemed to puzzle the counsel on both sides, and it was left by the bench unsettled.

and furniture, are used: so another part is produced, and this is the *decoration:* it belongs to and issues from the action. Yet neither character nor the decoration is necessary, but only for the better.

Of these two parts, essential to each other, the action is the more important. It is the cause of the suffering; for persons suffer in consequence of what they do, or of what is done to them, and not because they are of a particular character. A group of persons uttering a series of noble thoughts, or engaged in passionate discussion, does not afford so momentous a consideration as the same group enduring the visitation of a series of calamities, or engaged in a battle.

Again: because of the greater difficulty which poets find in making the action—for many succeed in expressing fine ideas, and in depicting characters, who fail in composing a plot—they can readily spin thoughts, but fail in weaving them into a pattern. By these a tragedy is regarded as a series of noble thoughts, expressing a passion, instead of a sequence of important incidents producing a suffering, of which noble thoughts are the issue.

Again: if from a drama we strip away all but the action, there still remains something important. But if from the same work we take away the action only, all the rest signifies nothing. A pantomime is a drama; but a conversation between two persons, although each of them should develop his character in such dialogue, is not a drama.

Second in order are the persons, each distinguished by his character. By character we mean that individuality in a person made by the consistency of feelings, speech, and physiognomy.

Of least importance to the drama is the decoration. But this least essential part, like wine at a feast, though neither the most wholesome nor necessary, is the part in which all take the most delight, and with which we come away the most impressed.

If such an imitation of human beings, suffering their fate, be well contrived and executed in all its parts, the spectator is led

to feel a particular sympathy with the artificial joys or sorrows of which he is the witness. This condition of his mind is called the theatrical illusion. The craft of the drama is to produce it, and all its concerns conduce to, and depend upon, this attainment.

These may be considered the component parts essential to a dramatic work. Let us now examine each part, and perceive what is proper:

First, of the action. This should have a certain *length*. It is too short when the incidents composing it produce so small an amount of suffering in the persons that the end arrives before the theatrical illusion is established in the mind of the spectator, or, being established, then before his sympathy is satisfied. For example: a man returns to his home and finds a robber in the act of breaking into his house. He slays him. He discovers in the robber his own son. Here is a complete action, composed of a sequence of three incidents only; but the catastrophe arrives too hurriedly, and the effect is insignificant. The action is too long when the subject presents so many incidents that it ceases to be perspicuous. The mind should comprehend the whole at one view: the entire design being under regard as a picture, or a statue, is to the eye; for, like these, a drama is a thing to be seen.* For example: if the career of Napoleon Bonaparte were taken for the subject of a drama, so great a number of incidents and personages would of necessity appear, and so many places be visited, that the spectator must become confused with the variety. Again, there is a limit to sympathy; and, if a variety of calamities happen to many persons, the spectator cannot feel simultaneously sympathy with them all; and, if the variety of incidents prolongs the troubles of one person, he will become weary of an inexorable fortune. The action is

* Thus, in the painting by Horace Vernet, representing the "Capture of the S'mala of Abd-el-Kader," the subject is so large that, to comprehend it, the spectator must remove himself to a certain distance, that the whole may be brought within the scope of his eye; but there he loses the value of the details. To appreciate these, he is obliged to approach the picture, but here he loses the value of the design. To obviate this error, the artist has apparently split his plan into several subordinate designs, each capable of forming a separate picture, subserving indeed the whole, but depriving it of unity, an element of grandeur.

limited, therefore, to those human events included between a catastrophe and its apparent remote cause, which perfectly, but not superfluously, connect the one with the other. The cause should not be so remote that its connection is not clear to the mind's eye, nor so adjacent as to render the catastrophe imminent. Experience teaches us that the most important play should not exceed three thousand lines in length.

The incidents should be of due *proportion* to the action they compose; that is, incidents composing a trivial drama should be trivial, and those of which an important drama is composed should be important. For example: if *Sir Peter Teazle*, in "The School for Scandal," were to kill his wife, as *Othello* kills *Desdemona*, the effect would be offensive, such a catastrophe being disproportionate to the rest of the play. If, on the other hand, *Othello* were to become reconciled to his wife, after the easy fashion of *Sir Peter* and *Lady Teazle*, the result would strike us as insignificant.

The parts of the action should be necessary to each other and to the whole. No part should be superfluous, for, however beautiful a thing in itself may be, it becomes displeasing when it is uncalled for by the nature of that to which it pretends to belong. And if any necessary incident be wanting or imperfect, the action must appear incomplete; but, composed of parts indispensable to each other, it will have the quality of *cohesion*, and nothing can be taken away or added, without injury to the rest and to the whole.

So much for the body of the action.

But now as to its movement. It should have *progression*, neither resting nor retrograding; and *direction*, neither diverging nor irresolute. Life is profluent; all human actions are directed to some desired object, and Providence produces what, as they happen, we call accidents, but when past we perceive to be necessary results. And this should be the process of the fictitious providence of which a spectator is the witness, that he may be led to believe that he is watching the accomplishment of a destiny. Progression, ordered by direction, may be called *continuity*, having which quality no part of an action can be *transposed* without injury to the whole.

If a complete action possess a proper *length*, and have

proportion and *cohesion* in its parts, it is of symmetrical form.

The emotion we commonly call *interest* is the pleasure we feel while contemplating the gradual production of a complete and symmetrical form. It is composed of expectation, suspense, and reflection.

Expectation is aroused by the beginning, suspense is maintained by the process of development, and reflection is invited by the repose to which the action is conducted. But the feelings must be excited in this order. For the spectator must not be induced to reflect at the beginning, but rather be looking forward with curiosity; nor should the past occupy him while the development is proceeding; but reflection is the proper tribute he pays to the middle and to the beginning when his mind is satisfied with the end. Of these the middle is the most important, that is, the suspense, in which there should not be too much curiosity, for the mind thus projected is removed from a perfect employment in its business, which is, at that place, to be wholly in the development; and when the end arrives, if anything else is expected, that is, if suspense agitate the mind, it is evident that the end has not come, but the poet is still in the middle of his action.

This definition of interest, applied to other arts, such as sculpture, music, painting, and poetic narrative, becomes more clearly exemplified. If we contemplate a shapeless mass of marble, we take no interest in the block: but let a sculptor produce from it a beautiful figure, commencing with the head and bust; when we see the beginning of the production of a complete and symmetrical form, we have a feeling of expectation. As he gradually develops the body, our desire to see the rest increases, but the feeling is not satisfied until we can regard the entire figure, disengaged from the mass and complete.

In music, if one half of a melody be given to us, we desire to hear the remainder; but a number of harmonious chords played in succession, not forming or being part of a melody, will fail to produce a like feeling of expectation, however pleasing in other respects they may be.

And in painting: If a number of figures, or objects, assembled without relation to each other, be presented to us, such

a picture will fail to arouse any interest, however well painted each figure or object may be. But let the same figures or objects be redistributed in such a manner as to form a design, if only one part of such a picture be exhibited, we ardently desire to see the other parts of it, and to comprehend the whole.

And in poetry: The life of David, as narrated in the Holy Scriptures, possesses the charm of interest, because, learning from the first the object of his existence, we become curious to know how his fate will be accomplished; we accompany the narrative with suspense until it is closed, when we reflect on it with satisfaction. But such is not the kind of emotion excited by the Psalms. These possess even greater beauty of diction; but they have not, as a whole, a complete and symmetrical form. In reading them the mind is always satisfied with contemplating and enjoying the matter under consideration, not being in suspense, neither entertaining anything that is past, nor desiring what is to come. One may begin this work in the middle, transpose any part of it, or take any chapter away, without injury to the rest or to the whole.

If these conclusions be true, they may reasonably account for the charm we feel in certain works of fiction, and in many dramas, wherein the treatment and material are manifestly inferior, but being of shapely design they prove more interesting than works displaying more power and wit, but wanting in the essential symmetrical form. The novels composed by Alexandre Dumas, the elder, may be cited as examples. It is impossible to resist the appetite created by the progress of his story, but we feel none for its treatment by way of diction or character. The reader's mind is projected, anticipating what is coming, but eager to pass over what is doing. French writers and painters excel in the composition of their pictures, being cunning draughtsmen, but they are for the most part inferior to the Germans and the English in sentiment and color.

It may be convenient to distinguish between the terms interest and sympathy. Interest is concerned about events, sympathy about persons. We feel sympathy with a person, but we feel interest in the career of such a person. Or, if a misfortune should entail a series of calamities, we feel interest in the sequence of incidents. But no such interest can arise when the misfortune

is unpregnant; and, when the result of any series of misfortunes arrives, our interest is at end, but our sympathy with the victim is not ended. It will be seen that interest does not depend so much upon invention as upon order, and is most keenly excited when the order of the incidents composing an action is so perfect that the reader or spectator is led to suspect, in some degree, what is coming; in this state he is doubly curious to discover if his anticipations will be fulfilled, and in what manner they will be accomplished. Here invention is of great importance, for it should conduct the action by unexpected incidents to a satisfaction of his desire. Invention may be termed the power of finding what is new, and should not be confounded with the faculty of shaping a given subject into a symmetrical form.

We may now speak of the unities. These celebrated precepts are supposed to have been instituted by the Greek tragic poets, and recognized by them as essential principles of dramatic architecture. The French classic school insist on their observance, with less allowance than the great founders of the drama afforded themselves in this matter.

1. The unity of time restricts the action of a tragedy to the limit of twenty-four hours—that is, one revolution of the sun.

2. The unity of place confines the action to one spot.

3. The unity of action requires the tendency of the incidents to one catastrophe.

There can be no doubt as to the importance and value of the unity of action, but the utility of the other two appears to be questionable. The highest, in truth the only authority on the subject, does not, in his "Poetics," insist on any such rules; he refers casually to the unity of time as an observance, adding that it was not adhered to, and makes no mention whatever of the unity of place. Horace, in his brilliant fragment, the "Ars Poetica," * refers to the unity of time, but without insistance; of the others he says nothing.

* The "Ars Poetica" has been severely handled by some eminent critics (Heinsius, Julius Scaliger, and Dacier), who fail to find in it a perspicuous design. It is singular that Horace should commence this poetic essay with ten lines satirizing the lack of unity and propriety with which the poem itself is now charged. As it is an unfinished work, we may fairly surmise it was not published during his lifetime, but more probably was found among his papers after his death, and given to the world by

The Greek tragic poets disregarded these rules when it suited their convenience to do so. Euripides, during the singing of an ode in "The Supplicants," sends an army from Athens to Thebes, fights a battle, and receives news of the engagement. Again, in "The Trachiniæ," Sophocles travels thrice during the play between Eubœa and Thessaly. And in "The Eumenides" the scene of the drama is shifted by Æschylus from Delphi to Athens. Again, in the "Ajax" Sophocles changes his scene, the subject requiring it. It is more than probable that the continual presence of the chorus on the Greek stage, and the practical difficulties their theatre opposed to change of scenery, obliged their dramatists to accept conditions which have been mistaken for principles.

If their purpose is to oblige simplicity in the action and perspicuousness in the arrangement of the incidents composing it, it may be admitted that their observance tends to obviate confusion, and encourages symmetry; but the first two circumscribe the drama within narrow limits, and entail monotony of design and coldness of treatment.

The French dramatic academy would have us believe the unities were regarded by the Greek poets (like the principles of perspective in drawing) as essentials in dramatic composition—"*hors les unités point de salut.*" But when they point triumphantly to Racine and Corneille, who conformed to the unities, we might reply that this pair became great tragic poets in spite of these trammels, not because of them.

Voltaire goes so far as to declare, "If the dramatist represents a conspiracy, and extends the action to fourteen days, he must give me an account of all that passes in these fourteen days." Surely not of *all* that has occurred (that is the province of a journalist), but of all that concerns the conspiracy—he must follow the incidents that make up that chain of events.

his executors. It is a collection of maxims, like unset jewels, exquisitely polished, possibly prepared while meditating a comprehensive essay on the drama they were destined to adorn. These *disjecta membra* of the poet's form may not have been intended by him for publication in this miscellaneous shape. There is food for curious speculation in separating the various subjects assembled in this brief poem, and, thus disjointed and spaced out, the work becomes invested with a new interest; for, if the conjecture be a fair one, we can thus contemplate the process of this most elegant of all poets during the period of his poetic incubation.

We have perceived the sole object in dramatic construction is to attain such an imitation of human actions as to establish perfectly the theatrical illusion in the mind of the spectator. The only useful purpose of the unities is to aid the poet in this matter. May we not substitute the unity of probability for all three? The action in the tragedy of "Othello" violates the unities of time and place, the voyage from Venice to Cyprus taking place between the first and second acts, while the last four acts conform very nearly to the classic precepts, but the mind of the spectator does not reject the first act, because it is a prologue to the action of the other four.

It is rare that an important action, from its remote cause to its catastrophe, is entirely accomplished within the space of twenty-four hours and on one spot. If all dramas had such contracted plots, their monotonous forms would appear artificial. A natural action occurs thus: An incident, which may be called *generative*, because something comes of it, takes place; it may be immediately followed by its result, or it may not; but, whenever and wherever it does occur, that result is the second incident in the true dramatic series. The sequence, when complete, may have led the spectator from place to place, and have overleaped time; yet, if his illusion have remained unbroken, the unity of probability has been preserved, and more than this he will not appreciate nor desire.

The unities of time and place were not dogmas, pronounced by the Greek poets or critics after the drama was created and perfected as an art; they were the features of the drama at its birth. The source of the Greek tragedy was the declaimed ode. Before the invention of printing and our methods of publication, the poet, taking his stand in some convenient public place, recited his work, precisely as our street-preachers now gather audiences around them to hear a discourse. He was called the rhapsodist. When Homer thus delivered his "Iliad," he personated the characters of Achilles, Ulysses, or Hector, as they spoke. Here was the germ of the drama. In the epic, the action is by-gone; the scene is described and the persons are spoken of as third persons. In the drama, the action is present, the scene is visible, and the persons are the speakers. The sentiments and passions are supposed to be theirs—the poet disap-

pears. The Greek tragic poets could never accomplish this sacrifice: in their dramas the poet is always audible; he is personified in the chorus; he never forgets the rhapsodist. We know Æschylus better than Clytemnestra; Sophocles and Euripides are more prominent than Antigone and Electra. It is not so with Shakespeare: he is concealed behind Hamlet, Falstaff, Rosalind, and Lear. How is it with Molière? Does he not peep over the shoulder of George Dandin, and hide under the cloak of Tartufe? As dramatists these surpass the Greeks; how they measure with them as poets is not our present concern.

In the first form of the tragedy there was only one actor, and as, of course, he never left the stage, the action was necessarily continuous, and the unities became inevitable. Æschylus added a second personage, and this invented dialogue. Sophocles added a third, and then we find the poets violating the unities of time and place when the nature of their action requires it.

It should not be forgotten that this ancient drama differed in all respects from ours. Music and dancing accompanied the play in such large proportion that the exhibition resembled a grand tragic opera. The dialogue was chanted, the subjects treated were for the most part religious or semi-religious fables, and the performance itself was part of religious exercise. The spectators lent their faith to the representation, as we, at this period, should lend our feelings if we could witness a perfect dramatization of the life and death of our Saviour; for Prometheus, in the eyes of the Greek, was a man-god, who was crucified for the sake of the human race.

In attempting, therefore, imitations of the ancient form of tragedy, we may not omit the most important parts. The French classic poets necessarily omit several elements. They omit the religious character of the exhibition; they omit the chorus and its attendant sympathies; they omit the music and dancing; they write in a language wanting in the delightful but lost quality, prosody—for each Greek word had its notes, and a composition of words formed a melody.

This part of a drama, called the *melopœia*, is ranged by Aristotle on a level with the diction. The method of the Greek tragedy was proper when applied to such elements; but Racine and Corneille constructed a pseudo-classic form, neither ancient

nor modern, but resembling the incongruous costume of their hero, who usually wore a Greek helmet over a full-bottomed wig.

The essence of a rule is its necessity; it must be reasonable, and always in the right. The unities of time and place do not seem to be reasonable, and have been violated with impunity, therefore are not always in the right. The liberty of imagination should not be sacrificed to arbitrary restrictions and traditions that lead to dullness and formality. Art is not a church; it is the philosophy of pleasure.

DION BOUCICAULT.

IV.

GENERAL AMNESTY.

In this era of pacification between the sections lately engaged in civil strife, the question presses upon public consideration, "Has not the time arrived when all the disabilities imposed upon those who participated in the war against the Union should be removed?"

We have reached a period when each party to that memorable contest may begin to see that honest and brave men did conscientiously differ upon the right and the wrong involved in it. Without deeming it proper or necessary here to state the diverse views of the North and South, few men are now found who do not feel that the natural passions of war, in its progress during four years, tended to blind each to any palliation or excuse for the other for the origin or conduct of it. It was a conflict between the States before the tribunal of last resort among nations—*ultima ratio regum.* The decision was adverse to the South. It overthrew the claim of the Confederate States to secede from the Union, and brought them back into the Union under the great Constitution of the fathers of 1789. The South bowed to the decree; and in every form the States of that section have evinced their sincere submission to the judgment pronounced by the tribunal of war upon the issue joined between the parties to the strife.

No sound thinking man in the North now dreams of holding the South in subjection to military power, or of treating the Southern States otherwise than as coequal members with the Northern States of the Union, or of not dealing with the citizens of the South as equal before the law with every citizen of the North. Every day witnesses the increasing evidences of the

removal of the bitterness of the conflict, and of the coöperation of men North and South in promoting the common glory and prosperity of the American Union.

Yet there remain upon the statute-book two or more of those enactments which stigmatize American citizens with disabilities, calculated to do no good, and only fitted to awaken the flames of sectional animosity.

Among these, and prominently, is the civil disability created by the fourteenth amendment upon certain persons who, having taken an oath to support the Constitution of the United States, upon assuming certain offices, Federal or State, "shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof." This disability is to holding certain offices Federal and State, and may be removed in all cases by a vote of two-thirds of each House of Congress.

By an analysis of this provision, it will be seen—

1. The power of removal of the disability created by the Constitution is without exception. The constitutional amendment placed no one beyond the pale of amnesty. It regarded no man so guilty above his fellows as to be outside the benefit of congressional action. From Mr. Davis, the Confederate President, to the humblest soldier or citizen engaged in insurrection, this amendment gave power to relieve from the adjudged disability.

2. It was a disability to hold office only, not of suffrage, nor of any other civil or political right or function.

3. It is clear that the disability imposed does not extend to being a member of a State Legislature.

The language of the amendment is very peculiar:

> "No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State Legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State," etc.

This amendment, in one clause, points out what positions a person shall be disabled to hold, and, in another, those for his having held which a disability attaches to him. It is drawn

with care and deliberation, and what it expresses, as well as what it omits, must be taken to have been intentional and not inadvertent.

What may the disabled person not be?

1. Member of either House of Congress.
2. Presidential elector.
3. Civil or military officer under the United States.
4. Civil or military officer under any State.

It is obvious that a distinction is made between a member of Congress and a civil officer *under* the United States, for each is named. And well may such a distinction have been made; for long ago, in Blount's case, the Senate of the United States decided that a Senator was not a civil officer of, and *a fortiori*, *under* the United States.

Bearing this distinction in mind, let us now look at what positions the person must have held in order that disability shall attach to him:

1. Member of Congress.
2. Officer of the United States.
3. Member of a State Legislature.
4. Executive or judicial officer of a State.

In this clause, the same distinction is made between a member of Congress and an officer of the United States.

But, further, if the person has been a member of a State Legislature, he is disabled.

But no such position is named among the positions such a person is disabled to hold. With the position of a member of the Legislature in the minds of the framers of this article, as one previously held by the person, it is omitted in the enumeration of those which he shall be disabled to hold, and is clearly not among such, unless a member of a State Legislature be a civil or military officer under any State.

But it is clear that a member of a State Legislature is not a civil or military officer under any State, any more than a member of Congress is a civil or military officer under the United States; and we have shown that the latter branch of the proposition is not true, as well from the clear language of the former clause of this amendment as from the authority of Blount's case.

It follows, therefore, that this amendment does not disable

any one, no matter what positions he may have held, to be elected to a State Legislature. This is perfectly clear, and beyond doubt; and it therefore results that all Confederates, from Mr. Davis down to the most obscure citizen, may not only vote for all candidates for State and Federal positions, legislative and executive, but may act as a State legislator, and as such vote for a United States Senator. If these things be so, why should not Congress extend the benefits of a removal of all disabilities from all persons, as the Constitution proposed to it to do by a two-thirds vote?

Congress has already removed the disabilities of "all persons whomsoever, except Senators and Representatives of the Thirty-sixth and Thirty-seventh Congresses, officers in the judicial, military, and naval service of the United States, heads of departments, and foreign ministers of the United States," by the act approved May 22, 1872. And by special acts Congress has removed from a number of the excepted classes their disabilities, so that it may be safely affirmed that those still under disability are so few as not to exceed, even if they reach, one thousand men.

In his annual message in December, 1873, President Grant uses this language:

> "I renew my previous recommendation to Congress for general amnesty. The number engaged in the late rebellion yet laboring under disabilities is very small, but enough to keep up a *constant irritation. No possible danger* can accrue to the Government by restoring them to eligibility to hold office."

In this short paragraph the President notes two strong considerations: first, the powerlessness for evil of the few to whom amnesty would now be extended, even if they were so disposed; second, the irritation produced among a whole people by the stigma resting on a few whose attitude during the war, and in bringing it on, was only like their own.

Doubtless, under the influence of this message, Mr. Maynard, of Tennessee, a Republican, introduced a bill to remove the disabilities of all persons, without exception. It passed the House on a division, by a vote of 141 yeas to 29 nays. The House was Republican, of which Mr. Blaine was then Speaker, and a mem-

ber of the Committee on Rules, from which Mr. Maynard reported the bill. The bill went to the Senate, passed to a second reading, but was not finally acted on.

In the Forty-fourth Congress, Mr. Randall offered a bill (very similar to that proposed by Mr. Maynard) on the 15th of December, 1875, upon which, in January, 1876, the fierce debate occurred in which Mr. Blaine led the opposition to the bill, and it was defeated. The whole debate showed that, unless the name of Mr. Davis was excepted, the opposition to the bill would not yield, so that the whole objection to general amnesty rests upon the case of one man.

The points raised as to him cannot be that he was a member of the Thirty-sixth and Thirty-seventh Congresses, and resigned upon the secession of his State, for so did every other Southern Senator and Representative who sided with the Confederacy. It cannot be because, having sworn to support the Constitution as a Senator, he violated his oath in taking part with his State, for the fourteenth amendment makes that no objection to amnesty, since it is the basis of the disability it imposes on every person. And in respect of this point so often in the past cast as a stigma upon the men who took part with the Confederate States, who had previously sworn to support the Constitution, a remark may be quoted of Hon. Mr. Garfield, of Ohio, made in a colloquy with the writer, on the 19th of January, 1876, in the House of Representatives, in regard to the bearing on the case of the people of the Confederacy, of that of General Washington, who had been a sworn soldier of George III., and yet led the Revolutionary armies against his king. He said:

"My friend will allow me to correct him. I did not speak of those who resigned their commissions, and afterward took service against the Union. I spoke of those who, yet being under oath, contemptuously struck against us without resigning, as many of them did, with their oaths still upon their souls."

While, as I then replied, I am not aware of any such persons, it is unquestionable that Mr. Davis was not one. He resigned openly and went back to his State, which had passed its ordinance of secession.

What, then, distinguishes the case of this one man, Mr. Davis,

from the Vice-President of the Confederacy, who sits daily with the respect of Northern men in the present House of Representatives? or from a score of others in the present Congress, who are *in consimili casu?*

It is alleged that he was privy to cruelty to prisoners. I take pleasure in saying that there is no man in the whole South who does not know, or believe, that this allegation is utterly groundless. Mr. Davis, in the judgment of the writer, was and is wholly incapable of committing any wrong against an unarmed and defenseless prisoner.

But if the evidences relied on in the debate of 1876 to establish this gross charge were sufficient, they were in the possession of the Government while Mr. Davis was in prison, for two years. When Mr. Boutwell, on the 11th of June, 1866, offered a resolution to hold Mr. Davis for trial, it was only for treason. When he was bailed, with the acquiescence of the Government, in May, 1867, Mr. Evarts (the present Secretary of State) representing the United States in the Federal court on that occasion, there was no hint that he was suspected of the deeper crime of the murder of prisoners.

And who became his bail? I shall never forget the presence of Mr. Gerrit Smith and Horace Greeley (whose professed philanthropy has never been impugned by Northern men), in Richmond to set at liberty, on their recognizance, the prisoner of Fortress Monroe; and these would scarcely have released him from custody on the charge of treason, had he been privy to such a crime as cruelty to the Federal captives. And when, in December, 1873, the President and the House of Representatives sanctioned the removal of his disabilities, with those of all others, there was no breath of suspicion of this gross crime against him.

And yet all the testimony on which the debaters of January, 1876, relied to asperse his character on this point was, and had been, in the hands of the Government from the time of the trial of Wirtz, during the imprisonment and at the date of the discharge of Mr. Davis, and down to the passage of the Maynard bill in 1873.

It will not do, therefore, to rest the denial of amnesty to Mr. Davis upon this ground.

It is then said, "He was the leader of the Confederacy, its President."

That is true. But if it is meant that he was in the van of the secession movement, that he led its march, it is not so. Thousands of men in the South, now occupying high positions of trust and power in the Union and in the States, were more pronounced than Mr. Davis. He acted as others did, in accordance with a great popular movement. He concurred in their action; and, when called to the presidency of the Confederate States, he accepted the summons of his people to do their will with all his ability, and with integrity to the trust reposed in him.

"The very head and front of his offending hath this extent, no more."

But some seem to think it necessary to have a great example, in the person of one whose disability should be a monumental evidence of the evils of rebellion, and that Mr. Davis should be the scape-goat for his people's sin.

Does not every generous soul feel that the South—as he stands stigmatized for their offense—will have a keener sense of the injustice done to him, and that thus will be produced that "constant irritation" of which President Grant spoke, which, in the interests of peace and unity, should rather be allayed than excited? Is it not the wisdom of a statesman to avoid all needless causes of irritation; and can it better be done than by a general and unexcepted amnesty?

But, as has been shown, to except Mr. Davis, or any others of the disabled class, still leaves to them all civil rights—the right of suffrage, and eligibility to the Legislatures of the States. If so, will not their exercise of these capacities be more dangerous to the peace and welfare of the Union (upon the hypothesis of any danger, which I emphatically deny), when they are treated as alien enemies, than if admitted by a more generous policy to the full measure of the rights and privileges of American citizens?

In one word, are the conjectural evils which may result from the amnesty of all comparable in weight to the real evils which must follow from its denial? The irritation which is kept alive by disabilities continued would be subdued forever by amnesty, and the disaffection, which is the natural result of the punitive

policy, would be wholly disarmed by the removal of all civil disabilities.

As an illustration of this general view, take the case of the denial of pensions to the soldiers and widows, and children of soldiers, of the wars with Great Britain, "who in any manner voluntarily engaged in, or aided or abetted the late rebellion against the authority of the United States."—*Revised Statutes of U. S.*, § 4,716.

Hear the simple story of one old man in Virginia: "This comes from a man in his eighty-sixth year; I am too old to work, and my wife is in her eighty-eighth year; has not been able to walk for the last ten years, and of course we have a hard time of it. I was a soldier in the War of 1812, and because I cannot take the iron-clad I am left to suffer. *Is it right?*"

If the appeal of a Roman soldier, battle-scarred in the service of his country, could arouse to vengeance the populace of the great ancient republic, can aged, infirm, and wounded soldiers of the South, who defended the country in the Second War of Independence, be denied their pensions without stirring the emotions of discontent and disaffection among the younger sons and scions of the veterans of the former wars of the American Republic?

Does not wisdom dictate a repeal of all those laws which make the Northern and Southern citizen to differ in the reception of the benefits of a common government? If peace has really come—if the Union be really restored—let amnesty in every form be extended for the past, and the hopes of the future be participated in by all men of all classes and sections throughout our reunited States.

General amnesty for all, including Mr. Davis as standing on the same platform with all other citizens who gave aid and comfort to the Southern Confederacy, is a measure of the highest wisdom and of permanent peace. Nearly thirteen years have passed away since the last gun of civil strife was heard. The Southern States have returned to the Union, and each of them is in the possession and under the control of her own people. Every step toward this now happily-attained result has been marked by the removal of discontent, and the creation of a feeling of confidence and hope in the restored order of things. In

the passing years, nearly an old generation has passed away and a new one has come upon the scene. Let us stimulate, not stifle, the uprising of good feeling and affection. If we are to have success and prosperity and glory, it must come from the unified sentiment of North and South, in earnest coöperation for the achievement of common purposes. Let all sense of injustice be removed by an obliteration of the enmities of the past existing in the record of our common country, against every man. Let no exception remain, to whom the South must look as standing in its stead to endure penalty in order to their enjoying impunity. For, be assured, no Southern man will rejoice in his exemption from disability for the part he took in behalf of the lost cause, as long as his sympathy is aroused for the substituted sufferer in his people's place—for he knows little of the subtile motives to human action, who will not fear that sympathy for the vicarious victim may keep alive in many hearts the affection for a buried Confederacy, and stifle the hopeful desire to coöperate with their late foes, now friends and allies, in maintaining the integrity, in conserving the honor and credit, of the Federal Government, and in common efforts for the glory and perpetuation of this American Republic of free and prosperous States.

Let amnesty, in all its forms, become our policy, and the result will be peace, real and permanent peace and unity, between the once-alienated sections of the republic.

J. Randolph Tucker.

V.

THE ENGLISH ARISTOCRACY.*

The eminently popular character of the English aristocracy is of a very early date, and it has probably done more than any other single cause to determine the type and insure the permanence of English freedom. The position of the Norman nobility in England had always been widely different from that of the same nobility at home, William being able to withhold in the one case important privileges he was compelled to recognize in the other; and a long conflict, in which the nobles, in alliance with the Commons, were struggling against the power of the monarchy, contributed, with other causes, to give a popular bias to the former. The great charter had been won by the barons, but, instead of being confined to a demand for new aristocratical privileges, it guaranteed the legal rights of all freemen, and the ancient customs and liberties of cities, prohibited every kind of arbitrary punishment, compelled the barons to grant their subvassals mitigations of feudal burdens similar to those which they themselves obtained from the king, and even accorded special protection to foreign merchants in England. Philip de Comines had noticed, as a remarkable fact, the singular humanity of the nobles to the people during the civil wars. In these wars the nobility were almost annihilated, and as they were but little increased during the reign of Henry VII., the revival of the order in numbers and wealth dates, in a great measure, from the innovating and liberal movement of the Reformation. The Puritan rebellion was chiefly democratic, but the Revolution of 1688 was

* From advance sheets of a "History of England in the Eighteenth Century," now in the press of D. Appleton & Co.

chiefly aristocratic; and while the reforms of the former were soon swept away, and its excesses followed by a long reaction toward despotism, the latter founded on a secure basis the liberties of England. Although Stuart creations had raised the temporal peerage from 59 to about 150—although the introduction of Scotch peers at the Union, and the simultaneous creation of twelve Tory peers by Harley, had impaired the liberalism of the Upper House—still, from the time of the revolution to the reign of George III., the Whig party almost always preponderated in it, and contained the families of the greatest influence and dignity. The House of Lords threw its shelter successively over Somers and Walpole when the House of Commons was ready to sacrifice them. By its strenuous opposition to the encroachments of the House of Commons, it secured for electors in 1704 the all-important right of defending a disputed qualification before an impartial legal tribunal. It delayed or mitigated the persecuting legislation directed under Anne against the Dissenters. It steadily upheld the Protestant succession at the period of its greatest peril, and, during the long Whig rule of Walpole and the Pelhams, it not only gave the Government a secure majority in one House, but also, by the influence of the peers over the small boroughs, contributed very largely to the majority in the other.

The causes of the liberal tendencies that have so broadly distinguished the English nobility from those of most other countries are to be found not only in the traditions of its early history, but also in the constitution of the order. In most Continental countries an aristocracy has a tendency to become an isolated and, at length, an enervated caste, removed from the sympathies and occupations, and opposed to the interests, of the community at large, despising, and therefore discrediting, all active occupations except those of a soldier, and thus connecting in the minds of men the idea of social rank with that of an idle and frivolous life. But in England the interests of the nobles, as a class, have been carefully and indissolubly interwoven with those of the people. They have never claimed for themselves any immunity from taxation. Their sons, except the eldest, have descended, after one or two generations, into the ranks of the commoners. Their eldest sons, before obtaining their titles, have usually made

it a great object of their ambition to sit in the House of Commons, and have there acquired the tastes of popular politics. In the public-school system the peers and the lower gentry are united in the closest ties. The intermarriage of peers and commoners has always been legal and common. A constant stream of lawyers of brilliant talents, but often of humble birth, has poured into the Upper House, which is presided over by one of them; and the purely hereditary character of the body has been still further qualified by the introduction of the bishops.

Not less distinctive and remarkable is the influence which the aristocracy in England has exercised on the estimate of labor. One of the chief ends of the whole social organization is to develop, to the highest point, and apply to the greatest advantage, the sum of talent existing in the community. In its first rudimentary stage, government accomplishes this end chiefly in a negative way, by discharging those police functions without which there can be no peaceful labor; but, with the increased elaboration of society, it becomes apparent that the Legislature can, in two distinct ways, directly and very powerfully assist the development. The first of these ways is by supplying opportunities for the exercise of talent which would otherwise be lost. There is at every period, latent among poor men, a large amount of special talent of the highest value, which cannot be elicited without a long and expensive process of cultivation, or which, when elicited, is of a kind that would produce no pecuniary results at all commensurate with its importance, and which would, therefore, in the natural course of things, either remain wholly uncultivated, or be diverted to lower but more lucrative channels. It is one of the most useful functions of government to provide means by which poor men, who exhibit some special aptitude, may be brought within the reach of an appropriate education; and it is one of the most important advantages of many institutions that they supply requisite spheres for the expansion of certain casts of intellect, and adequate rewards for pursuits which are of great value to the community, but which, if left to the unassisted operation of the law of supply and demand, would remain wholly, or in a great degree, unremunerative.

If much talent is wasted on account of opportunities, much also is unemployed for want of incentives. It is not a natural

or, in most countries, a common thing for those large classes who possess all the means of enjoyment and luxury, who have the world before them to choose from, and who have never known the pressure of want or of necessity, to devote themselves to long, painful, and plodding drudgery, to incur all the responsibilities, anxiety, calumny, ingratitude, and bondage, of public life. If, in the case of men of extraordinary ability, the path of ambition may be itself sufficiently attractive, it is not naturally so to rich men of little more than average talent. On the other hand, the forms of useful labor which are unremunerative to the laborer are so numerous, the force of the example of the higher classes is so great, the advantages of independent circumstances for the prosecution of many kinds of labor are so inestimable, and, in public life especially, such circumstances assist men so powerfully in resisting the most fatal temptations, that the existence of laborious tastes and habits among the richer classes is of the utmost value to the community. The legislation which can produce them will not only add directly to the amount of talent, but will also set the whole current of society aright, and generate in the higher classes a moral influence that sooner or later will permeate all.

The indissoluble connection of the enjoyment and the dignity of property with the discharge of public duties was the pre-eminent merit of feudalism, and it is one of the special excellences of English institutions that they have in a great measure preserved this connection, notwithstanding the necessary dissolution of the feudal system. This achievement has been the result of more than one agency, and of the accumulated traditions of many generations. The formation of an unpaid magistracy, and the great governing duties thrown upon the House of Lords, combined with the vast territorial possessions and the country tastes of the upper classes, have made the gratuitous discharge of judicial, legislative, and administrative functions the natural accompaniment of a considerable social position, while the retrospective habits which an aristocracy creates perpetuate and intensify the feelings of an honorable ambition. The memory of great ancestors, and the desire not to suffer a great name to fade, become an incentive of the most powerful kind. A point of honor conducive to exertion is created, and men learn to asso-

ciate the idea of active patriotic labor with that of the social condition they deem most desirable. A body of men is thus formed who, with circumstances peculiarly favorable for the successful prosecution of important unremunerative labors, combine dispositions and habits eminently laborious, and who have at the same time an unrivaled power of infusing by their example a love of labor into the whole community.

The importance of the influence thus exercised will scarcely, I think, be overlooked by those who will remember, on the one hand, how many great nations and how many long periods have been almost destitute of developed talent, and, on the other hand, how very little evidence we have of the existence of any great difference in respect to innate ability between different nations or ages. The amount of realized talent in a community depends mainly on the circumstances in which it is placed, and, above all, upon the disposition that animates it. It depends upon the force and direction that have been given to its energies, upon the nature of its ambitions, upon its conception and standard of dignity. In all large classes who have great opportunities, and, at the same time, great temptations, there will be innumerable examples of men who neglect the former and yield to the latter; but it can hardly, I think, be denied that in no other country has so large an amount of salutary labor been gratuitously accomplished by the upper classes as in England; and in the present day, at least, aristocratic influence in English legislation is chiefly to be traced in the number of offices that are either not at all or insufficiently paid. The impulse which was first given in the sphere of public life has gradually extended through many others, and in addition to many statesmen, orators, or soldiers—in addition to many men who have exhibited an admirable administrative skill in the management of vast properties and the improvement of numerous dependents—the English aristocracy has been extremely rich in men who, as poets, historians, art-critics, linguists, philologists, antiquaries, or men of science, have attained a great or at least a respectable eminence. The peers in England have been specially connected with two classes. They are the natural representatives of the whole body of country gentlemen, while, from their great wealth and their town lives, they are intimately connected with that important and rapidly-

increasing class who have amassed or inherited large fortunes from commerce or manufactures, whose politics during the early Hanoverian period they steadily represented. It will be found, I think, that the House of Lords, even when most Tory, has been more liberal than the first class, and has produced, in proportion to its numbers, more political talent than the latter.

In this manner it appears that the existence of a powerful aristocracy, and the political functions with which it is invested, cannot be regarded as isolated facts. They are connected with that whole condition of society which in England has always thrown on the upper classes the chief political leadership of the country, and as such they open out questions of the gravest kind. No maxim in politics is more certain than that, whenever a single class possesses a monopoly or an overwhelming preponderance of power, it will end by abusing it. Whatever may be the end of morals, "the greatest happiness of the greatest number" is undoubtedly the rule of politics, and a system of government which throws all power into the hands of one class, of the smallest class, and of the richest class, is assuredly not calculated to promote it. But it is one thing to give a class a monopoly of political power; it is quite another thing to intrust it, under the restrictions of a really popular government, with the chief share of active administration. A structure of society like that of England, which brings the upper class into such political prominence that they usually furnish the popular candidates for election, has at least the advantage of saving the nation from that government by speculators, adventurers, and demagogues, which is the gravest of all the evils to which representative institutions are liable. When the suffrage is widely extended, a large proportion of electors will always be wholly destitute of political convictions, while every artifice is employed to mislead them. Under such circumstances it is very possible—in many countries it is even very probable—that the supreme management of affairs may pass into the hands of men who are perfectly unprincipled, who seek only for personal aggrandizement or personal notoriety, who have no real stake in the country, and who are perfectly reckless of its future and its permanent interests. It would be difficult to exaggerate the dangers that may result from even a short period of such rule,

and they have often driven nations to take refuge from their own representatives in the arms of despotism. The disposal of the national revenue may pass into the hands of mere swindlers, and become the prey of simple malversation. The foreign policy of the country may be directed by men who seek only for notoriety or for the consolidation of their tottering power, and who with these views plunge the nation into wars that lead speedily to national ruin. In home politics institutions which are lost in the twilight of a distant past may, through similar motives, in a few months be recklessly destroyed. Nearly all great institutions are the growth of centuries; their first rise is slow, obscure, undemonstrative, they have been again and again modified, recast, and expanded; their founders leave no reputation, and reap no harvest from their exertions. On the other hand, the destruction of a great and ancient institution is an eminently dramatic thing, and no other political achievement usually produces so much noisy reputation in proportion to the ability it requires. The catastrophe (however long preparing) is concentrated in a short time, and the name of the man who effects it is immortalized. As a great writer * has finely said, "When the oak is felled, the whole forest echoes with its fall, but a hundred acorns are sown in silence by an unnoticed breeze." Hence to minds ambitious only of notoriety, careless of the permanent interests of the nation, and destitute of all real feeling of political responsibility, a policy of mere destruction possesses an irresistible attraction.

From these extreme evils a country is for the most part saved by intrusting the management of its affairs chiefly to the upper classes of the community. A government of gentlemen may be and often is extremely deficient in intelligence, in energy, in sympathy with the poorer classes. It may be shamefully biased by class interests, and guilty of great corruption in the disposal of patronage, but the standard of honor common to the class at least secures it from the grosser forms of malversation, and the interests of its members are indissolubly connected with the permanent well-being of the country. Such men may be guilty of much misgovernment, and they will certainly, if uncontrolled by

* Carlyle.

other classes, display much selfishness, but it is scarcely possible that they should be wholly indifferent to the ultimate consequences of their acts, or should divest themselves of all sense of responsibility or public duty. When other things are equal, the class which has most to lose and least to gain by dishonesty will exhibit the highest level of integrity. When other things are equal, the class whose interests are most permanently and seriously bound up with those of the nation is likely to be the most careful guardian of the national welfare. When other things are equal, the class which has most leisure and most means of instruction will, as a whole, be the most intelligent. Besides this, the tact, the refinement, the reticence, the conciliatory tone of thought and manner characteristic of gentlemen are all peculiarly valuable in public men, whose chief task is to reconcile conflicting pretensions and to harmonize jarring interests. Nor is it a matter of slight importance to the political life of a nation, or to the estimate in which a nation is held by its neighbors, that its government should be in the hands of men on whom no class can look down. Rightly or wrongly, nations are judged mainly by their politicians and by their political acts, and, when these have ceased to command respect, the character of a nation in the world is speedily lowered.

To these advantages, arising indirectly from the intervention of an hereditary aristocracy in government, others may be added. In the first place such an aristocracy exists, and, rightly or wrongly, attracts to itself among great multitudes of men a warm feeling of reverence and even of affection. It is the part of wise statesmen—and it is one of the characteristics by which such men are distinguished from crude theorists—to avail themselves for the purposes of government of all those strong, enduring, and unreasoning attachments which tradition, associations, or other causes, have generated. Such are, the sentiment of loyalty, the respect for religion, the homage paid to rank. These feelings endear government to the people, counteract any feeling of repulsion the sacrifices it exacts might produce, give it that permanence, security, and stability, which are essential to the well-being of society. Sometimes, no doubt, the reverential or conservative elements have an excessive force, and form an obstacle to progress; but that they should exist, and under some form be

the basis of the national character, is the essential condition of all permanent good government. A state of society in which revolution is always imminent is disastrous alike to moral, political, and material interests, and it is much less a reasoning conviction than unreasoning sentiments of attachment that enable governments to bear the strain of occasional maladministration, revolutionary panics, and seasons of calamity.*

These considerations may be carried a step further. All civic virtue, all the heroism and self-sacrifice of patriotism, spring ultimately from the habit men acquire of regarding their nation as a great organic whole, identifying themselves with its fortunes in the past as in the present, and looking forward anxiously to its future destinies. When the members of any nation have come to regard their country as nothing more than the plot of ground on which they reside, and their government as a mere organization for providing police or contracting treaties; when they have ceased to entertain any warmer feelings for one another than those which private interest, or personal friendship, or a mere general philanthropy, may produce, the moral dissolution of that nation is at hand. Even in the order of material interests the well-being of each generation is in a great degree dependent upon the forbearance, self-sacrifice, and providence, of those who have preceded it, and civic virtues can never flourish in a generation which thinks only of itself. "Those will not look forward to their posterity who never look backward to their ancestors." † To kindle and sustain the vital flame of national sentiment is the chief moral end of national institutions, and, while it cannot be denied that it has been attained under the most various forms of government, it is equally certain that an aristocracy which is at once popular and hereditary, which blends and assimilates itself with the general interests of the present, while it perpetuates and honors the memories of the past, is peculiarly fitted to foster it.

Another advantage which should not be neglected in a review of the effects of aristocratic institutions is their tendency to bring young men into active political life. In politics, as in most other professions, early training is of extreme importance, and in a

* *See* on this subject a noble passage, full of profound wisdom, in Lord Russell's "Essay on the English Constitution," pp. 271, 272.

† Burke.

country where government is conducted mainly through the instrumentality of Parliament, this training, to be really efficient, must include an early practice of parliamentary duties. A young man of energy and industry, possessing the tact and manners of good society, and endowed with abilities slightly superior to those of the average of men, is likely, if brought into parliamentary and official life between twenty and thirty, to acquire a skill in the conduct of public business rarely attained even by men of great genius whose minds and characters have been formed in other spheres, and who have come late into the arena of Parliament. The presence in Parliament of a certain number of young politicians, from whom the lower offices of administration may be filled, and who may gradually rise to the foremost places, is an essential condition of the well-being of constitutional government, and it is one of the conditions which, since the abolition of the nomination boroughs, it has become most difficult to attain. Popular election is in this respect exceedingly worthless. It may be trusted to create, with a rough but substantial justice, a representation of public opinion. It may be trusted, but much less perfectly, to secure some recognition of old services and of matured genius, but an extended constituency has neither the capacity nor the desire to discover undeveloped talent, or to recognize the promise of future excellence. Hardly any other feature of our parliamentary system appears so ominous to a thoughtful observer as the growing exclusion of young men from the House of Commons, and, if a certain number are still found within its walls, this is mainly due to that aristocratic sentiment which makes the younger members of noble families the favorite candidates with many constituencies.

There are other consequences which it will be sufficient simply to enumerate. The existence of a powerful, independent, and connected class, carrying with it a dignity, and in many respects an influence, fully equal to that of the servants of the crown, has more than once proved the most formidable obstacle to the encroachments of despotism; while, on the other hand, in democratic times, this hierarchy of ranks serves to mitigate the isolation of the throne, and is thus a powerful bulwark to monarchy. A second chamber is so essential to the healthy working of constitutional government, that it may almost be pronounced

a political necessity; and in times when the position of that chamber is a secondary one, when its leading functions are merely to delay and to revise, it is no small advantage that it should be composed of men possessing, indeed, great local knowledge and influence, but at the same time independent of local intrigues and jealousies, and of the transient bursts of popular passion. A permanent hereditary chamber has at least a tendency to impart to national policy that character of continuity and stability, and to infuse into its discussions that judicial spirit, which it is most difficult to preserve amid the rapid fluctuations and the keen contests of popular government. It may even very materially contribute to make legislation a reflex of the popular will. No matter how perfect may be the system of election, an elected body can never represent with complete fidelity the political sentiments of the community. In particular constituencies purely local and personal considerations continually falsify the political verdict. In the country at large a general election usually turns on a single great party issue, or on the comparative popularity of rival statesmen, and hardly a year passes in which the politicians in whom, on the whole, the nation has most confidence do not act on some particular question in a manner opposed to the national sentiment. If the question is a subordinate one, this divergence does not make the country desire a change of ministry; and it is extremely difficult, under the system of party government, to enforce by any less violent means the national will. Under these circumstances, a body such as the House of Lords, exempt from the necessity of popular election, representing at the same time most of the forms of public opinion, and exercising in the constitution a kind of revising, judicial, and moderating office, is of great utility; it is able to arrest or retard a particular course of policy, without producing a ministerial crisis, and it may thus be said, without a paradox, to contribute to the representative character of the government. Besides this, the peerage enables the country to avail itself of the talents of statesmen of ability and experience, who are physically incapable of enduring the fatigue inseparable from the position of a minister in the Lower House; it forms a cheap yet highly-prized reward for great services to the nation or the crown; and it exercises in some respects a considerable refining influence upon the manners

of society by counteracting the empire of mere wealth, and sustaining that order of feelings and sentiments which constitutes the conception of a gentleman. Nor should we altogether disregard its minor uses in settling doubtful questions of precedence, and marking out the natural leaders for many movements, which would otherwise be weakened by conflicting claims and by personal jealousies.

There are, no doubt, serious drawbacks to these benefits. No human institution is either an unmitigated good or an unmitigated evil; and the main task of every statesman and of every sound political thinker is to weigh with impartiality the good and evil consequences that arise out of each. Considered abstractly, every institution is an evil which teaches men to estimate their fellows not according to their moral and intellectual worth, but by an unreal and factitious standard. The worship of baubles and fantasms necessarily perverts the moral judgment, nor can any one who is acquainted with English society doubt that in this respect the evil of aristocratic institutions is deeply felt in every grade. Their moral effects are, on the whole, more doubtful than their political effects, and the servile and sycophantic dispositions, the vulgarity of thought and feeling they tend to foster in the community, form the most serious counterpoise to their undoubted advantages. These evils, however, lie far too deep for mere political remedies; and when the worship of rank and the worship of wealth are in competition it may, at least, be said that the existence of the two idols diminishes by dividing the force of each superstition, and that the latter evil is an increasing one, while the former is never again likely to be a danger. The injurious effects of aristocratic influence may, however, be abundantly traced in the desire to aggregate the vast preponderance of family property in a single heir, which is often displayed in England to an extent that is an outrage upon morality; in the frequent spectacle of many children—often daughters, who are almost incapable of earning a livelihood—reduced to penury, in order that the eldest son may gratify the family vanity by an adequate display of ostentatious luxury; in the scandalous injustice of the law relating to intestacy. Although it would be an absurd exaggeration to attribute to the existence of an aristocracy the frightful contrast of extreme opulence and abject misery

which is so frequent in England, it is undoubtedly true that the excessive inequality of the distribution of wealth, resulting from laws which were originally intended to secure the preponderance of a class, and from manners which were originally the product of those laws, has most seriously aggravated it. The laws have for the most part passed away, but the habits that grew out of them remain, and they operate over a far larger circle than that of the aristocracy. Great as is the use of the peerage in sustaining public spirit in the nation, it is unquestionable that the passion for founding families which it produces diminishes largely the flow of private munificence to public objects, and its value in promoting laborious habits is in some degree counteracted by its manifest tendency to depress the purely intellectual classes. Rank is much less local in its influence than wealth, and wherever a powerful aristocracy exists, it overshadows intellectual eminence, and becomes its successful rival in most forms of national competition. The political advantages of an hereditary chamber are very great, but the power of unlimited veto resting in such a chamber is a grave anomaly in a free government. Nor is it one of those anomalies which are merely theoretical. On great questions on which popular passions are violently aroused, the spirit of compromise and political sagacity, so general among the upper classes in England, may usually be counted upon to prevent serious collisions; and the power of creating an unlimited number of peers provides in the last resort an extreme, dangerous, but efficient remedy. There are, however, many questions on which the national judgment is plainly pronounced, but which from their nature do not appeal to any strong passions, and on these the obstructive power of the House of Lords has sometimes proved very mischievous. More than one measure of reform has thus been rejected through several successive Parliaments, in spite of unbroken and repeated majorities in the Lower House.

Looking again at the question from a purely historical standing-point, it is certain that the politicians of the Upper House were deeply tainted with the treachery and duplicity common to most English statesmen between the Restoration and the American Revolution. Most of the bills for preventing corrupt influence in the Commons during the administration of Walpole were crushed by the influence of the minister in the House of Lords.

The country was long seriously burdened, and some of the professions were systematically degraded, in order to furnish lucrative posts for the younger members of the aristocratic families; and the representative character of the Lower House was so utterly perverted by the multiplication of nomination boroughs in the hands of the peers that a storm of indignation was at last raised which shook the very pillars of the constitution. Still, even in these respects, the English nobility form a marked contrast to those of the Continent. Though rank has in England almost always brought with it a very disproportionate weight, although it is undoubtedly true that in the last years of George II., and in the first years of George III., three or four aristocratic families threatened to control the efficient power in the State, yet, on the whole, no other aristocracy has shown itself so free from the spirit of monopoly. In the great Whig period, from the Revolution till the death of Walpole, there were numerous instances of statesmen who were not of noble birth taking a foremost place in English politics.* The names of Somers, Montague, Churchill, Addison, Craggs, and many others, will at once occur to the reader, and the most powerful leader of this age was a simple country gentleman, a member of the House of Commons, who was so far from allowing himself to be the puppet of any one, that one of the chief faults of his administration was his extreme reluctance to part with the smallest share of the influence of the Government. The steady support which the Whig House of Lords gave to Walpole, during every stage of his career, is a decisive proof not only of its enlightenment but also of its moderation. Nor is this less true of the opposite party. No Tory minister has had so absolute an authority as William Pitt; and, in the period of the darkest and most bigoted Toryism, the House of Lords was governed with an almost absolute sway by the knowledge and the ability of Eldon. If the nomination boroughs were perverted, as they undoubtedly were to a very large

* This has been noticed by Swift, in a very remakable paper on the "Decline of the Political Influence of the Nobility," in the *Intelligencer*, No. 9. He declares that "for above sixty years past the chief conduct of affairs hath been generally placed in new men, with few exceptions." He ascribes this chiefly to the defective education of the upper classes. Swift was, I believe, wrong, in imagining that aristocratic influence had declined.

extent, to the most selfish purposes, it is also true that there was sufficient public spirit among their proprietors to induce them to bring into the House of Commons a far larger proportion of young men of promise and genius than have ever, under any other system, entered its walls. If the numerous Tory creations of George III. at last altered the spirit of the body, it should at least not be forgotten that the old tradition never was extinct, that in the great struggle of the Reform Bill some of the chief aristocratic borough-owners were among the foremost advocates of the people, and that the large majority of the peers of an older creation than George III. were on the same side,* while the most obstinate opponents of progress found their leaders in Eldon and Lyndhurst, who had but lately risen from the ranks.

W. E. H. Lecky.

* Molesworth's "History of England," vol. i., p. 203.

VI.

REMINISCENCES OF THE CIVIL WAR.

The history of the United States, as yet unwritten, will show the causes of the "Civil War" to have been in existence during the colonial era, and to have cropped out into full view in the debates of the several State assemblies on the adoption of the Federal Constitution, in which instrument Luther Martin, Patrick Henry, and others insisted they were implanted. African slavery, at the time, was universal, and its extinction in the North, as well as its extension in the South, was due to economic reasons alone. The first serious difficulty of the Federal Government arose from the attempt to lay an excise on distilled spirits. The second, from the hostility of New England traders to the policy of the Government in the War of 1812, by which their special interests were menaced, and there is now evidence to prove that, but for the expected peace, an attempt to disrupt the Union would then have been made. The Missouri Compromise of 1820 was in reality a truce between antagonistic revenue systems—each seeking to gain the balance of power. For many years subsequently, slaves—as domestic servants—were taken to the Territories without exciting attention. The "Nullification" movement in South Carolina was entirely directed against the tariff. The slavery question was agitated from an early period, but failed to attract public attention for many years. At length, by unwearied industry, by ingeniously attaching itself to exciting questions of the day, with which it had no natural connection, it succeeded in making a lodgment in the public mind, which, like a subject exhausted by long effort, is exposed to the attack of some malignant fever, that, in a normal condition of vigor,

would have been resisted. Slavery was not the ultimate or proximate cause of the war, and Abolitionists are not justified in claiming the glory and spoils of the conflict, and in pluming themselves as "choosers of the slain." The vast immigration that poured into the country between the years 1844 and 1860 had a very important influence in directing the events of the latter year. The numbers were too great to be absorbed and assimilated by the native population. States in the West were controlled by German and Scandinavian voters, while the Irish took possession of the seaboard towns. Although it is true that the balance of party strength was not much affected by these naturalized voters, yet the modes of political thought were seriously disturbed, and a tendency was felt to transfer exciting topics from the domain of argument to that of violence. The aged and feeble President, Mr. Buchanan, unfitted for troublous times, was balloted to and fro by ambitious leaders of his own party, as was the last weak Hapsburg who reigned in Spain by the rival factions of France and Austria.

In January, 1861, the Assembly of Louisiana met. A member of the upper branch and chairman of its Committee on Federal Relations, I brought in and assisted in passing an act to call a convention of the people of the State to consider of matters beyond the competency of the Assembly. The convention met in March, and was presided over by ex-Governor and ex-United States Senator Alexandre Mouton—a man of pure and lofty character. I sat in the convention for my own parish, St. Charles, and was appointed chairman of the Military and Defense Committee. On behalf of the committee two ordinances were carried through; one to raise two regiments, one of artillery and one of infantry, enlistments for five years, unless sooner discharged—officers appointed by the Governor of the State after examination. More would have been desirable in the way of raising troops, but the temper of men's minds did not then justify the effort. The other ordinance authorized the Governor to use a million dollars for the purchase of arms and munitions. No such purchase was made, as the Governor was assured on all hands there was no danger of war, and the United States Arsenal at Baton Rouge, entirely in our power, would furnish more than we could need. It was vainly urged in reply that the stores of the arsenal were almost value-

less, the arms altered flint-lock muskets, and the accoutrements out of date. The current was too strong to stem. The convention adopted an ordinance declaring that Louisiana ceased to be a State within the Union, by an immense majority of votes, not more than five members dissenting. Indeed, similar action having already been taken or assured by South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Texas, it was a necessity for Louisiana to accompany her neighbors. At the time, and since, I marveled at the joyous and careless temper in which men, much my superiors in sagacity and experience, consummated these acts. There seemed to be such a general *gaîté de cœur*, as M. Olivier claimed for the imperial ministry when war was declared against Prussia. The attachment of the Northern and Western people to the Union, their superiority in numbers, in wealth, especially in mechanical resources, the command of the sea, the lust of rule and territory always felt by a democracy (a passion we fully shared in the South)—all these facts were laughed to scorn, or their mention was ascribed to timidity or treachery or both. As soon as the convention adjourned, finding myself out of harmony with prevailing opinion as to the certainty of war and necessity for preparation, I retired to my estate, determined to accept such responsibility only as came to me unsought. The inauguration of Lincoln, the confederation of South Carolina, Georgia, and the five Gulf States, the attitude of the border slave States hoping to mediate, the assembling of Confederate forces at Pensacola, Charleston, and other points, the seizure of United States forts and arsenals, the attack on Sumter, war—these followed with bewildering rapidity, and the human agencies concerned seemed as unconscious as scene-shifters in some awful tragedy.

I was drawn from my retreat by an invitation from General Bragg—a particular friend—to visit Pensacola, where he commanded the Southern forces, composed of volunteers from the adjacent States. Full of enthusiasm for their cause, and of the best material, officers and men were, with but few exceptions, without instruction, and the number of educated officers was, as in all the Southern armies, too limited to satisfy the imperious demands of the staff, much less those of the drill-master. Besides, the vicious system of election of officers and short term of

service struck at the very root of that stern discipline without which raw men cannot be converted into soldiers. The Confederate Government—then seated at Montgomery—resisted the enlistment of regiments for the war, preferring to engage them for twelve months. The same blindness smote the question of finance. Instead of laying taxes, which the general enthusiasm would have cheerfully endured, the Confederate authorities pledged their credit, and that, too, for an amount which might have implied a pact with Mr. Seward. Should war unhappily break out, its duration was to be strictly limited to sixty days. The effect of these cardinal errors was felt throughout the struggle.

General Bragg occupied Pensacola, the United States navy-yard, and Fort Barrancas, on the mainland. Fort Pickens, opposite the latter places, on Santa Rosa Island, was held by United States troops, commanded by Major Harvey Brown. Several United States war-vessels were anchored outside the harbor, with the understanding that no hostile movement should be made on either side without notice. Consequently, Bragg worked at his batteries, bearing on Pickens, while Brown strengthened with sand-bags and earthworks the weak landward bastion of his fort, and time was pleasantly passed by both parties in watching each other's occupations. Some months before, when Florida enforced her assumed right to exercise exclusive control over all points within her limits, some fifty United States artillerists, under Lieutenant Slemmer, were stationed at Barrancas, where they were harmless and helpless. After much manœuvring, the State forces of Florida induced Slemmer to retire from Barrancas to Pickens, then *garrisoned* by one ordnance sergeant and at the mercy of a corporal's guard in a row-boat. Fort Sumter, in Charleston harbor, was in a similar condition before Anderson retired to it with his company. The early seizure of these two fortresses would have spared the Confederates many serious embarrassments; but such small details were much neglected at that time.

My visit to Pensacola was brought to a close by information from the Governor of Louisiana of my appointment to the colonelcy of the Ninth Louisiana Infantry, a regiment just formed at camp, on the railway, some miles north of New Orleans, and under orders for Richmond. Accepting the appointment, I hast-

ened to the camp, inspected the command, ordered the lieutenant-colonel, Randolph (an uncommonly well-informed officer for the time), to move to Richmond by rail, *via* Chattanooga and Lynchburg, as rapidly as transportation was furnished, and went on to New Orleans, as well to procure equipment—in which the regiment was deficient—as to give some hours to private affairs. It was known there was a scarcity of small-arm ammunition, owing to the rapid concentration of troops there (in Virginia), and I was fortunate in obtaining, from the Louisiana authorities, one hundred thousand rounds, with which, together with some field equipment, I proceeded by express to Richmond. There I found my command, about a thousand strong, just arrived and preparing to go into camp at the Fair-grounds. The town was filled with rumor of battle away north, at Manassas, where Beauregard commanded the Confederate forces. A thousand wild reports, all equally inflamed, reached my ears while looking after the transportation of my ammunition, of which I did not wish to lose sight. Reaching camp, I paraded the regiment, stated the necessity for prompt action, and hoped it would approve an application to be sent immediately to the front. Officers and men were delighted with the prospect of active service, and largely condoned their inexperience by their zeal. Ammunition was served out, three days' rations ordered to be cooked for havresacks, and all camp-equipage, not absolutely essential, stored. These details attended to, at about 5 P. M. I reached the war-office, presided over by General L. P. Walker, of Alabama. When the object of my visit was stated, the secretary expressed much pleasure, as he was most anxious to send troops forward, but had few in readiness to move, owing to the lack of fixed ammunition, etc. As I had been in Richmond but a few hours, my desire, seconded by that of my men, to move, and adequately prepared so to do, gained me some "red-letter" marks at the war-office.

The secretary thought a train would be in readiness for me at nine that night. Accordingly, the regiment was marched to the station, where we remained several weary hours. At length, long after midnight, our train made its appearance. As the usual time to Manassas was some six hours, we confidently expected to arrive in the early forenoon. This expectation our engine

brought to grief. It proved a machine of the most wheezy and helpless character—creeping snail-like on levels, and requiring the men to leave the carriages to help it up grades. As the morning wore on, the sound of guns—reëchoed from the Blue Ridge Mountains on our left—became loud and constant. At every halt of the wretched engine the noise of battle grew more intense, as did our impatience. I hope, that day, the attention of the recording angel was engrossed in other directions. Later, we met men, single or in squads, some with arms, some without, moving south, in which quarter they all appeared to have pressing engagements. At dusk we gained "Manassas Junction," near the field where on that day the battle of first Manassas or Bull Run had been fought and won. Bivouacking the men by the road-side, I sought through the darkness the headquarters of General Beauregard, to whom I was instructed to report. With much difficulty and delay the place was found, and a staff-officer told me orders would be sent the following morning. By these I was directed to select a suitable camp, thus indicating that no immediate movement was contemplated. The confusion that reigned about our camps for the next few days was extreme. Regiments seemed to have lost their colonels—colonels their regiments; men of all arms and all commands were mixed in the wildest way. A constant fusillade of small-arms and singing of bullets were kept up, indicative of a superfluity of disorder, if not of ammunition. One of my men was severely wounded in camp by one of these strays, and derived no comfort from my suggestion that it was a delicate attention of our comrades to mitigate the disappointment of coming too late for the battle. Things slowly got into a better condition. The elation of our people at their success was natural. They had achieved all and more than all that could have been expected of raw troops, and many commands had emulated veterans by their constancy and valor. Settled to the routine of camp-duty, I found many opportunities to go over the adjacent battle-field with those who had shared the action, then fresh in their memories. Once I had the great privilege of so doing in the company of Generals Johnston and Beauregard. I will now give my opinion of this action, as I purpose doing of such subsequent actions, and commanders therein, as came within the range of my personal experience during the war.

Although since the days of Nimrod war has been the constant occupation of men, the fingers of one hand suffice to number the great commanders. No "unlearned" people think of usurping Tyndall's place in the lecture-room, or of taking his cuneiform bricks from Rawlinson; yet the world has been much more prolific of learned scientists and philologers than of able generals. Notwithstanding, the average American, and, judging from the dictatorship of Maître Gambetta, the Frenchman, would not have hesitated to supersede Napoleon at Austerlitz, or Nelson at Trafalgar. True, Cleon captured the Spartan garrison, and Narses gained victories. So did Bunyan write the "Pilgrim's Progress;" but pestilent demagogues and mutilated guardians of Eastern zenanas have not always been successful in war, nor the great and useful profession of tinkers written allegory. As men without knowledge have in all times usurped the right to criticise the conduct of commanders and campaigns, they will doubtless continue, despite the protests of professional soldiers, who discharge this duty in a reverent spirit, knowing that the greatest is he "who commits the fewest blunders." General McDowell, the Federal commander at Manassas, and a trained soldier of unusual acquirements, was so hounded and worried by ignorant and impatient politicians and newspapers, as to be scarcely responsible for his acts. This may be said of all the commanders in the beginning of the war—notably of the Confederate General Albert Sidney Johnston—whose early loss on the field of Shiloh was irreparable, and, mayhap, determined the fate of the South. McDowell's plan of battle was excellent, and its execution by his mob no worse than might have been confidently expected. The late Governor Andrew, of Massachusetts, observed that his men thought they were going to a town-meeting. This is exhaustive criticism. With soldiers at his disposal, McDowell would have succeeded in turning and overwhelming Bauregard's left, driving him from his rail communications with Richmond, and preventing the junction of Johnston from the Valley. It appears that Beauregard was, to some extent, surprised by the attack, contemplating movements by his centre and right. His exposed and weak left, however, stubbornly resisted the shock of the opposing masses. Beauregard, whose personal daring and coolness were most inspiriting,

brought up assistance from the centre and right, and the ground was held until Johnston, who had skillfully eluded Patterson, arrived, and began feeding the fight with his people, when the affair was soon decided. There can be little question that, with a strong brigade of soldiers, Johnston could have gone to Washington and Baltimore. Whether, with his means, he should have advanced has been too much and angrily discussed already. Napoleon held that, no matter what the confusion and exhaustion of a victorious army, a defeated one was a hundred-fold worse, and action should be based on this. Assuredly, if there be justification in disregarding an axiom of Napoleon, the wild confusion of the Confederates after Manassas, to which I have alluded, would afford it. The first skirmishes and actions of the war showed that, untrained, the Southron was a better fighter than the Northerner, not because of more courage, but of the social and economic conditions by which he was surrounded. Devoted to agriculture, in a sparsely-populated country, the Southron was self-reliant, a practised horseman, and skilled in the use of arms. The denser population of the North, the habit of association for commercial and manufacturing purposes, weakened individuality of character; and horsemanship and the use of arms were exceptional accomplishments. The rapid development of railways and manufactures in the West had assimilated the people of that region to their Eastern neighbors, and the old race of frontier riflemen had wandered to the far interior of the continent.

Instruction and discipline soon equalized differences, and battles were decided by generalship and numbers. This was the experience of our kinsmen in their great civil war. The country squires who followed the banners of Newcastle and Rupert at first swept the eastern counties yeomanry and the London trainbands from the field; but fiery and impetuous valor was at last overmatched by the disciplined purpose and stubborn constancy of Cromwell's Ironsides. The value of the "initiative" in war cannot be overstated. It surpasses in power mere accession of numbers, as it requires no transport nor commissariat. Holding it, a commander lays his plans deliberately, and executes them at his own appointed time and in his own way. The "defensive" is weak, lowering the *morale* of the army reduced to it, enforcing constant watchfulness lest threatened

attacks become real, and keeping commander and troops in a state of anxious tension. These truisms would not deserve mention did not the public mind ignore the fact that their application is strictly limited to trained soldiers, and often become impatient for the employment of proved ability to sustain sieges and hold lines in offensive movements. A collection of untrained men is neither more nor less than a mob in which individual courage goes for nothing. In movement, each person finds his liberty of action merged in a crowd without instruction and incapable of direction. Every obstacle creates confusion—speedily converted into panic—by opposition. The heroic defenders of Saragossa could not, for a moment, have faced a battalion of French infantry in the open field.

Osman's solitary attempt to operate outside of Plevna met with no success, and the recent defeat of Mukhtar may be ascribed to incaution in taking position too far from his line of defense, where attacked, manœuvres, of which his people were incapable, became necessary. After the action at Manassas, the summer and winter wore away without movements of special note in our quarter, excepting the defeat of the Federals at Ball's Bluff, by a detached brigade of Confederates, under the command of General Evans, of South Carolina—a West-Pointer enjoying the *sobriquet* of "Shanks," from the thinness of his legs —and the *original* reconniassance of the Federal General Schenck, on the line and in the carriages of the Hampshire & Loudon Railway. In the organization of the army my regiment was brigaded with the Sixth, Seventh, and Eighth Regiments of Louisiana Infantry, and placed under the command of Brigadier W. H. T. Walker, of Georgia. Graduated from West Point in the summer of 1837, this officer joined the Sixth Regiment of United States Infantry operating against the Seminoles in Florida. On Christmas-day following was fought the battle of Okechobee, the severest fight of that Indian war. The savages were posted on a thickly-jungled island in the lake—through the waters of which, breast-high, the troops advanced several hundred yards to the attack. The loss on our side was heavy, but the Indians were so completely routed as to break their spirit. Colonel Zachary Taylor commanded, and there won his yellow sash and grade. Walker was so desperately wounded that the

medical people gave him up. He laughed at their predictions, and recovered. In the Mexican War, assaulting Molino del Rey, he received several wounds, all pronounced fatal, and science thought it was avenged. He got well again, as he said, to spite the doctors. All his life he was a martyr to asthma, and rarely enjoyed sleep but in a sitting posture; yet he was as cheerful and full of restless activity as the celebrated Earl of Peterborough. After the peace with Mexico, Walker was commandant of cadets at West Point. His ability as an instructor and his lofty martial bearing deeply impressed his new brigade, and prepared it for the stern work before it. Subsequently, Walker died on the field near Atlanta, defending the soil of his native state—a death of all others he would have chosen. I have dwelt somewhat on his character because it was one of the strangest I have met. No enterprise was too rash to awaken his ardor if it necessitated daring courage and self-devotion. Truly he might have come forth out of the pages of old Froissart. It is with unaffected feeling I recall his memory, and hang before it my humble wreath of "immortelles."

In camp our army experienced much suffering and loss of strength. Drawn almost exclusively from rural districts, where families lived isolated, the men were scourged with mumps, whooping-cough, and measles, diseases which in urban populations are readily overcome by childhood. Measles proved as virulent as small-pox or cholera. Sudden changes of temperature drove the eruption from the surface to the internal organs, and fevers—lung and typhoid—and dysenteries followed. My regiment was fearfully smitten, and I passed many days in hospital, nursing the sick, and trying to comfort the last moments of many poor lads, dying so far from home and friends. Time and frequent changes of camp brought improvement, but my own health gave way. A persistent, low fever sapped my strength, and impaired the use of my limbs. General Johnston kindly ordered me off to the Fauquier Springs—sulphur-waters—some twenty miles to the south. There I was joined and carefully nursed by a devoted sister, and, after some weeks, slowly regained health and strength. On the eve of returning to the army I learned of my promotion to brigadier, to relieve General Walker, transferred to the command of Georgia troops. This

promotion seriously embarrassed me. Of the four colonels, whose regiments constituted the brigade, I was the junior in commission, and the other three had been present and "won their spurs" at the late battle, so far the only important one of the war. Besides, my known friendship for President Davis, with whom, by his first marriage with my elder sister, I was nearly connected, would justify the opinion that my promotion was due to favoritism. Arrived at headquarters, I obtained leave to go to Richmond, where, after an affectionate reception, the President listened to the story of my feelings, the reasons on which they were based, and the request that the promotion be revoked. He replied that he would take a day for reflection before deciding the matter. The following day I was told the answer to my appeal would be forwarded to the army, to which I immediately returned. The President had employed the delay in writing a letter to the senior officers of the brigade. He began by stating that promotions to the grade of general officers were intrusted to him, and were made for considerations of public good, of which he alone was judge. He then, out of abundant kindness for me, went on to soothe the feelings of these officers with a tenderness and delicacy of touch worthy a woman's hand, and so effectually as to secure me the hearty support of these patriots and soldiers, many of whom attained eminence in the war. No wonder that all who enjoy the friendship of Jefferson Davis love him as Jonathan did David. Several weeks, without notable incident, were devoted to instruction, especially in marching, the only military virtue for which Southern troops had no aptitude. Owing to the good traditions left by my predecessor in command, Walker, and the zeal of officers and men, great progress was made, and all the credit for the proficiency of the brigade was given me. In the army at this time was a battalion of three companies from Louisiana, commanded by Major Wheat. These detached companies had been thrown together previous to the fight at Manassas, where Wheat was severely wounded. The strongest of the three, and giving character to all, was called the "Tigers." Recruited on the levée and in the alleys of New Orleans, the men might have come out of "Alsatia," where they would have been worthy subjects of that illustrious potentate "Duke Hildebrod." The captain, who had suc-

ceeded to the immediate command of these worthies on the advancement of Wheat, enjoying the luxury of many *aliases*, called himself "White," perhaps out of respect to the purity of the patriotic garb lately assumed. So villainous was the reputation achieved by the battalion that every commander desired to be rid of it. At last, General Johnston assigned it to me, despite my efforts to decline the honor of such society. He promised, however, that I should be sustained in any measures to enforce discipline, and but a few hours elapsed before the fulfillment of the promise was required. For some disorder after "tattoo," several of the "Tigers" were arrested, and placed under the "brigade-guard." Their comrades attempted to force the "guard" and release them. This attempt failed, and the two ringleaders were captured and put in irons for the night. Next morning an order for a general court-martial was obtained from army headquarters. The court met at 10 A. M. the same day. As there was no doubt of the facts, a finding was speedily reached—the prisoners to be shot—time fixed by brigade-commander. I selected sunset, and directed the "firing-party" to be detailed from the prisoners' company. Major Wheat and his officers begged to be spared this hard duty, fearing the "Tigers" would refuse to fire on their comrades. I insisted, for the sake of the example, and pointed out the fatal consequences of any disobedience on the part of their men. The brigade, under arms, was marched out, and, as the news had spread, many thousands from other commands flocked to witness the scene. The firing-party, ten "Tigers," was drawn up fifteen paces from the prisoners, the brigade-provost gave the command to fire, and the unhappy men fell dead without a struggle. This account is given, because it was the first military execution in the "Army of Northern Virginia," and the punishment, so closely following the offense, produced a marked effect. The "Tigers" gave no further trouble, and proved hardy, excellent soldiers.

Major Robert Wheat deserves a more extended notice, and to furnish it some anticipation of events is necessary. In the early summer of 1846—after the first actions of the war with Mexico, Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma—the United States army, under General Zachary Taylor, lay near the town of Matamoras. Visiting the hospital of a recently joined vol-

unteer corps from the States, I remarked a beautiful, bright-eyed boy of some eighteen years, down with disease, but cheery withal. The interest he inspired led to his removal to army head-quarters, where he soon recovered health and became a pet. This was Robert Wheat, son of an Episcopal clergyman, from the old town of Alexandria, on the Potomac, who had run away from school to come to the war. He next went to Cuba with Lopez, was wounded and captured, but escaped the *garrote* to follow Walker to Nicaragua. Exhausting the capacities of South American patriots to *pronounce*, he quitted their society in disgust, and joined Garibaldi in Italy, whence his keen scent of combat summoned him home in convenient time to receive a bullet at Manassas. The most complete "Dugald Dalgetty" possible, he had all the "defects of the good qualities" of that doughty warrior. Some months after the time of which I am now writing, a body of horse was captured in the Valley of Virginia. The colonel commanding, who had been dismounted in the fray, approached me — a stalwart man, with huge mustaches, cavalry-boots adorned with spurs worthy of a *caballero*, slouched hat, and plume. He strode along with the nonchalant air of one who had wooed Dame Fortune too long to be cast down by her frowns. Suddenly, Major Wheat, near by, sprang from his horse with a cry of "Percy! old boy!" "Why, Bob?" was echoed back, and a warm embrace was exchanged. Colonel Percy Windham, an Englishman in the Federal service, had last parted from Wheat in Italy, or some other country where the pleasant business of "killing" was going on, and now fraternized with his friend in the manner described. Poor Wheat! A month later, and he slept his last sleep on the bloody field of Cold Harbor. He lies there in a soldier's grave. Gallant spirit! Let us hope that his readiness to die for his cause has made "the scarlet of his sins like unto wool."

As the autumn of the year (1861) passed away, the question of army organization pressed for solution. Divergent opinions were held by the Government at Richmond and Generals Johnston and Beauregard. The former sent me to President Davis to explain his views and urge their adoption. My mission met with no success; but, in discharging it, I was made aware of the estrangement growing up between these eminent persons, which

subsequently became "the spring of woes unnumbered." An earnest effort made by me to remove the cloud, then no "greater than a man's hand," failed, though the elevation of character of the two men, which made them listen patiently to my appeals, justified hope. Time but served to widen the breach. Without the knowledge and despite the wishes of General Johnston, the descendants of the ancient dwellers in the cave of Adullam gathered themselves behind his shield and shot their arrows at President Davis and his advisers—weakening the influence of the head of the cause for which all were struggling. Immediately after the birth of the Confederacy, a resolution was adopted by the "Provisional Congress," declaring that military and naval officers resigning the service of the United States Government, to enter that of the Confederate, would preserve their rank. Later on, the President was authorized to make five appointments to the grade of general. These appointments were announced after the action at Manassas, and in the following order of seniority: Samuel Cooper, Albert Sidney Johnston, Robert E. Lee, Joseph E. Johnston, and G. T. Beauregard. Near the close of President Buchanan's Administration, in 1860, died General Jessup, the Quartermaster-General of the United States Army, and Joseph E. Johnston, then lieutenant-colonel of cavalry, was appointed to the vacancy. Now, the Quartermaster-General of the United States Army had the rank, pay, and emoluments of a brigadier-general; but the rank was staff, and by law this officer could exercise no command over troops unless by special assignment of his government. When in the spring of 1861 the officers in question offered their services to the Confederacy, Cooper was adjutant-general, United States Army—rank of colonel; Albert Sidney Johnston, colonel, brigadier-general by brevet, and on duty as such; Lee, lieutenant-colonel of cavalry, senior to Joseph E. Johnston in the line before the latter's appointment above mentioned; Beauregard, major of engineers. President Davis held to the superiority of line to staff rank in arranging the order of seniority of generals. General Joseph E. Johnston took the opposite view, and sincerely believed that injustice was done him. After the grave and wondrous scenes through which we have passed, all this seems like "a tempest in a teapot," but it had much influence at the time, and deserves attention. Gen-

eral Johnston has published his account of the war, and it is understood that Mr. Davis has a volume in press; and such of the public as may feel an interest in the subject will doubtless find all the facts presented. General Beauregard, who about this time was transferred to the Army of the West, commanded by Albert Sidney Johnston, was also known to have grievances. Whatever their source, it could not have been *rank*, as this did not affect his position; but it is due to this general, a true patriot and gentleman of excellent taste, to say that no utterances came from him. Indiscreet persons at Richmond claiming the privilege, and discharging the duties of friendship, gave tongue to loud and frequent plaints, and much increased the confusion of the hour.

As the year 1862 opened, and the time for active movements drew near, weighty cares attended the commander of the Army of Northern Virginia. The folly of accepting forces for the short period of twelve months, to which allusion has already been made, was now apparent. Taking service in the spring of 1861, the time of most of the troops would expire just as the Federal host in their front might be expected to advance. A large majority of the men were willing and anxious to reënlist provided they could first go home to arrange private affairs. Fortunately, the fearful condition of the country permitted the granting of furloughs on a large scale. Excepting on a few pikes, movements were impossible, and an army could no more have marched across-country than across New York Bay. Closet warriors, in cozy studies, with smooth McAdam roadways before their doors, sneer at the idea of military movements being arrested by mud. I apprehend these gentlemen have never served in a bad country during the rainy season, and are ignorant of the fact that in his Russian campaign the elements proved too strong for the genius of Napoleon. General Johnston met the difficulties of his position with great coolness, tact, and judgment, but his burden was by no means lightened by the interference of certain politicians at Richmond. These gentlemen were perhaps inflamed by the success that had attended the tactical efforts of their Washington peers. At all events, they now threw themselves upon military questions with much ardor. The leader was Mr. Alexander H. Stephens, of Georgia, Vice-President of the Confederacy, who is entitled to a place by himself. Like the celebrated

John Randolph, of Roanoke, he has an acute intellect attached to a frail and meagre body. As was said by the witty Dean of St. Paul's of Francis Jeffrey, his mind is in a state of indecent exposure. A trained and skillful politician, he was for many years before the war returned to the United States House of Representatives from the district in which he resides, and his "device" seems always to have been "Fiat justitia, ruat cœlum."

"When, in December, 1849, the Congress of the United States assembled, there was a Whig Administration, and the same party had a very small majority in the Lower House. Mr. Stephens was an ardent Whig, and a member of the House; but he could not see his way to support his party candidate for Speaker, and this inability to find a road—plain, mayhap, to weaker organs—secured the control of the House to his political rivals. During the excited period just preceding "secession" Mr. Stephens held and avowed wise and moderate opinions; but, swept along by the resistless torrent surrounding him, he discovered and proclaimed the fact that "slavery was the corner-stone of the Confederacy." Granting the truth of this, which is by no means admitted here, it was, in the strong vernacular of the West, "rather piling the agony" on the humanitarians, whose sympathies were not much quickened toward us thereby. As the struggle progressed, Mr. Stephens, with all the impartiality of an equity judge, marked many of the virtues of the Government north of the Potomac, and all the vices of that on his own side of the stream. Regarding the military questions in hand, he entertained, and publicly expressed, original opinions which I will attempt to convey as accurately as possible. The war was for principles and rights. It was in the defense of these and of their property that the people had taken up arms. They could always be relied upon when a battle was imminent; but when there was no fighting to be done they had best be at home attending to their families and interests. As their intelligence was equal to their patriotism, they were as capable of judging of the necessity of their presence with the "colors" as the commanders of armies, who were but professional soldiers, fighting for rank and pay—most of them without property in the South. It may be observed that such opinions are more comfortably cherished by po-

litical gentlemen—two hundred miles away—than by commanders immediately in front of an enemy.

At the close of the great war, in July, 1865, I visited Washington, in the sole hope of effecting some change in the condition of Jefferson Davis—then ill and a prisoner at Fortress Monroe. Mr. Stephens happened to visit Washington at the same time, and was the object of much attention on the part of people controlling the Congress and country. Desiring his coöperation, I sought and found him, sitting near a fire, for he is of a chilly nature, smoking his pipe. He heard me in severe politeness, and, without unnecessary expenditure of enthusiasm, promised his assistance. Since the war Mr. Stephens has again been, and is now, a Representative in Congress. He has the satisfaction to know that, unlike the "rebel brigadiers," his presence is not a rock of offense to the loyal mind. No gallery of portraits, however humble, but should include that of this eminent person, who, for a quarter of a century, has filled an important place in the councils of his country. Pursuing "the even tenor of his way," Johnston rapidly increased the efficiency of his army. Furloughed men returned in large numbers, and before their "leaves" had terminated, many bringing new recruits with them. Divisions were formed, and officers selected to command them. Some islands of dry land appeared amid the sea of mud, when the movement of the Federal forces in our front changed the theatre of war, and opened the important campaign of 1862.

When overtaken by unexpected calamity, African tribes destroy the idol previously worshiped, and, with much noise, seek some new "fetich," in which they can incarnate their vanities and hopes. Stunned by the rout of Manassas, the North pulled down a great old veteran, Scott, and his lieutenant, McDowell, and set up McClellan, who caught the public eye at the moment by reason of some minor successes in Western Virginia, where the Confederate commander, General Robert Garnett, a promising officer, was killed. It is but fair to admit that the South had not emulated the wisdom of Solomon nor the modesty of Godolphin. The capture of Fort Sumter, with its garrison of fifty-six men, was hardly Austerlitz, yet it would put the grandiloquent *hidalgos* of Spain on their mettle to make more clatter over the downfall of the Cross of St. George from Gib-

raltar. McClellan was "the young Napoleon"—the very god of war, in his latest avatar. While this was absurd, and in the end injurious to McClellan, it was a service to his Government, for it strengthened his loins to the task before him—a task demanding the highest order of ability, and requiring the influence of a demigod. A great war was to be carried on, and a great army, the most complex of machines, was necessary. The cardinal principles on which the art of war is based are few and unchangeable—resembling in this the code of morality; but their application varies as the theatre of the war, the genius and temper of the people engaged, and the kind of arms employed. The United States had never possessed a great army. The entire force engaged in the war against Mexico would scarcely have made a respectable *corps d'armée*, and, to study the organization of great armies and campaigns, a recurrence to the "Napoleonic era" was necessary. The governments of Europe had, for a half-century, been engaged in improving armaments, and changing the tactical unit of formation and manœuvre to correspond to such improvement. The Italian campaign of the third Napoleon established some advance in field-artillery, but the supreme importance of "breech-loaders" was not admitted until "Sadowa," in 1866. All this must be considered in determining the value of McClellan's work. Taking the raw material intrusted to him, he converted it into a great military machine, complete in all its parts, fitted for its intended purpose. Moreover, he resisted the natural impatience of his Government and people, and the follies of politicians and newspapers, and for months refused to put his machine at work before all its delicate adjustments were perfected. Thus, much to its own despite, the North obtained armies and the foundation of success. The correctness of the system adopted by McClellan proved equal to all emergencies, and remained unchanged until the close of the war. Disappointed in his hands, and suffering painful defeats in those of his immediate successors, the "Army of the Potomac," always recovered, showed itself a vital organism, and finally triumphed. McClellan organized victory for his section, and those who deem the preservation of the "Union" the first of earthly duties, and, judging from their readiness to violate the "commandments," of heavenly also, should not cease to do him reverence. I have here

spoken of McClellan not as a leader, but as an organizer, of armies; as such he deserves to rank with the Von Moltkes, Scharnhorsts, and Louvois, of the Old World. The constant struggle against the fatal interference of politicians with his military plans and duties separated McClellan from the civil department of his Government, and led him to adopt a policy of his own. The military road to Richmond, and the only one, as events proved, was by the Peninsula and the James River, and it was his duty so to advise. He insisted, and had his way, but not for long. A little of that selfishness, which serves lower intelligences as an instinct of self-preservation, would have shown him that his most dangerous enemies were not in his front. The Administration at Washington had to deal with a people blind with rage, an ignorant and meddlesome Congress, and a wolfish horde of place-hunters. A sudden dash of the Confederates on the capital might change the attitude of foreign powers. These political considerations weighed heavily at the seat of government, but were of small moment to the military commander. In a conflict between civil policy and military strategy, the latter must yield. The jealousy manifested by the Venetian and Dutch Republics toward their commanders has often been criticised; but it should be remembered that they kept the military in strict subjection to the civil power, and, when they were overthrown, it was by foreign invasion, not by military usurpation. Their annals afford no example of the declaration by their generals that the special purpose of republican armies is to preserve civil order and enforce civil law.

After the battle of Chickamauga, in 1863, General Grant was promoted to the command of the armies of the United States, and called to Washington. In a conference at the war-office between him, President Lincoln, and Secretary Stanton, the approaching campaign in Virginia was discussed. Grant said the advance on Richmond should be made by the James River. It was replied that the Government required the interposition of an army between Lee and Washington, and would not consent, at that late day, to the adoption of a plan that would be taken by the public as a confession of previous error. Grant observed he was indifferent as to routes, but if the Government preferred its own—so often tried—to the one he suggested, it

must be prepared for the additional loss of a hundred thousand men. The men were promised, Grant accepted the governmental plan of campaign, and was supported to the end. The above came to me well authenticated, and I have no doubt of its correctness. During his operations in the Peninsula and near Richmond, General McClellan complained much of the want of support. I think the constancy with which President Lincoln adhered to him was, under the circumstances, surprising. He had drifted away from the dominant Washington sentiment, and alienated the sympathies of his Government. His fall was inevitable—the affections of the army but hastened it. Even victory could not save him. He fell into the habit of saying, "My army," "My soldiers." Such phraseology may be used by a Frederick or a Napoleon—sovereigns as well as generals—but officers command the armies of their governments. General McClellan is an upright, patriotic man, incapable of wrongdoing. He has a high standard of morality, and lives closer to it than most men do to a lower one; but it is to be remembered that the examples of the good are temptations and opportunities to the unscrupulous. The habit of thought underlying such language, or soon engendered by its use, has made Mexico and the South American republics the wonder and scorn of civilization. The foregoing account of McClellan's fall, and the causes thereof, is deemed pertinent, because he was the central figure in the Northern field, and laid the foundation of Northern success. Above all, he, and a gallant band of officers supporting him, impressed a generous, chivalric spirit on the conduct of the war, which soon faded away after his downfall; and the future historian, in recounting some later operations, will doubt if he is dealing with campaigns of generals or expeditions of brigands. I have now reached a point at which the great campaign of 1862 opens to view, and a continuation of my "reminiscences" will tell the story of my connection with it.

RICHARD TAYLOR.

VII.

THE ORIGIN OF THE ITALIAN LANGUAGE.

The question as to the origin of the Italian language has been much discussed by many learned philologists, among whom there has been a considerable conflict of opinion. Some have insisted that modern Italian is a corruption of the ancient Latin effected by the so-called barbarians by whom Rome was overrun. Among those who have most ably sustained this view may be mentioned Tiraboschi, Muratori, Raynouard, Castelvetro, and since them the eminent philologist Max Müller, who, to state his opinion in his own words, holds that "the people in whose minds and mouths these modern dialects" (of the Romance languages) "grew up were not all Romans or Roman provincials, but tribes thinking in German and trying to express themselves in Latin." Others, again, among whom may be cited Maffei and M. Fauriel, have maintained that the change of Latin into Italian was effected by the gradual influence of the various dialects of the provinces into which Latin was introduced by conquest—an influence not essentially northern, but rather southern in its character. Mr. Müller, however, though he does not exclude this Romance influence, subordinates it entirely to that of the Germanic languages. M. Littré takes an intermediate view in his "Lectures on the Science of Language" (second series, pp. 275, 276, note). Mr. Müller, however, in commenting on a criticism by M. Littré (*Journal des Savants*, April, 1856. "Histoire de la langue Française," vol. i., p. 94), adopts the following words of his critic as expressing perfectly his own view of the subject: "A mon tour venant par la série de ces études, à m'occuper du débat ouvert, j'y prend une position intermédiaire,

pensant que, essentiellement, c'est la tradition latine qui domine dans les langues romaines, mais que l'invasion germanique leur a porté un rude coup, et que de ce conflit où ils ont failli succomber, et avec elles la civilisation, il leur est resté des cicatrices encore apparentes et qui sont, à un certain point de vue ces nuances germaniques signalées par Max Müller." The difference between them would, therefore, seem to be that M. Littré attributes the main influence in the formation of the Italian language to the provincial dialects, while Mr. Müller, admitting this influence, subordinates it to that of the Germanic tongues.

A third view has been taken and strenuously argued by Cesare Cantù. He holds, and in this he is supported by Aretino,* Cardinal Bembo,† Diez, and Fuchs, that "modern Italian is the ancient Latin vernacular, or *lingua rustica*, not changed essentially, but simply modified by time and accident, so that the law of continuity established in physics by Leibnitz has been verified in this language—that no solution of continuity was produced by sudden revolutions, but that successive evolutions reduced the spoken Latin to the modern dialect—evolutions conformable to the usual methods by which the human spirit creates, wears out, and transforms speech, and, therefore, in conformity with the organic processes and developments of other languages."

Cesare Cantù had originally put forth these views in an elaborate note in the appendix to his "Storia degli Italiani," when, in 1869, the Academia Pontoniana, of Naples, proposed as a theme for a prize essay the solution of the following questions: "What credit are we to allow to the proposition that Italian is only a corruption of Latin? The essential differences of the two languages—admitting that Italian is a degenerate Latin, how was this transformation effected? Finally, What is to be said of the opinion that Italian was spoken in Rome even while Latin was a living language. Having examined these questions, establish the true sources of the Italian language, declare whether it is the exclusive patrimony of a single province of the Peninsula, or how far the other provinces, especially those of the south, may claim to possess it."

To this Cantù responded by a still more careful and elab-

* *L.* 6, ep. 10.

† "Storia della Poesia," t. i., p. 41.

orate essay, to which the prize was formally adjudged. It is certainly an able paper, which is well worthy of deep consideration, though it leaves much to be desired. In an essay which of necessity was limited in extent, it was impossible thoroughly to investigate a question of this kind; but as far as he goes he has shown acumen and ability, and it is impossible not to be struck with the force of his reasoning.

Sir George Cornwall Lewis denounces as "absurd" the "fancy that the Romance or the Italian existed as the language of the lower orders of ancient Italy, in a shape little different from that which they bore in the thirteenth century," and declares that "there is no evidence whatever for the opinion that the Romana rustica or vulgaris was a language distinct in its forms or roots from the Latin, and spoken by the lower class or the peasants of Italy, still less is there any proof that this language was the base of the Italian." This proposition, however, is precisely that which Cantù undertakes to maintain, and, whatever one may think of his conclusions, he clearly shows that this "fancy" is neither "absurd" nor without evidence. Of course, in a question of this kind, even if we assume the fact that a lingua rustica differing from the written Latin really existed, it would be very difficult to accumulate a sufficiently large number of instances from Latin authors clearly to prove it. The literature was all in Latin, and it is only here and there that a fragment drawn from the common utterance of the people could be expected to be found. There can be no doubt, however, that there was a variety of languages differing from each other more or less vitally, which were spoken in the various provinces in Italy, some of them quite unintelligible even then to a pure Latin.

> "Sermonem Ausonii patrium moresque tenebunt,
> Utque est nomen erit,"

says Virgil. Do these languages ever find a place in the written literature of Rome? Would it be possible to prove their character and nature from that literature? How, then, can it be absurd to suppose that there was a lingua rustica differing from literary Latin, and used by the common people of at least some districts. Whether this language really existed or not, or whether it was the parent of the modern Italian, are different questions;

but it can scarcely be said that it is absurd to assert the possibility or even probability of its existence.

What do we know of the Etruscan language, what of the Umbrian? Of the Eugubine Tables, discovered in 1444, the two largest are engraved in Latin characters, as well as eleven lines of a third. We suppose these to be in the Umbrian language, but even this is all pure supposition. Many of the words of these inscriptions have a resemblance to Latin words. Yet the most accomplished philologists differ as to their proper interpretation. There can be no doubt that the Oscan also was largely spoken in the southern districts of Italy in the time of Ennius, of whom Aulus Gellius says, "Tria corda habere sese dicebat quod loqui graece, osce, et latire sciret." On the few inscriptions that remain, there are elements of Latin extraneous from the Greek, with inflections and final syllables differing from the Latin, when the word was undoubtedly the same. Here was a language proximate in character to Latin, and existing as a spoken language, of which in the Latin literature we should almost vainly seek a record of more than a few words. Would it, then, be absurd to fancy that such a language existed? Strabo, writing in the age of Tiberius, says: "Though the Oscans have perished as a people, their speech still exists among the Romans, so that on the stage certain songs and comedies are still represented as by ancient custom." But of these there are no traces, or but feeble ones, still remaining.

It is clear that the Umbrians, Sabines, and Volscians, also had a language of their own, more or less differing from Latin. Indeed, in all the provinces of Italy, there then existed as there still exist various dialects, and even Livy was reproached for his patavinity, that is, for using phrases or words of his native dialect when writing in Latin. Quintilian says, "Taceo de Tuscis Sabinis et Prænestinis quoque—nam et eo sermone utentem Vectium Lucilius insectatur, quemadmodum Pollis deprehendit in Livio Patavinitatem;" and Aulus Gellius relates that some one having used the words *apluda* and *floces*, the by-standers laughed, "quasi nescio quid Tusce aut Gallice dixisset."

Of the special characteristics of these languages we have but few and imperfect indications; of Terentius Varro's book "De Lingua Latina," the fifth and sixth books alone have come

down to us. But, if we may judge from those which still exist, it is little probable that the missing books, should they ever be recovered, would throw much light on the subject. The extraordinary derivations of words given by Varro inspire us with little confidence in his ability as a philologist. The study of language was then in its infancy. Varro was one of the first who wrote upon this subject, and his philology would certainly not recommend itself to students of the present day. Thus, for instance, he derives lectus and legume from legere, to collect, because vegetables were *collected* in the fields, and beds were made of straw, also *collected*. Venus he derives from venire—Capra from Capere—Foenus from Foetus, because money gives birth to money by interest.

Nor were Isodorus, Cato, Pliny, Festus, Ulpian, Servius, or even Cicero, much more advanced as philologists. A faint resemblance between two words sufficed to their minds to indicate that the one was the root of the other; and the most far-fetched analogies are gravely propounded in their writings as quite satisfactory. Thus Cicero derives "Lex, legis," from "legere," to read, because the laws were read. Servius derives "liber," a book, "a liberate cortice," because the first writings were probably on bark. Isodorus derives "carmen," "a carere mente," because song was a species of insanity. Pliny says that "vello" comes from vellere, because the fleece was stripped from the sheep. In a word, not to multiply examples, these will suffice to gauge the philological discrimination exhibited by the most accomplished Latin authors. Outside of their own language they seem never to have looked for the roots of any of their words, and Sanskrit was "all Greek" to them.

Cantù has collected a large number of words used by the people in familiar discourse, which were reproved by the best writers, many of which still remain in the Italian, having taken the place of the ancient literary word. To cite a few among many instances, even in the very flower of Latin literature where the classics wrote equus, hyems, esse, minæ, percutere, domus, caput, pulcher, the common people used the words which have taken their place in Italian, viz., caballus, vernus, essere, minaccia, battuere, casa, testa (for head), bellus. Catullus uses bellus and russus for pulcher, rubeus; Horace gives us Cabal-

lus for horse, Apuleius casa for house, Ausonius, testa for caput. Servius says that the common people said letamen for fimus, and Aulus Gellius that they used nano for pumilio, as they still do in Italy. In like manner hirudo became in the mouth of the people, sanguisuga, verres, majale, novaculæ, rasores, filii, pisinni (or piccini, Ital.), affines, parentes, et al. Pliny gives us ruvido; Cato, fracidus; Palladius, cribellare; Apuleius, minare: and to these may be added, among others, stropa, ritornare, granarium, scopare, jubilare, carruca, morsicare, auca (oca), cloppus (zoppo), mordere, jornus, tonus (giorno and tuono), grandire. Quintilian also condemns the adjective possibilis as improper, and admits that due, tre, cinque, and quatiordice, were in common use.

It is plain that, even at the best period of Rome, the language of literature did not exactly represent the language of the people. It was, to say the least, what Johnsonese was to familiar English in the past century. Rome was a centre to which the world flowed. Quintilian distinguishes words into latine et peregrine, the last of which came, as he says, from almost every kind of people (Inst. orat. 1, 9), and omnibus prope dexerim gentibus, and as examples he cites rheda and petoritum as being derived from the Gauls, *mappa* from the Carthaginians, *gardos* from the Spaniards. Seneca says, "That which we now call breviarium formerly when Latin was spoken '*olim cum latine loqueretur*' (a most pregnant statement), was called summarium" (Ep. 39); and in another place complains that many words had fallen into disuse, as, for instance, asilo, which was now called tabanum, as by Pliny (Nat. Hist., II., 28, 34). Aulus Gellius also makes the same complaint, and adds that what are called barbarisms are in part the expressions of the common people (xiii., 6, 27).

In the "Golden Ass" of Apuleius, a soldier demands of a gardener, "Quorsum vacuum duceret asinum?" The gardener does not understand him. The question is too Latin in its form, and he changes it to this: "Ubi ducis asinum istum?" whereupon the gardener understands, and replies.

Against the theory of Mr. Max Müller, that the Italian language is a corruption of the Latin affected by the Germanic tribes thinking in German and striving to express themselves in Latin, Cantù objects—1. That the Germans were few in number

as compared with the Italians, for otherwise their native land would have been depopulated, and, instead of acquiring with difficulty a foreign language, they would have introduced their own language. 2. That, admitting the introduction of a few new words, and the impoverishment of grammatical forms, the mediæval Latin resembles the ancient Latin in its vocabulary and in its construction, while it greatly differs from the German. 3. That the resemblance increases as we go backward, while the contrary would be the fact had the invaders introduced their own dialect. 4. In Italian the accent of the Latin is retained. The German rule, giving the accent to the root in compound and derivative words, does not exist, and this would have been the case if the German had essentially modified the Latin.

It may be added that, judging from history, it would scarcely be too much to say that no amount of known emigration has ever been sufficient to eradicate a language, or even to destroy its grammatical anatomy. The language of a people is too deeply rooted in all its habits of thought and life to be driven out by conquerors and invaders. Modifications it undoubtedly effects, but they are for the most part superficial. Each country digests its conquerors and changes their language into its own. The invasion of England by the Normans, with all their power and numbers, while it enriched the vocabulary of the English, did not vitally change the structure of their language. To this very day the Welsh speak their own language, and Gaelic and Irish still exist, completely separated from English. The two streams run along together, side by side, but they scarcely mingle. The enormous emigration of Germans in America has failed to produce more than the most trivial influence on the English speech. One of two results always takes place: either the language of the invaders supplants that of the people invaded, or directly the contrary. They would not mix and make a new composite, except under the most extraordinary circumstances. Language is like a living tree, which grows and develops new forms; but it does not change its vital structure and character. The invasion of the Germans into Italy was not so overwhelming in numbers as to lend any probability to the theory that they changed the structure of Latin, and created a new language. It is far more probable that they themselves

were amalgamated and subdued to the tongue of the people by whom they were surrounded. Besides, a fact noticed by Cantù would seem by itself to dispose of this question as a matter of fact. "Venetia," he says, "was never invaded by barbarians—Verona by all. Still their dialects have far more resemblance to each other than the Veronese has to the neighboring Brescian, the Brescian to that of Bergamo, or the Bergamasco to that of the Milanese, all of which territories are barely separated by small streams. So, also, only a river-course or a mountain-ridge separates two languages so very different as Tuscan and Bolognese." How happens it, then, that Venetia, which never was invaded, should retain a dialect so close to that of Verona, which was overrun by invaders? Plainly because each retained its old dialect, despite its invaders. What is this dialect, which could scarcely, under such circumstances, have been completely modified and corrupted by the Germans, since they could not have exercised an immediate pressure upon it? It is essentially Italian, and its differences from the other dialects are as nothing compared with its differences from all foreign languages. What also is singular is, that the Roman dialect is, of all the Italian dialects, the nearest to the ancient Latin, while, if the theory of Mr. Max Müller be correct, it should be the most removed, and the most influenced by the German.

Another view which would seem to militate against any such theory is that, through all the period of the middle ages, Latin continued to be the literary language, not only of Italy, but of all the world. Official acts were written and published in Latin. The church-services were in Latin. Latin was the cosmopolitan language of all nations.

When, then, did Italian first begin to be written? This it would seem to be impossible to answer with any exactness. For the most part, during the first thousand years of our era, besides literary writings, only formal acts, deeds, and documents, remain, which are generally in a sort of hybrid Latin, mixed with phrases and words of pure Italian. As learning decayed, and education diminished, more and more phrases and forms, purely Italian, are found in these documents, showing plainly that the spoken language was not that which was employed in writing. As early, however, as the eighth century, the Italian dialect clearly ap-

pears. In a Lucca document of 761, found in the archives of Lucca, and relating to the disposition of certain property, he read, "Alpergula di Lamari, Gunderula qui est in casa Baronacci *cum* due filie sue—Teodulo di Monacciatico consul, di Serbano—uno filio ed una filia nomine Vislinda, Rapurtula di Tramonte, Gaudoperto pristinario, Liutperto vestiario, Mauripostolo caballario, Martinulo clerico, Gudaldo cuocho, Barulo porcario, Ratcausolo vaccario, etc." In the year 1063 (this at least is the date attributed by Pardessus) is a document relating to the laws and usages of the sea, which is in clear Italian, showing that the language was already an established one. And San Francisco d'Assisi, who was born in 1184, has left us a Cantico del Sole, also written in pure Italian. From this time forward various compositions in Italian appear; and, finally, in the fourteenth century, the great Italians bravely wrote in their own spoken language.

It would, therefore, seem to be clear, on the one hand, that Latin was in Rome the language of learned men, and of the educated classes, down to the invasion of the barbarians, by whom it has been supposed to be corrupted; and, on the other hand, there is clear evidence that Italian was written as early as 761. The fact of its having been written then seems distinctly to prove that it had at least existed for some time as a spoken language. Is it possible to believe that in the short space of two centuries it had developed out of the Latin, and assumed its present, or nearly its present, shape? Is it not far more probable that it was an affiliation or modification of the lingua rustica—the common speech of the people of ancient Rome, or of some of its provinces—represented in writing according to the vulgar pronunciation?

The supposed overwhelming influence upon the Latin language, attributed to the Germanic nations, by which Italy was overrun, cannot, after all, date further back than the beginning of the fifth century, when Attila attacked Rome. But, according to the accounts we have, he only commanded some one hundred thousand men, who would have had little influence on the enormous population of the Roman Empire, even had they remained there. But they did not; they withdrew to their own domains, and left the country to govern itself. There can be no doubt that as late as the age of Honorius, Rome was powerful, populous, and wealthy. The games were still continued in the amphi-

theatres. The Colosseum was perfect, and in the Circus Maximus hundreds of thousands of spectators gathered together to see the chariot-races. Ammiamus Marcellus has left us a vivid description of the extraordinary luxury and lavish expenditure of these later days of the empire, showing clearly how little influence had then been exerted by the barbarians on the character of Rome. Other influences were far more powerful, and it is to them rather than to the barbarians that we should attribute whatever changes took place in the language. Foremost of these was Christianity, which, as soon as it was firmly established, exercised its power to degrade learning and the arts. The cultivation of pagan literature was not only frowned upon by the Church, but directly prohibited in many cases. The fourth Council of Carthage, in 398, prohibited even the reading of secular books by bishops, and Justin asserts that in the General Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon many of the bishops could not even write their names. If this were the case in the Church, where learning is supposed to have found its refuge in the general illiterateness of the Roman world, what must have been the case among the people? Many of the fathers were indeed accomplished and learned men; but they were exceptions to the general rule, and, enlightened as they were in some matters, they reprobated the reading of secular books. Even so distinguished a man as Jerome expressly condemns the study of them except for pious ends. Their learning was chiefly confined to theology. Still more illiterate than the Romans were the Germans, and Theodoric, the Ostrogoth king of Italy, could not even write his name. It is quite unnecessary to suppose that the corruption of the language proceeded from the barbarians. The total ignorance of the Romans themselves of literature amply accounts for it. As the study of the classic writers was abandoned or prohibited, the people only knew their common daily speech; and, as is usually the case, the bones of the language gradually were weakened, inflections were altered, conjugations were lost, consonants dropped out, elisions and transpositions took place of letters, mispronunciations occurred—and gradually the language was modified and simplified in its lexical forms, though not vitally changed. Even supposing only those natural changes which would necessarily occur among a people who neither read nor

wrote, to continue for centuries, and then the language to be re-written according to its pronunciation, we should not expect any other result than what is to be found in Italy. So far from the barbarians, whether Germans or others, imposing their language on the Romans, Rome, says Augustine, imposed her language upon them; at least this must have been the case within the limits of the Roman Empire, or, at all events, in its centre. Nay, the literary language on the revival of learning continued to be Latin; and the Church, through all the darkest ages, continued to employ it exclusively, in its ceremonials as well as in its writings.

The extraordinary fact is that, though the Italian language in its present form does not appear in any documents of which we have cognizance before the eighth century, and then only fragmentarily, yet suddenly, on the revival of letters, it bursts forth complete, and almost perfect, without going through gradual changes which can be clearly traced. Surely this indicates that it had long existed in the common speech of the people. If it appears as a finished language in literature in general respects by the twelfth century, in a form which for six hundred years has scarcely altered, it is not to be supposed that it then suddenly sprang out of the earth, but that it had long existed as a language. Even then, when it first appears in its present form, Latin continued still to be used in all documents and in literature; and when Dante broke from its fetters to write his great poem in the common tongue, he was guilty of a violent literary innovation. Nor without hesitation and long consideration did he decide upon this course. He at first contemplated writing his "Commedia" in Latin, and only after repeated trials finally decided upon the vulgar tongue. Petrarca had less courage, and wrote his great poem, "Africa," by which he thought to immortalize himself, in Latin; whereas, in fact, he is only known at the present day by his poems in the language of the people.

We have, then, only an interval of two centuries between the breaking up of the Roman Empire and the appearance of the Italian language. The language that had been spoken in the time of Augustus continued to Julian, who was an accomplished scholar and devoted to literature. We have no indications that it did not continue in nearly the same form down, at least, to the

time of Justinian. Claudian flourished as late as the beginning of the fifth century. Boethius died in A. D. 529, and the "Institutes" of Justinian required to be written in Latin, in order to be intelligible to Rome. It is clear, then, that down to his death, in 565, but little change had taken place in the language. Nor is there any good reason to suppose that this condition of things did not long continue. As early as the eighth century, as we have seen, Italian appears in private documents, and in the epitaph of Pope Gregory V., who died in 999, we see that there were three forms of speech recognized and distinguished from each other: the Frankish, the vulgar (lingua rustica, Italian), and the Latin:

"Usus Francisca vulgari et voce Latina
Instituit populos eloquio triplici."

As early as the sixth century, Gregory the Great says: "I am at no pains to avoid barbarous confusions; I do not condescend to observe the place and force of propositions and inflections. My indignation is stirred by the notion of bending the words of the heavenly oracle under the rule of Donatus." All the Christian writers had the same practice more or less. Basil affected rudeness. Jerome says: "Once for all, I know *cubitum* to be neuter; but the *people* make it masculine, and so do I." And Augustine declares, "We are not afraid of the grammarians' rod." Does not this, at least, tend to show that the language of the people did not conform to the strict grammatical forms of literary Latin?

In the Ambrosian Library is to be found a parchment of the eighth century, on which is transcribed a part of the "Paschalis Carminis, Lib. 4, a versu 128 ad finen—tum Lib. V." This codex is specially interesting as probably having been written by a careless or ignorant amanuensis who spells as uneducated persons spell, according to sound. Such, at least, is the opinion of Peyron. Diphthongs are oddly written, *the final letters of cases omitted*, the conjugations of words disturbed—all resulting, as Peyron thinks, from the scribe's writing according to pronunciation. Among other words, majestas is written magestas, the *o* is constantly confounded with *u*, *e* with *i*, *d* with *t*, *c* with *qu*, *j* with *g*.*

The Neapolitan Gattola ("ad historiam Abatiae Cassinensis

* *See* edition of Sedulius, by Faustino Arevalo, Rome, 1794.

accessiones II. 68") publishes a document of the date of 960 A. D., when three witnesses answer thus: "Sao ho kelle tere e chelli, fini que ke contene trenta anni le possidette parte S. Benedicti," which is merely misspelled Italian, showing that the people then spoke it, though all books were written in Latin.

Muratori also cites a donation of certain lands of the date of 900, which is all in the Italian dialect. This was copied in 1354 by a notary, who declares that he transcribed it: "Di parola en parola come si contiene qui appresso." The only reason which can be given for discrediting the form of language in this document, is the supposition that the notary might possibly have translated it into Italian, but this is not only inconsistent with his direct declaration, but without reason or object at that time, when Latin was the common language of similar documents.

Pietro Martini publishes a codex transcribed in 1426–'50 from a parchment of the ninth century, in Sardinia, which in nearly all respects, save the plural termination in *s*, as in "ipsos infideles pro tanto annos" (the *s* being sometimes omitted and sometimes written), is Italian.

But even a century previous we have clear evidence that Italian was both spoken and written. In the first part of three letters of Torbeno Falliti (1385), which has been lately discovered, is transcribed a fragment of a letter of a bishop written in 740, which is to all intents and purposes Italian, with a mixture of Latin terminations in the plurals in *s*. If, as we shall have occasion to consider, the final *s* was in many cases not sounded, or but lightly, this would afford us an example of a half-educated man trying to write Latin, when he actually spoke Italian.

What, then, are the characteristics of the Italian language when it first makes its appearance in written documents? Is there any such peculiarity in its general construction, in its words and lexical forms, as to show that it was rooted in the Teutonic languages? Or does it rather bear clear marks of a Latin ancestry? Can there be any doubt on this subject? Here and there, undoubtedly, a word or phrase has been adopted from foreign sources, but these are few, and have been modified to southern forms and terminations. The grammar and construction are certainly not German, the vocabulary is Latin, and all the variations therefrom clearly indicate that its parentage is to be found

either in Latin or in the *lingua rustica* of the Latin people. It would seem to be an attempt by the uneducated and illiterate to write according to the common pronunciation, and the common forms of popular utterance. The elaborated forms of conjugation and declension existing in the written and literary Latin are sometimes rejected, and sometimes caught after, in the terminations of words, so as to give it a literary air; but ordinarily, even in the earliest Italian documents, a simpler and less elaborated language is manifest—and this, it is certainly not "absurd" to fancy, may have been the *lingua rustica* or *vulgaris* of the people.

We are thus led to a consideration of the probable pronunciation of the Latin language by the ancients, for this would plainly throw an important light upon the subject. This question has been much mooted of late, and will form the continuation of this paper in the next number of this Review.

W. W. Story.

VIII.

EPHESUS, CYPRUS, AND MYCENÆ.*

SIDE by side with the splendid achievements in physical science which distinguish our generation must be placed the results of archæological research. The two forms of labor are not necessarily connected or interdependent, yet they have been equally stimulated by a common experience in detecting possibilities of entrance—often slight and inconspicuous posterns, discoverable rather to the eye of faith than to that of knowledge—in barriers which once seemed hopelessly closed. It is not so very long since the complete or at least formless ruin of the great cities and edifices of antiquity was a generally-accepted belief: the phrase "not one stone shall be left upon another" was supposed to express a literal fact; the lost languages were given up as lost; and the unrecorded histories were never meant to be restored. Now scarcely a year passes without the discovery of some important historical landmark, and every new light of knowledge, illuminating the remote past of our race, reveals the dim outlines of a still remoter past behind it. As one climbing a long mountain-slope, we see farther backward in proportion as we rise.

The great age of archæological discovery began with Layard's

* "Discoveries at Ephesus, including the Site and Remains of the Great Temple of Diana." By J. T. Wood, F. S. A. 4to, pp. 475. James R. Osgood & Co.

"Cyprus: Its Ancient Cities, Tombs, and Temples. A Narrative of Researches and Excavations, during Ten Years' Residence in that Island." By General Louis Palma di Cesnola. Large 8vo, pp. 456. Harper & Brothers.

"Mycenæ: A Narrative of Researches and Discoveries at Mycenæ and Tiryns." By Dr. Henry Schliemann. Preface by the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M. P. 4to, pp. 384. Scribner, Armstrong & Co.

excavations on the site of Nineveh, and the researches of Sir Charles Fellowes in Caria and Lycia. Soon afterward M. Mariette, carrying a similar faith and enthusiasm to Egypt, found Memphis, and entered upon that long series of successes which has not yet come to an end. The race of explorers immediately begat a race of scholars: new Egyptologists appeared, and enforced their claims to honor and authority; Assyriologists for the first time came into being; and George Smith found history and religion on the dumb tablets exhumed by Layard. His own later researches at Nineveh; the excavations on the Palatine Hill, in Rome; Mariette's discovery of the statues of the Shepherd kings at Tanis; Schliemann in the Troad and at Mycenæ; Wood at Ephesus; Cesnola in Cyprus; and Curtius at Olympia —to say nothing of such minor research as that of the Austrian Government at Samothrace, Davis at Carthage, and Burton in the land of Midian—constitute a body of discovery of such vast importance and absorbing interest, that the civilized world seems scarcely yet fully to credit its possession. It is a skeptical age, and, when it sees so many men, who at first sight appear to be guided only by an intense, unreasoning belief in their object, actually finding what they sought, the natural tendency is to doubt and question and seek for antagonistic views. All the precious material so recently acquired must first be classified and relegated to its proper place in our ordered knowledge of the human past, before the world shall clearly recognize its importance. Its influence on the class of intelligent thinkers is already very perceptible.

Almost every one of the great discoveries I have enumerated has been due to faith in the trustworthiness of the ancient authorities. Since Herodotus and Ptolemy, so long suspected of having been fabulists, have been wholly rehabilitated as careful and conscientious guides, Strabo, Pliny, Pausanias—indeed all descriptive passages of classic authors—receive an authentic stamp, which they scarcely possessed before. But the belief, which instigated such labors and trials of patience as every explorer must undergo, was not a mere uninstructed enthusiasm. Mr. Wood believed that there had been a Temple of Diana at Ephesus, and hence that its remains were not past finding out; General di Cesnola believed that there had been stately temples

at Idalium, Golgos, Amathus, and Paphos; and Dr. Schliemann, in turning to prehistoric Mycenæ, depended far more upon the statement of Pausanias than upon the strophes of Æschylus. Although in the story of each there may seem to be an element of lucky accident, it will prove to be hardly more than the luck which, in the end, rewards persistent enthusiasm. There was a point in the labors of each when a doubting explorer would have stopped short, discouraged; and the triumph lay beyond that point. The narratives of the three last-named archæologists have appeared during the past year, and they form, in conjunction with Dr. Hirschfeld's report on the explorations at Olympia, such a contribution of recovered knowledge as should make the year forever memorable.

Beginning with Mr. Wood's first excavations at Ephesus, in 1863, and closing with Dr. Schliemann's discovery of the royal tombs at Mycenæ in November, 1876, the labors of the three gentlemen are included within a period of thirteen years. Their tasks were wholly distinct in character, and their methods of labor, therefore, had but a general resemblance. Mr. Wood's was the simplest, his one aim being to discover the Temple of Diana, the situation of which was indicated by nothing upon the present surface of the soil. Dr. Schliemann's was the easiest, since his explorations were fixed within circumscribed and rather contracted limits; and General di Cesnola's was, at the same time, the most arduous, and the most uncertain in its probable results.

I shall take the three in the order of their labors, and endeavor to detach, in each case, the clear and simple story from the somewhat irregular mixture of personal narrative, description of objects, and antiquarian conjectures, which we find in the volumes. By adding thereto a statement of results, with impartial reference to the character of the objects discovered, I may be able to furnish the reader with the necessary basis of fact, and qualify him to examine, with some degree of independence, the conflicting theories which seek to establish themselves thereon. The spoils of Cyprus and Mycenæ, as will be seen, are too new and unexpected to be readily disposed of, even by the most experienced scholars. In order to make room for them, the old adjustment of epochs in the art and general culture of the an-

cients must be very materially changed; and the archæologists are almost as unwilling to accept such changes as are the theologians. Least of all, have they the right to disparage the enthusiasm of the explorer, over-credulous though it be; for to that enthusiasm they owe the achievements recorded in these three works. There are not many book-scholars who would have labored at Ephesus for years, before grasping the clew which led Mr. Wood to the temple of Diana: still fewer would have dreamed of digging at Mycenæ, with the expectation of finding anything beyond the foundations of Cyclopean walls; and in 1862, more than three years before General di Cesnola reached Cyprus, the French archæologist, Count de Vogué, makes this report of his researches: "Quant à l'exploration extérieure de l'île, je puis le dire, elle a été aussi complète que possible; *rien d'apparent n'a été omis.*" It is, perhaps, not in human nature that a man of distinguished learning shall find that a favorite theory, upon which he has lavished years of thought, is jarred and in danger of being overthrown, without jealously defending it; yet it is curious to notice what immediate receptance any discovery obtains, which seems to establish a point in what is called sacred history, and how much doubt and discussion follow the evidences of a fact underlying some episode of the semi-mythical age of profane history.

In beginning his work at Ephesus, in May, 1863, Mr. Wood had several ancient authorities—the most important being Pliny, Strabo, Pausanias, and Philostratus—to guide him in his researches. They coincided in stating that the temple was built on low, marshy soil, and the last two clearly indicated, in their accounts, that a road led from it to the Magnesian Gate of Ephesus. But Mr. Wood, trusting to a statement of Philostratus that Damianus, a rich Roman, had connected the temple with the city by a *stoa*, or covered portico, one stadium (600 feet) in length, was misled by a ridge of soil on the seaward side of the city, and sought for the temple at that distance. His agreement with the British Museum to excavate both the Odeum and the Great Theatre probably prevented him from wasting much time and money in fruitless labor; and it was the means, finally, of guiding him to the true locality. After working three years with unimportant results, he confined his work to the Great

Theatre, which was one of the largest in Asia Minor, 495 feet in diameter, and capable of seating 24,500 persons. At the eastern entrance he came upon a series of sculptured decrees, relating to an endowment of the temple by C. Vibius Salutarius, a wealthy Roman, about the year A. D. 104. The gold and silver statues of the goddess were ordered to be carried from the temple to the theatre by the priests, who were to be met at the Magnesian Gate by the *ephebi*, or young men of the city, and afterward to be escorted by the same, on their return, as far as the Coressian Gate.

By the close of the year 1867, Mr. Wood succeeded in discovering both the gates, probably (he gives us no details) by examining the remains of the ancient city-wall, which was seven miles in circuit, ten feet in thickness, and studded with massive square towers, one hundred feet apart. Having cleared a wide space in front of the Magnesian Gate down to the ancient pavement, he found a bifurcation of the roads, one, with slight marks of travel, turning off in the direction of the ruins of Magnesia, while the other, worn into deep ruts by the wheels of chariots, diverged northward, following the foot of Mount Coressus toward the Coressian Gate. The latter road was thirty-five feet in width, and paved with immense blocks of marble and limestone; there could be no doubt that it was the ancient way to the temple. Its grade descended at first, which corresponded with old accounts; and, finally, after pushing the excavation 500 yards from the gate, the stone piers of the *stoa* of Damianus, mentioned by Philostratus, made their appearance.

This discovery, fortunately, overcame the skepticism of the trustees of the British Museum, who were on the point of discontinuing the small allowances they had made. A larger sum was granted, and the work was vigorously pushed forward. The "stadium" of Philostratus, however, lengthened into several stadia, and still there was no trace of the temple. Turning to Pausanias, Mr. Wood remarked that he speaks of the sepulchre of Androclus, on the way from the temple to the Magnesian Gate, and in February, 1869, at a distance of half a mile from the latter point, the explorer came upon a plinth of white-marble blocks, forty-two feet square, with several courses of masonry upon it. He pressed onward impatiently, sinking pits in advance, and thus

following the road without wholly excavating it, finding sarcophagi of sculptured marble and many other remains which indicated beyond question that this was the *via sacra* of Ephesus. His funds were nearly exhausted, the season was closing, and the ancient road led directly toward the modern Turkish village of Ayasalouk, where digging would be attended with great difficulties. The prize seemed to vanish as he was on the point of grasping it; but one last experiment suggested itself to his mind. Following the direction of the ancient road with his eye, he determined to dig a trench at a point half a mile farther on, where there were some old olive-trees and modern boundary-walls. In a few days the workmen struck upon a thick wall, built of large blocks of stone and marble. A second trench, located by a fortunate conjecture, revealed an angle of this wall, near which were inserted two large blocks, with duplicate inscriptions in Latin and Greek, of the time of Augustus, and showing clearly that Mr. Wood had discovered the *peribolus*, or wall of inclosure of the sacred precinct of the temple. Thus the final success was assured in May, 1869, just six years from the beginning of the work.

The last remittance received from England was accompanied by the declaration that it would veritably be the last unless something important should be discovered; but now a generous appropriation was made, and work was resumed as usual in the autumn. How narrowly Mr. Wood had escaped failure was evident when further research showed that he had struck the *peribolus* at its extreme southern angle, not suspecting the curve of the ancient road to the northward. The inclosure, in fact, was so spacious that, on the side next to the village of Ayasalouk, it is fully half a mile in length. After tracing the wall for 1,600 feet, therefore, Mr. Wood adopted the plan of sinking a great number of experimental holes, in the hope of striking the site of the temple. He discovered a great deal of Roman architecture, the houses of the priests, mosaic pavements, and pieces of sculpture, of slight artistic value. On the last day of the year 1869, one of the workmen came upon a massive pavement of white marble at a depth of nearly twenty feet below the surface. An examination the next morning proved that the masonry was Greek, and Diana of the Ephesians gave her sanctuary

as a New-Year's offering to the persistent faith of the English explorer. The work during the remainder of the season yielded only two fragments of sculptured drums of columns (not then recognized as such), and the foundation-pier of one of the columns of the peristyle.

On December 1, 1870, the character of the discovery was indisputably settled. The base of a column was found *in situ*, together with the plinth of another column, which belonged to one of the more ancient temples on the same site. The latter, built about 500 B. C., was probably that burned by Erostratus (356 B. C.), which was replaced by the probably far more imposing structure of the architect Deinocrates. Mr. Wood satisfied himself that there have been *three* different temples on the spot, substantially upon the same foundations, but of varying architectural design. During the winter he was able to ascertain the direction of the lines of the structure, with the intercolumnar spaces, and thereby to calculate both the amount of the necessary excavation and the proper disposition of the *débris*.

It was worth much labor to ascertain the exact site of an edifice so renowned in classic and early Christian times; but it was a great achievement to recover architectural fragments sufficient for the reconstruction of the plan of the temple, as it stood up to the time of its ruin by the Goths about the year 262 A. D. Mr. Wood has thoroughly verified the ancient accounts of its imposing character. It stood upon a platform of masonry, measuring 418 by 239 feet, with a height of nine and a half feet, scaled by fourteen steps. The temple itself was 342½ by nearly 164 feet in dimensions, octastyle, having eight columns in front, and dipteral, having a double row of columns surrounding the cella. These columns were, exactly as Pliny describes them, one hundred in number, twenty-seven of which were the gifts of kings. They were six feet in diameter at the base, and, according to the proportions of the improved Ionic order, must have been about fifty-six feet in height. Pliny states that thirty-six of these columns were *celatæ*, or sculptured, and the double row of eight at each end, with the two included within the projections of the cella, would give precisely that number. The entire height of the temple, from the base to the apex of the pediment, must have been between eighty-five and ninety

feet. The cella of the temple was nearly seventy feet wide, and the central portion of it appears to have been *hypæthral*, or open to the sky. Mr. Wood discovered the place of the altar, behind which undoubtedly stood that statue of the many-breasted Artemis a copy of which (as is evident from coins and medals) was found in the villa of Hadrian, and is now in the Museum of the Vatican. An architectural imagination may easily rebuild the entire structure, and set its phantom splendor on the exhumed foundation.

No theory has been changed, nor any new question raised, by Mr. Wood's success. He has worked upon purely historical ground, and the ancient authorities are his best witnesses. No one has disputed the solid marble evidence which he has brought to light; and the main lesson to be drawn from his labor is that complete destruction is a more difficult task than has heretofore been supposed—that the simple processes of Nature almost invariably hide some fragment of that which war or fanaticism would annihilate, and protect it for the believing explorer who may come two or three thousand years afterward. The only possible contribution to a more ancient period of art which Mr. Wood may have furnished is found in some fragments of sculpture, which Mr. Newton considers archaic, excavated near the lowest step of the temple. Their resemblance to some of the objects found by General di Cesnola in Cyprus is noticed by the distinguished archæologist, but a more careful examination and comparison are necessary before their character can be approximately determined.

General di Cesnola, who fought gallantly for the Union during our civil war, and was appointed consul to Cyprus during the last days of President Lincoln's life, reached his post at Larnaca, the ancient Citium, on Christmas-day, 1865. His first attempts at research were of an amateur character, in the immediate neighborhood of the place, and only gradually became earnest and laborious, through the stimulus given by an occasional discovery, such as the site of a small temple to Demeter Paralia, a large Phœnician sarcophagus of white marble, and some terra-cotta vases and statuettes, showing a singular mixture of Egyptian, Assyrian, and Greek designs. In fact, a great part of his later success must be attributed to the circumstance of his

long residence upon the island, as contrasted with the hasty and superficial examinations of M. de Vogué. The archæologist must needs learn his trade, like any other craftsman; his eye can only be gradually trained to detect the peculiarities of locality, surface, and soil, without consulting which his labor is mere guess-work. Nevertheless, General di Cesnola's first great discovery was partly due to his having selected Dali, the ancient Idalium, as a summer residence for his family. The village is about fifteen miles from Larnaca, among the hills bordering the great central valley of the island, between its two parallel mountain-chains. Living quietly there, in a little country-house, and making acquaintance with the native inhabitants, he was able to survey the ground deliberately, and fix upon the probable site of the ancient necropolis. He then obtained the necessary firman from the Porte, leased the ground on satisfactory conditions, went systematically to work, and in the course of three or four years explored no less than 15,000 tombs.*

The site of Golgos, a few miles east of Idalium, was the scene of General di Cesnola's next great triumph. He had made a slight preliminary examination there in the summer of 1867, finding nothing but the foundations of some stone dwellings. Repeating the attempt early in 1870, he was rewarded by the

* The remains which came piecemeal to light were of the most interesting character. Many of the tombs, having been simply excavated in the earth, had fallen in, and quite destroyed their contents; others had evidently been despoiled many centuries ago; but a very large number still remained intact, and were filled with fine earth, which had percolated through the porous soil. The vases and other mortuary objects were thus preserved in all their freshness, and came forth to the light of day with no color faded, not even a knife-scratch eroded. At first, the objects found were all of the early Phœnician period; then, quite unexpectedly, a later Greek necropolis made its appearance above the former, the tombs yielding the rarest treasures of iridescent glass, gold ear-rings, bracelets and thin diadems, and terra-cotta lamps. The Phœnician tombs, farther under these, were in much better preservation; human bones, and even perfect skulls, were found in them, together with weapons, bowls, and ornaments of copper and bronze. In a great collection which Cesnola thus acquired, there are curious vases in the form of animals, among which the cow's-head, upon which Dr. Schliemann lays so much stress at Mycenæ, occurs very frequently. No statue, or indication of a temple, was discovered; but the pottery proved to be richer in historic suggestion than any architecture. The most of it was thoroughly archaic in form as well as ornamentation, the latter generally showing an undoubted Assyrian character, while some objects were wholly Egyptian. Thus is opened a special field of research, abounding in questions which will not easily be settled.

discovery of that most interesting sarcophagus which is now in the Metropolitan Museum of New York. Although of very soft calcareous stone, it is wonderfully preserved. The sides contain representations of a banquet-scene, and warriors hunting a bull and boar, but the sacred Assyrian tree appears in the latter, and the relief of Perseus and Medusa, on one end, presents some unusual features. Having set his men to work at a place where M. de Vogué was reported to have found some stone heads, the general returned to Larnaca to perform certain consular duties, and within a week received the welcome news that a colossal head had been found, and the village was in an uproar. He tells a very graphic story of his ride to Golgos by night, his troubles with the native authorities, and his cunning recovery of many objects which had been stolen and concealed. This was the beginning of his discovery of thirty-two statues of various sizes, followed by that of a temple, sixty by forty-five feet in dimension, and surrounded by seventy-two pedestals, nearly all the statues belonging to which, more or less mutilated, were finally recovered. The labor of one hundred and ten men, in eleven days, unearthed no less than two hundred and twenty-eight pieces of sculpture, many of them figures of from six to seven feet in height, in a perfect condition. But the differences in their character, which, fortunately, we are now able to study from the original works, were a new astonishment. Egyptian art, so pronounced as to be almost pure, Assyrian art equally so, archaic Grecian art in combination with these, later Grecian, and even Græco-Roman art, are all here united in one company of statues, which seem to represent fifteen hundred years of history. It is a singular circumstance that each school was separately grouped, only such mixture of types being apparent as might have occurred when the temple was destroyed. The inscribed tablets and bass-reliefs were also separated according to the same system, and even the votive offerings appeared to be classified, as if they had been laid before different divinities.

I must refer the reader to General di Cesnola's volume for the particulars of his practical and official difficulties, before he succeeded in transporting these inestimable relics to the sea-shore, and shipping them for England. No sooner were they thus secured to the world, and a new period of leisure had arrived,

than he set out for a complete exploration of the southeastern shore of the island. Beyond determining the sites of Throni and Leucolla, the results of this journey were not important, and he next turned his attention to Paphos (the name of which still appears in the modern *Baffa*), at the western extremity of Cyprus. Here, on a bold eminence above the sea, the foundations of that illustrious sanctuary of Aphrodite, which once gleamed to the mariner from afar, over the blue pavement of the Mediterranean, are still to be traced. The dimensions are 221 by 167 feet. There are two mysterious holes drilled through the corner-stones, which, like those under the seat of the Pythia, at Delphi, suggest the secret of the oracle. But, excepting some mosaic pavements, no remains of art were discovered here.

The last and most fortunate of all the explorations was that undertaken at Curium, after General di Cesnola's visit to England, and the sale of the spoils of Idalium and Golgos to an institution in his adopted country. The site of the ancient city is on the southwestern shore of Cyprus, half-way between Amathus and Paphos, on a rocky plateau, three hundred feet above the sea. Here the remains upon the surface are more abundant than at any other place except Neo-Paphos. It was easy to trace the sites of large edifices and even of dwelling-houses without excavating. There are seven spots where shafts of marble or granite lie half-imbedded in the earth, probably just as when they fell, more than twenty-five hundred years ago. Wishing to ascertain the size of the columns where eight lay together, Cesnola had the earth removed, and found a mosaic pavement, with a pattern of lotus-flowers under it. This pavement had been broken in various places by some ancient treasure-seeker, who had dug six or seven feet deeper, apparently without reaching the booty he coveted. Selecting a spot which sounded hollow, and sinking a pit twenty feet deeper than his predecessor had done, Cesnola discovered a gallery hewed out of the native rock, with evidences of steps leading up to the temple at one end, and a doorway, closed by a stone slab, at the other. When the slab was removed, a vaulted chamber, nearly filled with fine earth which had percolated from above, was revealed; soon afterward a second, and finally a third and fourth chamber, of similar form, situated on two sides of a parallelogram, sixty-five by forty feet in dimension,

rewarded the toilsome exploration. The first discovery of a number of objects in gold, including a bracelet, suggested the idea that these were the secret treasure-chambers of the temple—a conjecture which was soon verified—and dictated the utmost care in removing the lowest stratum of earth. Scarcely had the explorer settled this in his mind, when his head-workman handed him two armlets of massive gold, weighing four pounds, and bearing the inscription, in Cypriote characters: "*'Eteándron Tou Páphon Basíleos*," Eteander, King of Paphos. In Mr. George Smith's "Records of the Past," the name of Ithuander, King of Paphos, is mentioned in the list of Cypriote kings who brought tribute to Esarhaddon, monarch of Assyria, in the year B. C. 672. There can be no reasonable doubt that the bracelets were a votive offering of King Eteander. The cuneiform inscription also speaks of "the ten kings of Cyprus, which is in the middle of the sea."

The first room opened was devoted wholly to the golden treasures, which included ear and finger rings, bracelets, engraved gems, bowls and pateræ, and the agate handle of a mace or sceptre. Some of the objects were found in places which indicated that they had been thrown down at random, as if the priests had hastily selected and carried away only the most precious articles when the destruction of the city became certain. The workmanship is of great beauty, although it is scarcely equal to that of the jewelry found by M. Mariette on the mummy of Queen Ah-hotep, which dates from at least 1800 B. C. But among the smaller objects were two or three inscribed Babylonian cylinders, one of which contains the name of a Chaldean king, of a date considerably earlier than 2000 B. C. Several centuries may, therefore, be added to the age of many of the objects found at Curium. The second chamber yielded more than three hundred pieces of silver-ware, much of it of exquisite design; while the third and fourth chambers were devoted to objects in bronze, copper, and terra-cotta. It is impossible to illustrate, by detailed description, the astonishing variety and the singular value of the sacred treasury of Curium; but all the objects I have enumerated, with thousands of others of nearly equal interest, are now upon our soil, and easily accessible to all who desire to study them. The only other discovery which General di Cesnola made at Curium

was that of a number of terra-cotta heads, one statuette of bronze and several of white marble, near the ruins of the Temple of Apollo Hylates. After ten years of arduous labor, he decided to leave Cyprus. The American consulate there, if I am rightly informed, has been abolished; and, although other treasures still hide beneath the accumulated soil of two thousand years, it will probably be long before another explorer, of equal enthusiasm and patience, comes to seek for them.

It is difficult to assign an exact place, either in history or art, to Cesnola's discoveries. He uses the general term "Cypriote" to designate them, in contradistinction to the Egyptian, Assyrian, and archaic Grecian elements which are combined in so many of the objects: this term must suffice until scholars are able to separate, or at least classify, the latter, and determine something in regard to their historical precedence. Already Mr. Newton and Mr. A. S. Murray appear to diverge somewhat in their estimates of the age of the pottery, while both are disinclined to attach much weight to the far greater antiquity of the fictile art in Egypt and Assyria. Every advance into the prehistoric past awakes a natural, perhaps unconscious tendency, both to shorten the successive periods of civilization and to attach a certain symbolism of faith to forms which may have descended into mere conventional use. Yet the position of Cyprus, visible from the shores of Syria (Phœnicia) and Cilicia, must have led to its settlement many centuries before it was conquered by Thothmes III. about 1600 B. C. This is the first historic mention of the island, and if one of the statues found at Golgos should prove to be, as is surmised, that of the Egyptian king, it cannot reasonably be ascribed to a later period. Greek immigration, subjection to Phœnicia, Assyria, Persia, and again to Egypt, succeeded during the next thousand years, leaving those mingled traces which make the Cesnola collection, in this particular, the most remarkable in the world. A very curious circumstance, and one which may throw some light on the simultaneous use of emblems belonging to several different faiths, is the separation of the many statues of Golgos into groups, according to their nationality. It is almost the only instance, in archæology, where the later rule has not sought to destroy or mutilate the tokens of the earlier.

It is but little more than a year since Dr. Schliemann made his great discovery at Mycenæ. The entire labor, employing more than a hundred men, and energetically pushed forward by the explorer and his wife, did not occupy more than four months. It is true that he had made a preliminary examination of the spot in 1874, and had very carefully studied the external evidence of the site of the ancient city and its acropolis. But to one who remembers Mycenæ, as deserted and almost as formless as the stony slopes of Mount Eubœa behind it, untouched for more than two thousand years, a more unpromising hiding-place for antique treasure can hardly be imagined. I shall never forget how, after leaving the trouble of rain and the terror of earthquake behind me at Cleonæ, and reaching the crest of the dividing mountain-ridge, all Argolis spread below me, fair and calm in mellow sunshine, from the Cyclopean walls of the citadel of Agamemnon to the rock-theatre of its Argive spoilers, far away on the plain. I lingered for a long time, inside the Gate of Lions, over the actual site of the Agora, never dreaming what tombs were lying under the tumbled stones and the daisy-sprinkled turf. Even at Hissarlik there were better external indications of something hidden in the soil. But Dr. Schliemann, believing devoutly in Homer and Æschylus, and hence prepared to accept Pausanias as an implicit guide, decided that the vestiges of illustrious tombs might still be found, and that the place of them must be sought in the acropolis instead of the lower city. The book-scholars were against him, and were plentifully supplied with interpretations and arguments. But, first, they doubted the existence of the tombs: assuming the latter, there was good reason for their conjectured location.

Dr. Schliemann began work early in August, 1876, at the Gate of Lions. Beyond a small chamber, left within the massive masonry, evidently for the gate-keeper, nothing of importance was revealed. The excavations within the gate reached a depth of more than thirty feet before they struck the native rock, and the soil, mixed with huge blocks fallen from the towers, was almost as hard as stone. The explorer selected a spot where, on sinking experimental shafts in 1874, he had found remains of walls and a sculptured slab which appeared to belong to a tomb; then, measuring a space 113 feet square, he set to

work to clear it out to the lowest foundation-stone. In the upper stratum of *débris* he found, most unexpectedly, pottery and bronze medals of the Macedonian age, indicating that some time after its destruction by the Argives in 468 B. C., Mycenæ had been reinhabited, possibly for a century or two. This is not mentioned by any of the ancient historians; and, if the surmise be correct, the settlement must have been small and politically unimportant. Under this stratum, which had an average depth of three feet, archaic remains at once came to light—immense quantities of broken pottery, marked with both spiral and horizontal bands; whorls and disks (as at Hissarlik) with the sign of the ancient cross, symbolical of fire; terra-cotta idols, bronze knives, objects in lead and iron, and arrow-heads of stone and obsidian. But the greatest promise was afforded by five sculptured tombstones, undoubtedly prehistoric in character, which one after the other were unearthed. Nearer the wall the remains of Cyclopean houses appeared, together with cisterns and water-conduits of peculiar character. Although the masonry was in some places perfect to a height of twenty-four feet, there was rarely more than one large room in each dwelling, which was filled with wood-ashes, millions of fragments of painted archaic vases, and bones of swine. Dr. Schliemann's vivid imagination immediately saw the royal palace of Mycenæ in these ruins, and the tombs described by Pausanias in the exhumed slabs, which were tolerably certain evidences of rock-sepulchres beneath them.

He was, indeed, most fortunate in the spot he had chosen for excavation. In September he came upon an interior wall of inclosure, composed of parallel rows of closely-jointed slabs, upright, but sloping inward at an angle of 75°. This wall was followed until, at the end of the month, it was laid bare in its whole extent, forming a circle of about a hundred feet in diameter. Several horizontal slabs, fitted to the upright ones by deep grooves in the stone, were found *in situ*, distinctly proving that here was veritably the ancient Agora of Mycenæ. The five tombstones were all found within the limits of the circular inclosure: this was a circumstance so unusual, though not without precedent in ancient Greece, that it could only be interpreted as indicating that the tombs were those of personages highly distinguished in

the history of the city. Schliemann at once saw the bodies of Agamemnon, Cassandra, Eurymedon, and the others slain at the fatal banquet, lying beneath his feet, and his narrative of the exploration, from that time forward, is inevitably colored by the intensity of his faith in the result. The reader's imagination also, it must be confessed, cannot escape the excitement. Here was the Agora, or public forum, in a position at once conspicuous and convenient to the people of Mycenæ, near the great gate of the acropolis; here were the stately foundations of dwellings, which may have supported a rich and ample second story of wood, beside the ruins of the huge watch-tower; and, finally, here were tombs rarely distinguished by their place within the Agora itself! With these indisputable facts before him, we must pardon everything to the explorer, who, superintending the daily labor of his workmen, from dawn till dusk, under the hot autumn sun of Greece, added physical exhaustion to his intellectual excitement. It was hardly in human nature—and certainly not in *his* nature—to have believed otherwise.

The exhumation of a massive Cyclopean treasury, outside of the Gate of Lions, which was the special task assumed by Mrs. Schliemann, and the examination of other points of lesser interest, occupied the month of October. Many objects of very great archæological value were discovered, such as curious vases, idols, objects in which the cow's-head constantly reappeared, hatchets of bronze and moulds of basalt; but there was nothing which threw any direct light upon the story of Mycenæ. In November, finally, Dr. Schliemann decided to undertake the exploration of the five tombs, which would either confirm or overthrow his ardent theory of the truth of Homer, and the base of fact upon which the tragic muse of Æschylus has built so grand a structure. It is not necessary to follow his task, step by step, in the order of its accomplishment. A month sufficed for its completion: the tombs, unviolated during the course of three thousand years, yielded up their dead, with an amount of mortuary treasure so large, and various, and beautiful, that the news of its discovery was hardly credited when first announced to the world. The first, second, and third tombs contained, each, the remains of three men, lying side by side, with traces of ashes and smoke which gave evidence of their simultaneous cremation.

With them were found diadems of thin plate-gold (or rather *leaf*, since the thickness is only $\frac{1}{100}$th of an inch), buttons, crosses formed of laurel-leaves, and objects of rock-crystal. In the third tomb, alone, seven hundred and one pieces of gold were found. Over the fourth tomb stood a Cyclopean altar, four feet in height by six in diameter, with fragments of pottery and knives of obsidian still lying around its base. The sepulchre under it contained the bodies of five men, together with such an amount of treasure that Dr. Schliemann devotes eighty pages of his work to its illustration.*

The fifth tomb contained only one person, and the only object of special value found in it was a highly-ornamented drinking-cup of gold. But the first tomb of all, the examination of which had been interrupted by the accumulation of water from the rains, furnished the most perfectly-preserved human remains. The golden mask of one of the bodies, and the only mask which has escaped distortion from fire or the pressure of the superincumbent mass of soil, gives us a singular combination of the Hellenic nose and forehead, with the close eyes, thin lips, wide mouth, and curled mustache, of a type which seems to be partly Assyrian; yet the one head which was recovered, and preserved by an application of gum-sandarac dissolved in alcohol, shows us a brain of remarkable balance and beauty.†

* Among the objects found were bronze swords and lances, golden crowns, bracelets, greaves, belts, buttons, flagons, goblets, rings, and pins, amber beads, cows'-heads of combined silver and gold, alabaster vases, and articles in copper, bronze, and wood. By this time, the fame of the astonishing discoveries had spread through Greece. People flocked by hundreds, and by thousands, from Nauplia, Argos, Corinth, and even Athens, to look upon the opened sepulchres and their spoils: Dr. Schliemann was obliged to hire a nightly corps of watchmen, who, as he states with justifiable pride, kindled upon the Cyclopean tower of Mycenæ the first beacon which had been lighted there since that which, with "a sunbeam-stretching stride," had crossed the Ægean, leaping from the heights of Æsopos and Kithæron, to announce to Clytemnestra the fall of Troy.

† The bodies buried in the five tombs amounted to twelve men, three women, and (possibly) two or three children; and Dr. Schliemann thus gives his reasons for believing that they had all received the rites of sepulture at the same time: "The identity of the mode of burial, the perfect similarity of all of the tombs, their very close proximity, the impossibility of admitting that three, or even five, royal personages of immeasurable wealth, who had died a natural death at long intervals of time, should have been huddled together in the same tomb; and, finally, the great resemblance of all the ornaments, which show exactly the same style of art and the same epoch—all

After excavating the five tombs, and another outside the circle of the Agora, the existence of which was shrewdly surmised by a Greek officer of engineers, the work was discontinued. Dr. Schliemann had undertaken it at his own private expense, and with the condition that the Greek Government should have the right of possession to all the objects discovered. After such an immediate and magnificent success, therefore, there was not much inducement to continue an exploration which could not possibly have yielded results to be compared with those already attained. The treasure of "gold-abounding Mycenæ" (Homer's epithet again justified!), of the value of $25,000, was transferred to the vaults of the Bank of Athens, where it still waits for some disposition which may make it accessible to the study of scholars. We must content ourselves, for the present, with the 700 illustrations contained in the explorer's volume, and we shall find them entirely available for comparison with archaic objects of the same character, found by Schliemann himself at Hissarlik, and by General di Cesnola in Cyprus. Furthermore, we have the testimony of Mr. Newton to their accordance, in character and design, with a number of archaic vases found at Ialysus, in Rhodes. We cannot, therefore, say that all these discoveries belong strictly to the same historic period, but we are compelled to admit the existence of a common art, which, in the prehistoric times, belonged to the civilization of the races inhabiting all the eastern coasts and islands of the Mediterranean, including the greater portion of Greece.*

these facts are so many proofs that all the twelve men, three women, and perhaps two or three children, had been murdered simultaneously and burned at the same time." Not *proof*, certainly; but we must allow the explorer his claim to presumptive evidence. His evidence in regard to the structure of the Agora, drawn from Book XVIII. of the "Iliad" and Book VIII. of the "Odyssey," is admissible and wholly satisfactory; it can scarcely be questioned that he found the Agora of Mycenæ. The facts that the sepulchral excavations were cut in the bed-rock of the acropolis, at an average of twenty-five feet below the present surface of the soil, and that the manner of sepulture and the mortuary treasures were exactly alike, are also favorable to Schliemann's hypothesis; but History aims to be an exact science, and will accept nothing which cannot be clearly established. She recognizes no "probabilities."

* What Dr. Schleimann calls the *suastika*—a cross with rectangular projections at its ends, representing the sign of fire—which is conjectured to have been one of the earliest Aryan symbols, is found alike in the Troad, at Mycenæ, Rhodes, and Cyprus. The Assyrian rosette, with its variations introduced for the sake of ornament, is another characteristic. The Egyptian lotus, flower and bud, is of very frequent occur-

Since the publication of Dr. Schliemann's work, I have re-examined the greater portion of the objects in the Cesnola collection, in the Metropolitan Museum; and I have been surprised to find so many of them identical with those found by Schliemann at Mycenæ. The diadems of gold-leaf, the wreaths of laurel-leaves, the golden buttons (some of them showing exactly the same ornamental patterns, in *repoussé* work), the bronze hatchets and sword-blades, are not to be distinguished from the same objects among the Mycenæan spoils; while there is scarcely a type of pottery, or a form of the rude terra-cotta idols, contained in the latter, which is not matched by something from Idalium, Golgos, or Curium. When we add thereto the similar objects from what Schliemann styles the pre-Trojan city at Hissarlik, and the Rhodian vases from Ialysus, we find ourselves face to face with one and the same school of ceramic and decorative art. The inference which might be drawn from this fact seems to conflict with former historical theories. Certainly the same race could not have possessed these separated shores and islands at the same time, nor could one divinity (however related, as we know, were the ancient theologies) have received the same honor in each place. We are thus led to accept the existence of conventional forms and decorative patterns in art, and to trace them to what was undoubtedly their primal source—Egypt and Assyria. Here another question arises, which the professional archæologists do not seem to have adequately considered. At what phase of human civilization does the fictile art make its appearance? From the evidence of our ancient mounds in this country, it is the first step from barbarism to the beginning of civilization, and thus almost the oldest of the rude mechanic arts. Hence, in Phœnicia, its introduction must have speedily followed

rence, and the terra-cotta objects exhumed by General di Cesnola in Cyprus contain quite as many cows'-heads as those which delighted the heart of Dr. Schliemann at Mycenæ. The latter gentleman, in fact, while evidently restraining his enthusiasm in regard to his latest discoveries, can no more help directing emphatic attention to the *boöpid* Hera of Mycenæ than to the *glaukopid* Athena of Ilium. In both instances he certainly lays too much stress on a figure which it is by no means certain was always a religious symbol; for, if this were so, Hera, rather than Aprhodite, must have been the popular deity in Cyprus. Thus, what Dr. Schliemann's discovery seems to prove, General di Cesnola's discovery disproves. The truth probably is, that, even in the earliest times, ornaments gradually lost their emblematic character, and their existence, *as ornaments*, indicates no more than their previous origin.

its invention in Egypt, which was nearer 4000 B. C. than 3000 B. C., while in Assyria its antiquity can hardly be ascribed to a later than the latter date. How long would the neighboring island of Cyprus remain ignorant of so useful an art? and how much more time would be required to carry it to Rhodes, the Peloponnesus and the Troad? Evidently, the age granted by certain scholars to the oldest specimens of Cypriote pottery—about 800 B. C.—and that allowed to the relics from Mycenæ, two or three centuries earlier, does not indicate, even if correct, the period when the art was first brought into practice, in either locality. The term "prehistoric" must not be understood, therefore, simply as designating that cruder form of civilization which has not yet learned to preserve and transmit its records to the succeeding generations. It indicates, at best, in the Hellenic past, the ages of which the exact records have been lost, when no era had been fixed for the computation of years, and, as a natural consequence, the primitive mythical history had become confounded with later historical facts.

Dr. Schliemann's discovery at Mycenæ has the advantage of whatever probability belongs to this view. All our recent explorations of the past of the human race, all the amazing discoveries of the last thirty years, establish more firmly the fact that a basis of actual historic truth underlies every feature of ancient history which we have been accustomed to consider mythical. The opposite views which prevail, it is evident, arise chiefly from the reluctance of scholars to accept any inference which may conflict with the Hebrew chronology. Forgetting that far older and mightier empires, with far earlier records, existed on both sides of Palestine, and left their stamp on its political and hierarchical organization, even on its supreme faith, they waste much labor in constructing defensive theories, instead of reasoning backward from independent evidence. It is simply impossible that two such powers as Egypt and Assyria should have existed, without stimulating all the neighboring races which possessed the least capacity for development. We do not find such phenomena in the world now, and there is no reason for believing that they ever occurred. Speaking as a layman, without the shadow of a claim to authority, I find it exceedingly difficult to believe that in the time of Homer, when Egypt had

possessed a written language for at least two thousand years, the Greeks, with the development in art and political organization which they then enjoyed, should not have had some form of alphabet. It is equally difficult to believe that the *rhapsodes* transmitted the "Iliad," orally, for centuries, without falling from its even heroic strain to meet the comprehension of promiscuous assemblages of hearers. Either the Greeks were stubborn barbarians at the epoch of the Trojan War, or they gave no token, then, of the inventive and independent genius which, a few centuries afterward, made them an immortal, an almost ideal, race, for all succeeding ages.

But if, on the one hand, the accepted views in regard to the scope and character of the early Hellenic culture may be false, on the other hand these recent explorations suggest, even to the most skeptical, the truth underlying the heroic myths. Whether or not Hissarlik be the site of Troy, it is at least that of a prehistoric city, which was destroyed by fire. The coincidence of the art, and especially the mortuary ornaments and modes of sepulture, discovered at Mycenæ and in Cyprus, may or may not prove that the same race at one time inhabited both: the diadems and laurel-crowns may be no indication of royal rank; but the location of the tombs in the Agora is a certain evidence of the distinction in which the dead were held, and at least five of the latter must have been buried at the same time. We have thus the fact of slaughter, or war, followed by posthumous honor, and transmitted in the tradition of Agamemnon repeated by Pausanias. Dr. Schliemann's discoveries do not turn Æschylus into history, but they furnish a remote historic basis for the tragedy. In Cyprus, the bracelets of King Etevander and the inscription on the Assyrian cylinder establish each other's veracity, even as the record of Sennacherib at Nineveh and the Hebrew statement of the tribute paid by King Hezekiah. The human brain is not skilled in the art of inventing history without material. Some of the most monstrous legends have been finally traced to an intelligible origin; and it is scarcely possible that the large frame of geographical and ethnological truth, inclosed by the "Iliad," should have been peopled by merely imaginary figures, and made the scene of imaginary deeds.

BAYARD TAYLOR.

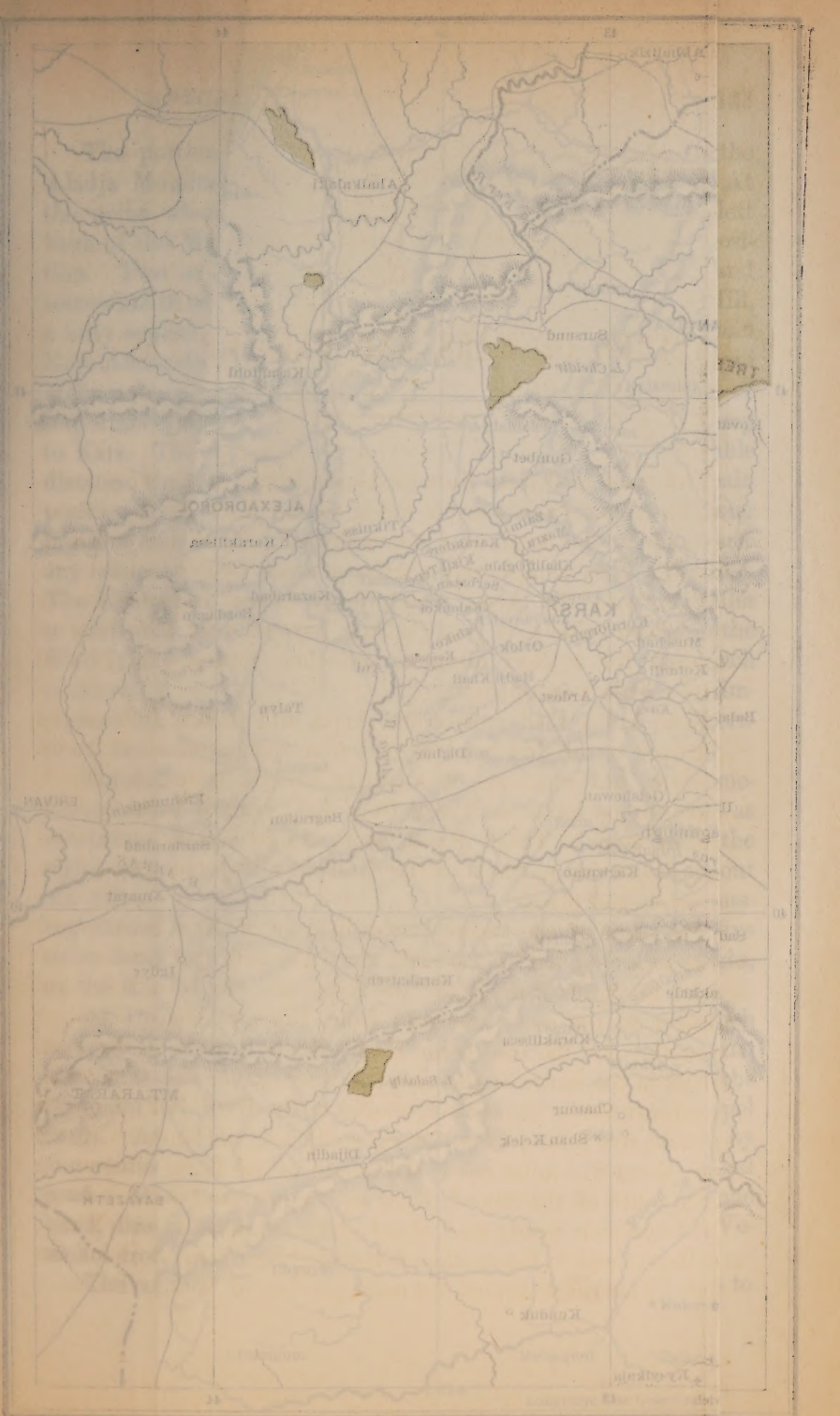
IX.

CAPTURE OF KARS, AND FALL OF PLEVNA.

The main road from Kars to Alexandropol runs nearly northeast, for about twenty-seven miles to the Kars River, whence it extends to the Arpa, near Alexandropol. From this crossing-point the Kars runs nearly southeast some twelve miles to its junction with the Arpa, which flows hence southwestwardly some fifteen miles to a point a little beyond Ani; here it turns southeast for a short distance, and then resumes its general course a little west of south.

Near Ani a road crosses the Arpa, and thence follows the right bank to the first bend beyond that village, where it leaves the river, but continues in a nearly straight course to Digor, about thirteen miles southwest from Ani; here it turns a little north of west to Hadji Khali, some eighteen miles, and then turns almost due north, reaching Kars in about ten miles from the last-named place.

The scene of the recent battles in front of Kars is contained in the area bounded by the main Kars-Alexandropol road on the north; the lower Kars River, the Arpa, and the road from Ani to Digor on the east; the road from Digor to Hadji Khali on the south; and the road from Hadji Khali to Kars on the west. Almost in the centre of this area the Mazra River rises; pursuing a northeast course about twelve miles to the Kizil Hill, then east for about five miles; then it turns southeast, and unites with the Arpa, about five miles below the mouth of the Kars. Beginning a little south of the city of Kars an irregular and difficult range of hills extends nearly east, about eighteen miles to the Mazra, and there turns to the southeast, reaching the Arpa in about ten miles. This ridge formed the main position of Muktar Pasha.



BLACK SEA
TREBIZOND
Batoum
Coumien
Akhaltzik
Koppa
Rizeh
Artvin
Arta
Demprik
Kovata
Hemshin
Sanatis
Sathlel
ARDAHAN
Sursnnd
L. Cheldir
Kur R.
Ahalkalaki
Kazartohl
Kaladshik
Ardanudch
Urut
Gumbet
Dadaschen
ALEXADROPOL
Tikniss
Karakilissa
Zaim
Mazra
Karakderé
Khalif Oghlu
Kizil Tepe
Serbatan
Kazarabad
Bozdagan
KARS
Kalonkoi
Korajoreh
Yezinkoi
Orlok
Kosludja
Ani
Muschad
Kotanli
Hadji Khali
Ardost
Talyn
Kars
Arpa R.
Dighur
Getshewan
Etchmiadzin
ERIVAN
Bagration
Sardarabad
R. ARRAS
Amarat
Mt. Saganlugh
Medgingird
R. Arras
Kagizman
Zerin
Zars
Karahatseh
Igdyr
Delibaba
Saidikhan
Toprakkale
KOSH. MTS.
Taghin
Karakilissa
Mardoo
L. Balakly
MT. ARARAT
Chamur
Shan Kelek
Dijadin
Seid
Murad R.
BAYAZETH
Tortum
Liegral
Kampor
BAIBURT
Kian
Ispir
Kermenik
Balangra
Garsh
Urishly
Maadan
Massat
Guadsor
Sadag
Suankalen
Aschala
Djinis
Artschuk
Koroghla
Sudshall
Mamatchatum
Gassalar
Ersingen
Melichan
BINGOL MTS.
Chynyss
Gumgum
Lisa
Melasgerd
Katervin
Patnass
Kysylkaja
Kunduk
Tekman
Tatoss
Aipler
Jaghan
Hassankaleh
Koprikoi
Zarshat
Beschanget
Tausgerd
Istchan
Pennek
Gornevank
Bardess
OLTI
RIVER
TCHURUKSON
KARATCHL. MTS.
DEVE BOYUN MTS.
ERZEROUM
Karrasu R.
Bit
Ovata
Ahalkalaki
Kars
Karakilissa
Kazarabad
Bagration
Igdyr
Dijadin
Kunduk
Shan Kelek
Chamur
Amarat
Sardarabad
Etchmiadzin
Talyn
Bozdagan
Tikniss
Gumbet
Sursnnd
Kaladshik
Sathlel
Sanatis
Koprikoi
Hassankaleh
Jaghan
Delibaba
Zars
Zerin
Getshewan
Kagizman
Medgingird
Mt. Saganlugh
Bardess
Kotanli
Muschad
Gornevank
Pennek
Tausgerd
Beschanget
Garsh
Kermenik
Ispir
Kian
Balangra
Urishly
Maadan
Massat
Guadsor
Kampor
Tortum
Liegral
BAIBURT
Sadag
Suankalen
Aschala
Djinis
Artschuk
Koroghla
Sudshall
Mamatchatum
Gassalar
Ersingen
Melichan
BINGOL MTS.
Chynyss
Gumgum
Lisa
Melasgerd
Katervin
Patnass
Kysylkaja
Tekman
Tatoss
Aipler
Taghin
Mardoo
Seid
Murad R.
Rizeh
Artvin
Arta
Demprik
Hemshin
Bit
Beschanget
Tausgerd
Istchan
Pennek
Gornevank
Bardess
OLTI
Kotanli
Muschad
Ardost
Kars
Dighur
Getshewan
Zerin
Mt. Saganlugh
Medgingird
R. Arras
Kagizman
Zars
Delibaba
Karahatseh
Igdyr
Saidikhan
Toprakkale
Taghin
Karakilissa
Mardoo
L. Balakly
MT. ARARAT
Chamur
Shan Kelek
Dijadin
Seid
Murad R.
BAYAZETH
Kunduk
Katervin
Melasgerd
Patnass
Kysylkaja
Lisa
Gumgum
Chynyss
BINGOL MTS.
Melichan
Ersingen
Gassalar
Sudshall
Mamatchatum
Koroghla
Artschuk
Djinis
Aschala
Suankalen
Sadag
Urishly
Maadan
Massat
Guadsor
Kampor
Tortum
Liegral
BAIBURT
Kian
Ispir
Kermenik
Balangra
Garsh
Kovata

The portion between the Mazra and the Arpa contains the Aladja Mountain, on which the Turkish right was posted. At the point where the ridge changes direction, and on the left bank of the Mazra, is the Olya Hill, where the centre held position. Two or three miles to the west of the Olya Hill, and somewhat in advance of the main ridge, is the Great Yagni Hill, a lofty conical eminence, whose spurs reach and cross the main Kars-Alexandropol road, terminating beyond it in the Little Yagni Hill—a long ridge, less elevated than the Great Yagni, but of importance, as covering the direct route from the Russian camp to Kars. The Great Yagni commands, although at a considerable distance, the Olya and Vezinkoi Hills. In advance of the main position are the heights of Hadjiveli-Serbatan, forming a strong position between the Olya and Kizil Hills, and taking in reverse any column attacking the Great Yagni direct from the northeast. The Kizil Hill is on the left bank of the Mazra, nine or ten miles in advance of the Olya Hill. When Muktar seized and held the Kizil Hill, on the 25th of August, he extended and very much weakened his defensive line; that position would have been important to him as a step toward any immediate offensive operations, but was quite the reverse in regard to the defensive.

Before relating the important operations of October, something must be said about the roads. That already mentioned as extending from Ani through Digor and Hadji Khali turns the right of the Turkish position on the Aladja Mountain. About ten miles west of Digor another road strikes off due north, passing through Orlok in about eight miles; Vezinkoi, about five miles farther on; then Kalonkoi, two miles; and Khalif Oglu, on the Kars-Alexandropol road, some four miles farther on.

At Orlok this northerly road is intersected by a road which connects with Erzerum and Kars toward the west, while to the east it descends the Mazra Valley, passing by the base of the Olya and Kizil Hills, and thence connects with the Alexandropol roads. At Vezinkoi the northerly road is again intersected by one connecting in each direction with the last-described lateral road. At Kalonkoi is another cross-road leading, on the one hand, directly to Kars, and on the other connecting with the Vezinkoi cross-road.

The country north of the Kars-Alexandropol road—that is to

say, between it and the Kars River—seems to have been in possession of the Russians, except the portion in the immediate vicinity of Kars.

From the description just given it is clear that, if the Russians could establish themselves in force on the northerly road passing through Orlok and Vezinkoi, they would turn and gain the rear of the Turkish right and centre, and thus achieve a decisive success. The most important points on the road are the heights of Orlok and those of Vezinkoi. The latter appears to be the key of the whole position, taking in reverse the entire Turkish line, enabling the Russians to carry the central Olya Hill, and thus completely cutting off the right wing on the Aladja Mountain, while at the same time its possession by the Russians insured the complete defeat of the Turkish left wing. This was the object proposed, and finally accomplished.

It was stated in a preceding article that Muktar carried the Kizil Hill on the 25th of August. From that time until about the end of September nothing occurred except unimportant affairs of advanced posts. The Russians awaited the reënforcements on the way to join them. The Turks moved to the front all available troops from Erzerum, Koprikoi, etc., and are stated to have made every exertion to complete the supplies of Kars.

Toward the end of September the positions of the contending armies were nearly as follows: The extreme Turkish left at Batum, with a brigade of six battalions thrown out to Artwin; the left of the main army—ten battalions, a battery, and five hundred cavalry—at Pennek; the centre—sixty-six battalions, nine batteries, and four thousand irregular cavalry—in Kars, and on the line of heights already described, with a strong detachment thrown forward to the Kizil Hill and its vicinity; the right—thirty-five battalions, five batteries, and eight thousand irregulars—confronting Tergukassoff near Igdyr. At Natschevan, about half-way between Kars and Igdyr, there was a detachment of five battalions, and a battery and a half, to cover the communication between Ismail Pasha and the main army. A Russian force of uncertain strength observed Batum; the right of their main army held Ardahan, the centre lay at Kurukdere and Ani, the left held Igdyr.

It would appear that, in the early part or middle of Septem-

ber, Muktar determined upon an effort to retake Ardahan. For this purpose he detached four battalions and five hundred cavalry to reënforce the troops at Pennek, who were to unite with the brigade at Artwin, and thence move to the attack of Ardahan. Komaroff, in command at Ardahan, divined the purpose of the Turks, and prepared himself so thoroughly to meet them, that toward the end of the month he was justified in sending to the main army a detachment of four battalions, a battery, and a regiment of cavalry, which joined about the last day of September. The projected attack upon Ardahan did not take place, and the preparations for it only weakened the main army at the decisive point.

On the Turkish right, Ismail Pasha reached a point not much more than twenty miles from Erivan, but was here held completely in check by the able Tergukassoff, with less than one-third of his force.

All the desultory efforts of Ismail to advance were frustrated by the skill of his opponent and the courage of the Russians.

It seems clear that the Turkish left and right were decidedly superior in force to their immediate opponents, while the main army, under Muktar in person, was very decidedly inferior in numbers to the reënforced army of the grand-duke.

It should now have been clear to Muktar that the intention of the Russians was to deliver their first and heaviest blow upon the force under his immediate command, while the Ardahan and Igdyr detachments were only to hold their own. He ought to have seen that it was too late for him to think of assuming the offensive; he had allowed that opportunity to pass, if it really ever existed—which is more than doubtful. There were two rational courses open to him:

He might either have availed himself of the superior strength of his wings, and pushed them forward with energy and determination, so as to force the Russians to weaken their centre to support their own wings; or, if from the nature of the ground, and other circumstances, that was impracticable, then he should have withdrawn a portion of Ismail's force to the intrenchments of the Kosh Mountain or those at Koprikoi, bringing the bulk to his own army; at the same time he should have intrenched a portion of his left wing at Olti, with discretionary orders to fall

back upon the intrenchments at Kalagosek, near Ezerum, if too hard pressed, bringing up all the superfluous troops to join the force covering Kars.

Whichever course he adopted, he should, with his own army, have abandoned the Kizil Hill, and the long line through Yagni, Olya, and Aladja, and, resting his left on Kars, taken up a concentrated position in the immediate vicinity, which he could have made secure against assault, and beyond which the Russians could not pass without leaving so great a force in observation as to render a march upon Erzerum wellnigh impracticable.

The only problem he had to solve was to keep the Russians to the eastward of Kars until the winter set in.

But Muktar saw nothing of this. Apparently he had reached that singular but not unexampled condition, of a man who has fallen so deeply into the constant habit of exaggeration that he assumes as facts the mere fancies of his own imagination.

Thus Muktar, who has become notorious for the lack of foundation for his official reports, probably convinced himself at last that his imaginary victories were real, and that the immense Russian losses, inflicted by his bulletins, had really occurred, so that scarcely the skeleton of an army survived to hold their camps. It would be difficult to account otherwise for the complacent stupidity with which he blundered into a trap of his own construction. It appears that his master regarded Muktar's dispatches as credible, and his victories as real, for about this time he bestowed upon him the eminent title of El Ghazi—the victorious—his right to which he was now about to prove in a manner so startling to the sovereign who bestowed it.

On the 1st of October a cavalry affair of outposts grew into a rash, ill-judged, and unsuccessful attempt, on the part of an isolated brigade of Russian infantry, to carry some intrenchments on the extreme left of the Turkish line, near the little Yagni.

Simultaneously with this minor affair—the last flickering of the uncertain light of victory which illustrated the proud title in which he rejoiced for the first and last time on that day—Muktar was engaged in a formal review of the main body of his troops, distributing the rewards forwarded by his master, and probably displaying those received by himself.

All was exultation in the Turkish army. From the com-

mander to the common soldier, all seemed confident of a speedy triumphal entrance into the capital of Transcaucasia. Little did they anticipate what the morrow was to bring forth; that all the gallantry of their race would be exerted in vain, and that they were standing on the very verge of a series of terrible disasters. Such brave soldiers were worthy of a better commander and of a better fate.

The Russian commander had at length determined upon offensive operations; but his first assault did not prove to be the best final and decisive attack.

The plan decided upon was, that the Turkish left and centre should be attacked in front, while a column moved through Digor to gain the rear of the Aladja Mountain and seize Vezinkoi.

At daybreak on the 2d of October the Russian columns advanced to the attack.

Their main efforts were made against the Little and Great Yagni Hills, while partial attacks, which appear to have been mere feints to distract the attention of the enemy, were made against the Kizil Hill and the front of the Mount Aladja positions.

The attacks upon Yagni are stated to have been made with about thirty-four battalions, sixty guns, and six regiments of cavalry; other accounts reduce the number of battalions to twenty. The first assaults were made upon the Little Yagni, and were repulsed with much difficulty. The attack was continued until about eight o'clock in the morning, when five battalions arrived on the ground from Kars, whereupon the Russians discontinued the infantry assaults, but maintained a violent cannonade.

From the column attacking the Little Yagni, several battalions, with two batteries and three regiments of cavalry, were now sent against the Great Yagni, which they at once assaulted. Although this hill was defended by only a single battalion, it cost the Russians two hours of persistent endeavor to carry it, which they finally accomplished with the bayonet, very few of the brave defenders escaping alive.

The partial attacks made on other parts of the line appear to have produced no other result than to prevent the reënforcement of the Turkish left. The turning movement of the Turkish right was intrusted to General Shelkovnikoff, to whom twelve battalions were originally assigned; he was to move along the

left bank of the Arpa a considerable distance, then cross and operate on the rear of Mount Aladja. But at the moment of execution his force was reduced to five battalions. With so small a force in such a position the movement could be nothing more than a mere demonstration; it was skillfully made, but resulted in nothing decisive.

The Russians do not appear to have renewed their assaults upon the Little Yagni, but repulsed several determined efforts to retake the Great Yagni.

The state of affairs on the 3d seems to have been that the Russians had failed to make any serious impression upon the enemy's lines, except at the Great Yagni; they do not appear to have had the troops in hand to follow up their success at that point by an attack on the Olya Hill and Vezinkoi. They had scattered their forces in partial attacks or feints over an extended line, instead of concentrating the mass on the decisive points. If, instead of wasting their strength upon the Little Yagni, they had employed the whole of the right column against the Great Yagni, Olya, and Vezinkoi, the result would probably have been a complete instead of a partial success. The Russian losses amounted to about three thousand; the Turks seem to have lost more, owing probably to the superiority of the Russian artillery-fire.

The immediate question for the grand-duke to decide was the retention of the Great Yagni. Its importance could not be denied, but it was so far from any water under control of the Russians as to make it almost untenable on that account alone; moreover, the Turkish occupation of Serbatan and Kizil exposed it very much to dangerous offensive returns; the grand-duke, therefore, resolved—and probably correctly—to abandon it, and fall back to a position somewhat in advance of that from which he had set out, including the Katchak Hill, which is opposite the interval between Kizil and Serbatan, there to await reënforcements close at hand, and to inaugurate better combinations. If it be true, as seems the case, that the Turkish losses were as great as represented, the Russians had gained a substantial success in inflicting a loss so disproportionate to their own—a loss whose effects soon became apparent.

On the 9th of October Muktar, partly in consequence of the Russian occupation of Katchak Hill, and partly on account of his

severe losses on the 2d and 3d, abandoned the advanced positions of Kizil and Serbatan, but still held the line through Yagni, Olya, and Aladja. The Russians, whose reënforcements had now arrived, determined to avail themselves of this evidence of the enemy's weakness, and this time—taught by experience—they avoided the errors of the past, and conducted their operations in a manner to insure success. As a first step they at once occupied the abandoned positions at the Kizil and Hadjeveli-Serbatan Hills, and also seized once more the Great Yagni, where they were more than once unsuccessfully attacked. They were now in condition to act. Their plan was simple and effective. It was to turn the Turkish right, and carry Orlok and Vezinkoi with a strong column, meanwhile to hold the Turks in check until the turning movement was completed, and then attack the centre at Olya, and thus cut the army of Muktar in twain. The turning movement was intrusted to General Lazaroff, with a complete division, who commenced this important march on the 9th. Late on that day he crossed to the east bank of the Arpa at Kagatch, about seven miles above Ani, and followed the same bank to Karabnski, some eighteen or twenty miles below Ani, where he recrossed the river, and moved on Digor, which he reached on the 12th. On the 14th he appears to have come seriously in contact with the enemy, whom, after hard fighting, he drove off in confusion, occupying the Orlok heights at the close of the day. He now telegraphed his commander-in-chief, informing him of his success, and saying, "If to-morrow morning at daybreak you attack Muktar Pasha from your side, his destruction is certain." This dispatch reached Melikoff at three in the morning of the 15th; after four hours the main army moved to the attack.

The immediate direction of the attack upon the Olya Hill was intrusted to General Heymann, and was carried out by the Grenadiers of the Caucasus, who in the battle of Zevina Dooz had so gallantly but vainly struggled for success under the same commander. After the way had been prepared by a long and well-directed artillery-fire, the grenadiers assaulted and carried the Olya Hill early in the afternoon, and the Turkish army was thus separated into two parts. The left wing fled toward Kars, pursued by a portion of Lazaroff's command, and by a portion of the troops under Heymann's orders. Terrible losses in killed,

wounded, and prisoners, were experienced by the Turkish left wing, disordered remnants of which alone succeeded in entering Kars. Muktar escaped with this portion of his command. The garrison of the Aladja Mountain, cut off from the rest of the army by the Russians on the Olya Hill, and thence to Vezinkoi, attacked in rear by Lazaroff, and in front by the main Russian army, were driven out of their intrenchments, and, after experiencing heavy losses, were obliged to surrender at about eight o'clock in the morning. From thirty-three to thirty-five battalions, from two to three thousand cavalry, and thirty-two guns, fell into the hands of the Russians on Mount Aladja—fully one-half of Muktar's army. Muktar did not delay in Kars, but, leaving what troops he could for its defense, about fifteen thousand at most, made haste for the Saganlugh with some three thousand men, the scanty remains of the army which, two weeks before, he had fondly hoped to lead into Tiflis. Thus, at one blow, heavy and well-directed, the Russians had regained all and more than they had lost, and the road to Erzerum was once more open. Their losses on the 14th and 15th were very small in comparison with the immense results attained—being very slight on the 14th, and on the 15th only two hundred and thirty killed and twelve hundred and eleven wounded. Either new advisers now had the ear of the commander-in-chief, or the old counselors had well profited by the experience of the past, for the greatest promptness now characterized the movements of the Russians. While Melikoff, with a sufficient force, at once undertook the investment and siege of Kars, one column moved by Kagizman to intercept the retreat of Ismail from Igdyr; while another, under Heymann, promptly followed on the tracks of the flying Muktar, in order at least to seize the approaches to Erzerum before the winter closed in.

But Ismail, however tardy he had been in the pursuit of Tergukassoff during the summer, now displayed the most commendable activity. On the 14th he had attacked the Russians in his front, but was everywhere repulsed with considerable loss to himself. On the night of the 16th he evacuated his position, for no sooner did he receive the news of the annihilation of the main army than he at once broke up from in front of Igdyr, and fell back by rapid marches, never pausing to take breath

until he reached the intrenchments of Koprikoi, where he effected his junction with the few troops who had accompanied Muktar. So rapid was this retreat that Tergukassoff, with all his activity, could inflict no serious blow upon his enemy, nor could the Kagizman column move quickly enough to gain his line of retreat in time to intercept him. The left wing also abandoned its advanced position, and lost no time in falling back to the vicinity of the new position of the commander-in-chief. Tergukassoff on the left, Heymann in the centre, and a column from Ardahan on the right, now advanced rapidly in pursuit.

On the 26th Ismail reached Koprikoi with only eight thousand men out of his large command; the rest had deserted during the retreat; on the next day he was joined by Muktar.

Late on the 28th the cavalry of the Russian advanced guards, of Heymann's and Tergukassoff's corps, attacked Koprikoi and drove the Turks out with the utmost ease. The Turkish rear-guard retreated to Hassan Kalé, where about two o'clock the next morning they were again attacked by the advanced guard of the Russian cavalry, who dispersed them with serious loss, and pursued them some miles until compelled, by the fatigue of the horses, to abandon the chase. The main body of the Russian cavalry reached Hassan Kalé at five in the morning, when they halted to rest after their long forced marches. The Turks fell back to the Deve Bogun Mountains, about six miles east of Erzerum. The Russian columns now concentrated at the eastern foot of this range, while the Ardahan column continued its movement through Olti to turn the position.

On the 4th of November the combined columns of Heymann and Tergukassoff attacked the position of Deve Bogun; this was regarded as so strong as to render it probable that the Russians would fail to carry it. The battle lasted from nine in the morning until six in the evening. The first attacks were made upon the Turkish right and left wings, and were repulsed. Finally, a resolute attack was made upon the centre, which was carried, when the whole army crumbled away and fled in wild confusion to Erzerum.

Thirty-six guns and large amounts of arms, ammunition, and provisions, as well as twenty-five hundred prisoners, were the trophies of the day. The Turkish losses in killed and wounded

amounted to about twenty-five hundred; those of the Russians were less than thirty officers and eight hundred men killed and wounded. A violent snow-storm prevented an immediate pursuit of the enemy. Nothing now lay between the Russian army and the fortifications of Erzerum.

During the night of the 8th and 9th the Russians advanced against the works, but the night was so dark that the columns lost their way and did not reach their destination. The advanced guard of one column alone succeeded in finding the point of attack. They carried one of the Azzize redoubts, killing many of the garrison and taking five hundred and sixty prisoners. At daybreak, finding themselves unsupported, and attacked by overwhelming numbers, they abandoned the works and retired, taking their prisoners with them. While the Turkish army was thus forced back upon Erzerum, the main Russian force, under Melikoff in person, was engaged in the siege of Kars. Very promptly after the battle of Aladja the place was closely invested, and the siege preparations pushed forward with rapidity. The accounts which have reached us indicate that the remnants of the Turkish army, which effected their escape into Kars, were in such a thorough state of disorganization and panic that if the Russians had followed close upon their heels, Kars would have fallen during the night of the 15th. We are not as yet informed what cogent reasons prevented the victors from following up their success, as accurate details are still lacking. During the investment of last summer, the northern and northeastern portions of the defenses were selected as the points of attack. In the final and successful siege, the Russians moved nearly in the track of Paskevitch in 1828, and attacked the southern and southeastern parts of the intrenchments.

The defenses of Kars are divided by the deep and difficult valley of the river, which presents a great obstacle to the movement of troops from one side to the other. The works are numerous, and vary much in dimensions and strength. Against a siege they are very strong, and also against assault when properly garrisoned; but it is more than probable that the garrison left by Muktar was insufficient both in numbers and *morale*. The nature of the ground, the character of the defenses, and strategical considerations, seem to combine in pointing out the southern side

as the most favorable for attack. It is probable that, in the summer, the Russians were induced to select the northern side for the reason that, as the force at their disposal was small, they would in that direction be less exposed to danger from an attack by any relieving army approaching from Erzerum, combined with a sortie by the garrison.

After the battle of Aladja no such danger existed, and they were free to select the most advantageous point of attack. They, therefore, directed their main efforts in the quarter already indicated, but accompanied it by a demonstration on the northwest, for the purpose of distracting the attention of the defenders, and preventing any of the troops on the west side of the river from being sent to support the real point of attack. It is stated that the preparations for the assault were completed on the 13th, but that the inclemency of the weather forced a postponement until the 17th.

The right column of attack was commanded by General Lazaroff, the centre by General Grabbe. A column of three regiments, under Generals Komarof and Roop, attacked the works on the heights bordering the east bank of the river. The columns moved to the assault at half-past eight on the morning of the 17th. General Grabbe was killed at the very beginning. The fighting lasted all night. The citadel, the Hafiz, Kanli, and Suwarri forts, were carried soon after the attack commenced. During the night small detachments carried the Karadagh and Arab forts, and the greater part of the remainder fell early in the morning; by eight o'clock on the morning of the 18th the victory was complete.

A portion of the garrison endeavored to escape by the Erzerum road, but were promptly captured and brought back by the Russian cavalry. The garrison is represented as consisting of fifteen thousand men; of these five thousand were killed and wounded, ten thousand captured; three hundred guns, large quantities of supplies, money, and ammunition, fell into the hands of the victors, whose loss amounted to only twenty-seven hundred officers and men. In their day of success the Russian troops behaved admirably; there was no sacking of the place, and no harm done to the unarmed citizens.

The attack appears to have been admirably arranged, and

most gallantly carried out. The victory was thorough and complete, and the great bulwark of Armenia was once more in the hands of the Russians, probably never again to pass into the possession of the Turks.

Four times has Kars been besieged by the Russians; and when we remember how much Russian blood and treasure have been lavished in the various efforts to gain this place, when we consider how important a position it is to her, for offensive and defensive purposes alike, it is difficult to believe that any influence can induce her to restore it. Immediately upon the fall of Kars, on the afternoon of the same day, Melikoff started with a column, said to number fifteen thousand men, to unite with the forces of Heymann and Tergukassoff, in front of Erzerum.

The difficulties of winter transport over the mountains may prevent the Russians from bringing up siege-trains to Erzerum, but there is nothing to prevent their investment of the place, and the complete severance of all its communications. The city contains some sixty thousand inhabitants, and there is good reason to believe that the amount of supplies within its walls are insufficient for a prolonged defense. The probabilities, therefore, are that the Russians will not assault, unless encouraged by plain indications of demoralization among its defenders, but that they will content themselves with the less costly method of starving it into submission. We may, then, expect to learn very soon—almost any day—that it has opened its gates, and that the conquest of Armenia is complete.

Toward the 29th of September the army of the Cesarowitch, following the retiring army of Suleiman, reoccupied the villages of Popkoi and Kopace. Somewhat earlier than this a few regiments of Russian and Roumanian cavalry were thrown across the Wid, under the command of General Kruloff. This force, evidently badly commanded, made spasmodic and insufficient efforts to prevent the supply of Plevna from Orchanie. Beyond harassing somewhat the relieving escorts, they accomplished little. On the 1st of October, however, a regiment of this command captured a supply-train near the village of Radomirzy, but within a day or two the whole of this cavalry force was, for some unexplained reason, moved from the Sophia road to Ribno, on the Wid.

But a new era was now about to commence for the Russians.

General Todleben had already been assigned to the direction of the siege of Plevna. On the 7th of October an order was issued appointing Prince Imeretinski chief of the general staff of the combined armies around Plevna, and assigning General Ghourka to the command of all the cavalry of the same armies. By the same order Skobeleff received the Sixteenth Division.

With Todleben probably remained the general direction of affairs. A distinct and definite plan of operations was now decided upon, and thus far has been well carried out.

In general terms, this plan was, to make the investment of Plevna complete by occupying the Sophia road and surrounding the Turkish positions by a line of intrenchments, which were to be pushed as close to the Turkish lines as circumstances admitted, for the triple purpose of rendering the Russian artillery-fire more effective, of reducing the length of the line, and consequently the number of troops required to hold it, and offering the greatest possible obstacle to any attempt at escape on the part of the garrison, and at the same time presenting the proper facilities for an assault, should that become necessary. It is not probable that an assault is contemplated unless there is positive proof that the amount of supplies within the Turkish lines is sufficient to enable the garrison to hold out for a considerable time: rather than retain the army in the trenches all winter, it is probable that the place will be assaulted, but not until the arrangements are such that it can be made at the some moment from several points in overpowering force, and from lodgments close to the Turkish works.

The reports indicate that, under the supervision of Todleben, the allied works have been pushed much closer, that they are much stronger and better arranged than before, and that he has shown all his well-proved skill in taking advantage of the ground. From the moment of his taking control, a marked improvement is stated to have been made in the whole system of the communications of the army. Arrangements are in progress for securing the passage of the Danube during the winter; hospitals and huts are in process of construction on a very large scale; and ample supplies of fuel, forage, provisions, and winter clothing, are accumulated at convenient points.

In this connection it may also be said that the reserve system

is working so well that the gaps made in the Russian ranks by disease and battle are promptly and completely filled by well-drilled and enthusiastic men. In addition to the reserve men and various divisions and corps of the line, the entire Guard corps, and a portion at least of the admirable corps of Grenadiers, have reached the front. The Guards, and most of the new arrivals, are armed with the Berdan rifle, represented as far superior to the weapon furnished the troops who first entered upon the campaign.

Supplies of all kinds—ammunition, forage, provisions, hospital stores, and clothing—appear to be furnished without stint; and there is every indication that the machinery of the Russian army is now getting into excellent working order—better than ever before—and that, profiting by the experience of the past, they are placing their best men in position to control.

Much of this improvement is no doubt due to the good sense and personal attention of the Czar, whose continued presence at the front has certainly been of inestimable benefit to the army. While it appears quite certain that the Russians have still vast resources in reserve, it, on the other hand, becomes equally clear that Turkey is rapidly reaching a state of exhaustion. The courage of her troops still remains, but the concluding events of the recent campaign in Armenia strengthen the conviction expressed in a preceding article, that the Turkish troops "fight well enough in the open field until discouraged by reverses, when they are apt to lose confidence." The first and most important step in all the series of operations intended to complete the investment of Plevna, and prevent the arrival of further supplies, was that conducted by General Ghourka.

The last convoy of which we have any authentic account, reached Plevna on the 12th of October. In the vicinity of Telis, about eighteen miles southwest of Plevna, the Wid and the Isker approach within less than eight miles of each other; the ground between the two rivers is a lofty plateau, much cut up by ravines. Gorni Dubnik is about five miles nearer Plevna, on the same plateau. Near Gorni Dubnik the two main roads from Plevna to Sophia and the Teteven Pass intersect. In order to protect the passage of convoys against the Russian cavalry, which had shown themselves in the vicinity, a considerable Turkish force

was intrenched, under the command of Achmed Fevzi Pasha, at various points. His main force was strongly intrenched in the formidable position of Gorni Dubnik, another portion at Telis. At Gorni Dubnik the works were held by twelve battalions and four guns. Ghourka's infantry-force consisted of twenty-four battalions of the Guards; they were accompanied by sixty-four guns, and one regiment of cavalry.

This force forded the Wid near Cerakevo, east of Telis, early in the morning of the 24th; while at the same time one regiment of the First Division of the Guards was thrown toward Telis in observation, and the remainder of that division watched the Plevna road, to prevent the movement of reënforcements on Gorni Dubnik.

Ghourka's instructions to his commanders were to the effect that the artillery should maintain a heavy fire until one o'clock, and that at that hour the infantry should advance to the assault. But at eleven o'clock the impetuosity of the Grenadier regiment broke all bounds, and they carried by assault the redoubt on the extreme Turkish right. Here they came under a severe fire from the central redoubt, and masked completely the fire of the artillery of the Russian left. The Moscow regiment, supporting the grenadiers, moved off toward the right, and, taking advantage of whatever cover the ground afforded, attempted to assault the central redoubt, but in vain. Soon after the Pauloff and Finland regiments, on the Russian right, worked up some ravines, and approached within a couple of hundred yards of the central redoubt, but they met with heavy losses, and could gain no more ground. This state of affairs continued until toward evening, when Ghourka, concluding that a further persistence would result only in useless loss, was in the act of ordering the withdrawal of the troops as soon as darkness should cover the movement, when affairs took a new turn. The Rifle Brigade, acting apparently of their own volition, by following a series of ravines, succeeded in gaining the rear of the central redoubt, and, making up the glacis, opened, lying down, a terrible fire upon it. Just at the same time the Finland regiment rushed in through an unfinished part of the work, and at six in the evening the Turkish commander surrendered. He, as well as all his staff, three thousand prisoners, four guns, and a complete regiment of cavalry,

were the trophies of the day. The Turkish losses in killed and wounded were heavy. The Russians lost about twenty-five hundred in killed and wounded.

We have stated that a regiment had been detached to observe Telis, which was occupied by five battalions and three guns. It was not intended that they should attack, but when they got under rifle-fire they broke away from their officers, and rushed within three hundred yards of the works, when they were withdrawn by their officers with great difficulty.

Nearly four hundred wounded were left near the works, who were all shockingly mutilated and murdered by the savages within the works. This atrocity was witnessed by English surgeons serving with the Turkish army.

Ghourka now intrenched himself strongly in the important position he had gained. On the 28th he moved against Telis, with two brigades of infantry, one of the cavalry of the Guard, and one of Cossacks of the Caucasus, with seventy-two guns. He posted his troops so as to prevent the escape of the garrison, and then opened with all his guns. At the end of two hours' cannonading, the garrison, of seven battalions, surrendered. The Russian loss was only sixteen in killed and wounded. Again providing for the permanent defense of this point, he retraced his steps and proceeded to the attack of Dolny Dubnik, which is about five miles nearer to Plevna than is Gorni Dubnik. The place in question was intrenched, and held by about five thousand Turks. Ghourka had with him the Second and part of the First Guard Division, and sixty-four guns. He opened a heavy fire with his guns, which the Turks withstood for two hours, and then fled toward Plevna. Although the Russian infantry was engaged, it is stated that the losses were nothing. No cavalry of consequence being at hand, the mass of the garrison escaped. The artillery so successfully employed at Telis and Dolny Dubnik was that of the Guard, supplied with a peculiar shell. Judging from the decisive effect it produced at these places, it is only reasonable to suppose that, if Ghourka's orders had been carried out at Gorni Dubnik, similar results would have been attained, and the heavy losses avoided.

The losses of the Turks in these and some minor collateral operations are stated to have amounted to about ten thousand

in prisoners alone, with large numbers of killed and wounded; those of the Russians could not have exceeded four thousand. The result was to close the Sophia road completely. About the same time the Roumanians extended their right across the Wid, so as to connect with the Guard, and the investment of Plevna was now complete.

In addition to the main operations already described, there were others of a minor character, yet very important in a strategical point of view, and all tending to the double object of completing the investment of Plevna and of facilitating the ulterior movements across the Balkans. These were carried out by cavalry, aided by small detachments of infantry, and are of sufficient interest to merit a brief description. We have already described the general nature of the country between the Balkans and the Danube, and the valleys of the Osma, Wid, and Isker.

The main road from Plevna to Sophia, after crossing the Wid, follows the plateau between that river and the Isker as far as Radomirzy, passing meanwhile through the two Dubniks and Telis. At Radomirzy it crosses the deep valley of the Panega, a branch of the Isker, and again follows the plateau to Lukowitza, when it again enters the valley of the Panega, which it follows through Petreven to Karasula, when it leaves the valley and crosses the mountain to a point a little north of Jablonitza, where it again follows the valley for a short distance, and then follows the mountains, crossing the Little Isker at Karaula. To this point the course of the road is a little west of south. Here it turns nearly west until it reaches the Pravea branch of the Little Isker, follows it in a southeasterly direction to Pravea, and then turns due west along the northern slope of the main range to Orchanie, which is situated in an elevated plain or valley. Here the road turns southeast, and crosses the main range, called at this point the Etropol Balkans, through the Orchanie Pass until at the northern base it intersects the main road from Sophia to Slatica. The Orchanie Pass is narrow, winding, and difficult; it has been intrenched at many points, and is represented as very strong against a direct attack.

At Karaula, a road branches off to the south and follows the valley of the Little Isker to Etropol. From Etropol various mountain-roads diverge, intersecting the main road from Sophia to Slatica, and all turning the Orchanie Pass.

Near Gorni Dubnik a road diverges from the Sophia road toward the south, enters the valley of the Wid near Cerakevo, and follows it to Teteven, passing through Toros and Pescherna. From a point somewhat north of Teteven other cross-roads lead to the Sophia road, and also to Etropol.

The road leading from Gorni Dubnik to Teteven continues up the valley of the Wid to its head, then crosses the main Balkan range, and connects with the main road from Philippopolis to Kezanlik, as well as that from Sophia to Slatica; thus cutting the communication of Sophia with Constantinople, as well as taking in reverse the Shipka Pass and opening the road to Adrianople.

We have previously stated that the road from Lovatz south, through Trojan, crosses the main range, and has the same communication southward as the Teteven road.

From Lovatz a road extends nearly due west to Toros and Petreven, already mentioned. Another runs south of west, through Mikre and Turski Isvor to Pescherna.

Some twenty-three miles northwest of Orchanie is the town of Vratza, an important point, whence roads diverge in several directions.

On the 11th a party of Cossacks reached Pescherna from Lovatz; one sotnia turned northward and successfully attacked Toros. The other party turned south to Teteven, drove the enemy out of the advanced works, and carried off a large number of cattle and horses.

On the 31st of October Chevket Pasha attacked the Russians at Radomirzy, but was repulsed and driven off in disorder.

On the same day General Karassoff attacked Teteven, the garrison of which now consisted of six hundred regular infantry and one hundred and fifty cavalry. He stormed the central redoubt, but his arrangements were so good that he lost only one killed, four wounded, and seventeen slightly injured, while the Turks left more than a hundred dead on the field. The defenses consisted of seven large and some thirty small works—a system too extensive for the strength of the garrison. The works were all taken, and large amounts of supplies.

Thus another pass across the Balkans was gained, the left of any force advancing against Orchanie was secured against attack, and a new road opened to Etropol.

On the 1st of November, Ghourka pushed his troops from Dolny Dubnik to the height on the west bank of the Wid, and entrenched them there. This new position was within a mile of the Wid, and completely commanded the *tête-de-pont* by which alone the garrison could escape in that direction. This advance completed the close investment of the place, so that no attempt at escape could be made without coming directly in contact with the intrenchments of the besiegers.

At the same time, the infantry at Radomirzy advanced to Lukowitza and intrenched, while the cavalry attacked Chefket Pasha, who fell back toward Orchanie. A brigade of Cossacks, moving in pursuit, occupied the small forts at Petreven and Jablonitza, traversed the Jablonitza Pass, and, with their detachments, reached the Little Isker, not far from Orchanie and Etropol. Another detachment from this brigade moved over to Pescherna and effected a junction with Karassoff.

In all directions west of the Wid the Russian cavalry was very active at this time. On the 9th a cavalry detachment dismounted and made a sudden attack upon Vratza, which they carried with small loss, capturing a large number of wagons and quantities of supplies.

Toward the close of November Roumanian detachments occupied Zibu and Lom Palanka, on the Danube, thus extending materially the base of operations.

About the same time Etropol was carried with very slight loss, but, after a series of operations, rendered very difficult by the nature of the ground, the town of Orchanie having already been abandoned by the Turks, who fell back into the pass. The Russians had thus, by these minor operations, rendered the relief of Plevna practically impossible, covered effectually their positions in front of the place, and secured several passes through the main Balkans which enabled them to debouch south of the range, taking in reverse all the positions held by the enemy, and allowing them to move upon Adrianople.

We have not space enough at our command to detail in this article the operations which took place in front of the army of the Cesarovitch. It is evident that the plan laid down for him was simply to hold Suleiman Pasha in check, while the "victorious" Osman was disposed of. The main army of the Cesarovitch was

held concentrated in strong positions, with advanced guards thrown well out. A large force—stated to consist of seventy thousand men, but perhaps not quite so large—was collected in the vicinity of Tirnova, and held ready to reënforce the army of Plevna, or that of the Cesarovitch, as occasion might require; or, when Plevna fell, to form the advance of a movement over the Balkans upon Adrianople. Suleiman made various attacks upon different points of the position of the Cesarovitch, but never succeeded in making any impression.

His last attempt was made on or about the 2d of December, when with a considerable force he attacked the Russian advanced guard at Marian, drove them out of that place, followed them to Elena, and also drove them out of that with considerable loss.

The Russians, however, fell back on the neighboring position of Jakovitza, which was already intrenched, and these held firm.

On the 4th reënforcements reached Jakovitza from Tirnova, and another detachment reached Slatovitza, thus threatening the right flank and rear of the Turkish troops. In consequence of this movement the Turks fell back, in a few days, to Ahmedii.

Nothing of moment occurred at the Shipka Pass after the unsuccessful attack of September 17th; the Russians continued to hold that and the Hainskoi Pass in strong force. General Zimmermann's command in the Dobrudscha has remained inactive so far as any general operations of importance are concerned.

We must now revert to the immediate attack upon Plevna.

The Roumanians carried their approaches by the sap to within thirty or forty paces of the second Grivitza redoubt. On the 19th of October, with three battalions, supported by three more, they made a gallant assault and entered the works. But they found the interior of the works arranged with three tiers of rifle-fire, so that in half an hour they were driven out with heavy loss. They did all that brave men could do, but the work was too strong to be carried by direct assault. During the night of the 4th and 5th of November Skobeleff moved a detachment forward to his outpost line, to the left front of Brestovee, intrenched the position, and opened with his artillery at daybreak.

On the 9th he made a still more important attack. Many of his men were young soldiers, who had recently joined to make good the heavy losses sustained in the earlier part of the war,

RUSTCHUK
Basarabo
Balbunas
LOM
Zibrn
Orla
Turna
DANUBE
Simnitza
Pingos
Tirstenik
Kadikoi
Wetova
RAHOVA R.
Ostrovo
Gulijani
NICOPOLIS
Hefeka
Baliv
Akdom R.
WISCEDERINA R.
Bres
SISTOVA
Novigrad
Obertini
Osmankoi
Orjustar R.
Vid R.
Kuprivat
Strisheno
Sarivan
Kacelyvo
RASGRAD
Milkowatz
Turnova
Denirkoi
Ribno
Verbitza
Gorni Studen
Manastir
Sadona
Tirstenik
Bivolar
PLEVNA
Gavitza
Turk Tirstenik
Bulgareni
Pavlo
BJELA
Ablava
Karalom R.
Yenikoi
Glawa
Koprivca
Oponetz
Dolni Dubnik
Gorny Dubnik
Modichevo
Poradini
Slomir
Karazin
Ebeli
Cherkovna
Spagalar
Olcagas
Tschumakozy
Tutchenitzo
Pelisat
Oderna
Karaultha
Karahassankoi
Dabralivo
Kesset
Bogot
Vladin
Osinovza
Karahassan
Gagova
Popkoi
Berkowatz
Kamenopol
Telis
Brestovec
Karagui
Slatini
Armutla
Sultankoi
Jaslav
ESKI SHUMA
Radomirzy
Osma R.
Nikub
Luckovitza
Wratza
Toros
LOVATZ
Rushitza R.
Gorlika
Chuli Den R.
Verdin
Petreven
TIRNOVA
Chulun
OSMAN BAZAR
Birstova
SELVI
Yola
Valla
Pescherna
Mikre
Kirova
Slaturitza
Karasula
Hesen
Izvur
Jatarli
Debnevo
Malkotchu
Plakova
Dragonitza
Jablanitza
Valanitza
Milichevo
Bebrova
Tshatak
Isker River
Kaleytza
Drenova
Starevka
Bilisditer
Jakowitza
Marian
Teteven
Trjavna
Kasan
Orchanie
TROJAN
Etropol
BALKAN MOUNTAINS
Gabrova
Deschnitza
SOPHIA
Slatica
Shipka
Binkus
SLIVNO
Grubljan
Koprivschtitza
Karlovo
KEZANLIK
Jeni Khan
Kalofer
Kalkova
Panagurishta
Yeni Saghra
YAMBOLI
Darbend
Nojerly
Ichliman
ESKI SAGHRA
Pashadore
SAMAKOWO
Karamustafa
Kara Osman
Hissardseik
RUMILIA
Banja
Kassimlar
Karabunar
Grabova
TATAR BAZARDJIK
Saremboi
PHILIPPOPOLIS
Pasardy
Maritza R.
Tundja R.
Tsohepina
Meohia
Kritschma
Stanimak
Chskoi
HARMANLI
Batak
Mustapha Pasha
Fikeli
Tchirmen
Michalkova
Kremen
ADRIANOPLE
24
25
26
42
43
Longitude East from Greenwich

but their conduct proved that they were worthy to fight by the side of their veteran comrades. About five in the afternoon they advanced in a dense fog, which enabled them to reach the point of attack undiscovered. Skobeleff, as usual, led his men in the most conspicuous manner. Suddenly they emerged from the fog, and drove the Turks out of the desired position, which the sappers immediately intrenched. The result of the action was to advance the Russian lines about three-fourths of a mile at this very important point. During the night the Turks made three very determined efforts to regain the position, but were readily repulsed with heavy loss.

With the ground gained on the 4th and 5th Skobeleff had advanced nearly a mile and a quarter, and was close to the main line of the Turkish redoubts.

On the 11th the Roumanians occupied the heights of Bivolar, thus shortening their line, and establishing a better communication with the troops on the opposite side of the Wid.

On the 15th the Turks made three attacks upon Skobeleff, but were easily repulsed.

Those portions of the preceding pages which relate to the operations of the siege of Plevna were already completed when the intelligence of its fall arrived, but it does not seem necessary to revise them.

The meagre accounts that have thus far reached us show that the supplies within the Turkish lines were exhausted, and that, there being no hope of relief, the only alternative before Osman was to surrender, or to cut his way out. As a true soldier, he chose the latter course.

It appears that the Russians were fully prepared to meet the emergency. On Sunday night—the 9th of December—Skobeleff discovered that the works in his immediate front were abandoned, and at once occupied them. At seven o'clock on the morning of the 10th, the Turkish army crossed the Wid and attacked the Russian positions at Doinz Etropol. They carried an advanced line of the works; but the Grenadiers of the Guard promptly came up, and forced them back to the banks of the Wid, where they were under a terrible fire of artillery and rifles. When driven back upon the Wid, the Turks attempted to reënter Plevna, but found all the commanding works occupied by the

Russians and Roumanians. The firing continued until about noon, when Osman surrendered unconditionally.

The number of prisoners was perhaps forty thousand, of whom twenty thousand were sick and wounded, and there were many thousands killed.

Osman was treated by the Czar with a degree of courtesy and consideration justified, perhaps, by his obstinate courage, but certainly not by the inhuman brutality which constantly characterized the conduct of his troops toward the wounded Russians who fell into their hands.

We do not yet know with sufficient accuracy the means at Osman's disposal, or all the circumstances which surrounded him, to justify a final judgment upon the merits of his defense from a professional point of view. He certainly deserves the credit of obstinate gallantry, but it now appears more like the conduct of a wild beast at bay than that of a skillful general. He selected his position well and fortified it with skill, but it does not appear that he took advantage of his successes, which were due more to the blunders of his antagonists than to his own merits.

This much is certain: from the moment when Todleben took charge of the siege-operations, when Imeretinski became chief of the staff, when Skobeleff received an important command, and Ghourka was placed in charge of the operations on the Sophia road—from the moment, in fact, when knowledge and skill directed the operations of the Russians—Osman became helpless as a child in their hands, and his fate was sealed. Plevna had no such value in itself as to justify the loss of an army in holding it a few weeks longer. If Osman had been a great or even a good general, he would have abandoned his position the moment he found the Sophia road seriously endangered, for his army would have been of infinitely more use elsewhere. With Plevna and the army which held it, the line of the Balkans has fallen. The weather usually encountered at this season will, no doubt, offer serious obstacles to the Russians, but they are not insuperable, and it is not probable that active operations will be suspended. The army of the Cesarovitch has shown itself fully capable of masking the quadrilateral. It is not only possible, but probable, that we will soon hear of the fall of Sophia, the occupa-

tion of Philippopolis, and an advance in force on Adrianople. This will oblige Suleiman Pasha to move with at least a portion of his force to the succor of Adrianople and the capital, in which case the whole of the commands of the Cesarovitch and Zimmermann will not be required for the reduction of the fortresses north of the Balkans, and a part can reënforce the active army in Roumelia. The nature of the fortresses of the quadrilateral is such that armies, not mere garrisons of moderate strength, are necessary to defend them.

If a large Russian army advances into Roumelia, as it readily may, the fate of Turkey must be determined under the walls of Adrianople or in front of the lines of Buyuk Chekmedje, and, in the present condition of the once formidable empire of the Osmanlis, it need surprise no one to hear of the virtual abandonment of all the region north of the Balkans, in order to concentrate in Roumelia for a last desperate effort to hurl back the invaders.

Should events prolong the war into another summer campaign, the Turks have not much to gain by the delay. Their resources are nearly exhausted, while those of Russia are not. The Servians, the Montenegrins, and the Greeks, will occupy them so fully on the west that the Russians and Roumanians can devote the entire strength of the main army to the direct operations against Constantinople. From their vantage-ground in Armenia, it will be perfectly practicable for the Russians to conduct a campaign in Anatolia, which, even if it does not actually lead to Scutari, will at least completely paralyze the Turks in that quarter, and deprive them of the large resources with which that region has always furnished them. It now seems probable that nothing short of foreign interference—and that in the shape of very numerous and strong battalions and a formidable navy—can save them. There is only one power, if there be even one, that has any disposition to interfere, and it is doubtful whether other and stronger powers will permit that interference. It would appear to be wise for the Turks to make peace promptly, and on the best terms they can.

GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN.

X.

CURRENCY QUACKS, AND THE SILVER BILL.

As soon as the war was over, and economic questions began to be of chief importance, a number of ambitious politicians sought to rise to control in each of our great political parties by proposals to oblige those who had trusted the United States in its darkest days, to receive its non-interest-bearing promissory notes, of an unlimited issue, in compulsory exchange for its interest-bearing bonds. The scheme grew popular. Many public men of rank and ability succumbed to the "greenback" movement, and floated with the current which, before it gathered headway, they should have stemmed, and fought, and turned. Such abdications, indeed, of the function and duty of leadership, in Ohio and Indiana, are the open secret of the endemic financial heresies in those States, and of the sequacious compliances, timidities, ambitions, and even the dishonor, of some of their foremost men, in the crisis of last winter and at the present hour.

The defeat, however, of the greenback demagogy, after varying fortunes and a long struggle, was complete in each political party. Despite the packing of the United States Supreme Court with judges committed to the reversal of its legal-tender decision in Hepburn *vs.* Griswold; despite the degradation of court, government, and country, in the reversal of that decision by Knox *vs.* Lee; despite the stoppage of the resumption policy preparing by Secretary McCulloch; despite the illegal inflation authorized by President Grant; despite the annual improvidence which in eleven years of peace took from the people in Federal taxes thirteen times the whole amount of the legal-tender notes,

and squandered four times that sum in useless expense without accumulating any reserve for their redemption—at last the inflationists calling themselves Republicans were foiled in their long endeavor to capture the control of that party. So, too, despite temporary and local successes, the demagogues calling themselves Democrats failed in their persistent effort to capture the control of the opposition party, or interrupt its historic character and fame. In the nomination of Governor Tilden, upon a hard-money, resumption platform, at St. Louis, they met their Waterloo.

It was in such a condition of the country, and of our politics, that the most portentous calamity befell, of which republican institutions have ever borne the shock. Although Governor Tilden was chosen to the presidency by a majority of the popular vote, and a majority of the electoral vote, the control of political events and policies, and the selection of a Chief Magistrate whose capacity in public economy and finance had been illustrious, were whipped out of the people's hands by a conspiracy of force and fraud, to which the late President and eight members of the Electoral Commission furnished the conditions of a successful issue. A candidate whom the people had rejected attained and administers the presidential office.

Nemesis has not delayed. And hardly will she be adjured by vows of a prosperous immunity to fraud. The majority party lacks the use and the responsibilities of its power, primacy of leadership, the web-like affiliation of public trusts and party ties. The minority party has the semblance of power without the substance, the responsibility without the possession. Its leadership lacks authority. Its executive initiative is pure impotence. Its executive veto is an arithmetical, not a moral, force. Its head has been obliged to be the channel, not the organ, of a people's will—a vessel of dishonor, not of honor. He has been constrained to abjure the policy his followers had defended, and abandon the usurpations in which their faith was reposed. And after bestowing judicial, diplomatic, or civil trusts upon the scoundrels who perpetrated and the lawyers who defended the crime by which he rose, Senators are tightening their grasp upon the perquisite renounced in their platform, and bruise the hand, gloved with civil-service reform, that he stretches forth from the

White House to gather up out of chaos the elements of party order and rule.

These facts are here touched, not in order to reargue a past or anticipate a coming debate, but to point their relation to an imminent peril. For this political disorder and relaxed party allegiance in a country of which the government has hitherto been conducted through party contentions, are precisely the circumstances which to-day make it possible for the advocates of dishonest finance, although lately routed in each party, to unite their forces outside both; and, joined by many an honest but misguided man, to carry through the two Houses of Congress, when controlled by opposing parties, a bill perfidious to pledges in respect to the public faith, given by both. In fact the "Silver Bill" would be a faithless reversal of the policy of the country itself in a matter concerning the public interests and the public honor. Under the guise of a legal pecuniary advantage promised to the burdened tax-payer by demagogues willing to promise anything if so they may but thrive, it is in fact a measure depreciating silver itself, damaging the credit of the United States, as the markets show; and will be yet more costly in its increase of the annual burden of a gigantic debt, in deepening and prolonging the present industrial and commercial depression, and in the new and needless suffering it will inflict upon millions of the laboring poor by chasing affrighted capital, that might employ them, back to its hiding-places and its hoards. The bill * would never have been dreamed of had not the price of silver fallen from the par 100, below the paper promise to pay a "dollar"—now worth 98, down to the level of 90 to 91.

Now, it is not to be expected that the sequelæ of any such enactment as this in our prices, commerce, currency, and finance, should be forecast by one voter in ten thousand. The reason

* *Be it enacted, etc.*, That there shall be coined, at the several mints of the United States, silver dollars of the weight 412½ grains troy of standard silver, as provided in the act of January 18, 1837, on which there shall be the devices and superscriptions provided by such act, which coins, together with all silver dollars heretofore coined by the United States of like weight and fineness, shall be a legal tender at their nominal value for all debts and dues, public and private, except where otherwise provided by contract; and any owner of silver bullion may deposit the same at any United States coinage-mint or assay-office to be coined into such dollars for his benefit, upon the same terms and conditions as gold bullion is deposited for coinage under existing law. All acts and parts of acts inconsistent with the provisions of this act are hereby repealed.—[*Passed House of Representatives, November* 5, 1877.]

is plain. It involves the intricacies and the principles of a science in which the experts are few. That science deals with an order of facts touching indeed the interests of all, but not therefore appreciable by all in their relations, results, and laws. Consider this a little. One expert, of practical experience and high scientific training, and who, by-the-way, warns us of the folly of receding from the gold age to the silver age of currency, is W. Stanley Jevons, ex-master of the Australian Mint, author of a celebrated treatise on "The Principles of Science," of another on "Money," and Professor of Political Economy in University College, London. He is a man who has done more for his science than any other since Adam Smith, for, by applying the differential calculus to its familiar notions, he has given to it mathematical precision and a future of assured and widening power. And this is his way of speaking of political economy, —as "already consisting of many extensive branches of inquiry, among which one is a subject of such appalling extent and complexity as the currency." So that we shall hardly, all of us, see our way clear in this matter, by the mass-meeting method, although in Chicago they think otherwise, and an assemblage there resolved the other night that they were "terribly in earnest, and that nothing short of absolute and unconditional surrender to their demands will be accepted." Nor is this the way of Logan, a Senator of whom Illinois is now disencumbered, who is said to have proposed devoting a fortnight to the study of financial science, which at that time he knew nothing of, though afterward he knew less. Nor are such the views of Bland, of Missouri, who told the Senate Finance Committee that he thought the people of his district understood this matter, and this silver bill was what they wanted, and that it would save everybody eight cents on the dollar, and who threatened repudiation of the whole national debt if there should be resistance to such small scaling. Nor is this the way of Ewing, of Ohio, who says that "whoever by covert legislation changes the value of contracts is as accursed as he who moves his neighbor's landmarks," himself meanwhile preferring the blessings belonging to one who by open legislation changes the value of contracts, and debases a nation's standards. The late Charles Sumner was eminent by comparison with legislators such as these. Discussions in finance were little to his

taste, but in a speech on return to specie payments he exhibited at least this qualification for his task, the knowledge that political economy has a literature and laws, and that he could do no better than be the mouth-piece of an adept like Amasa Walker.

In this view it is certainly discouraging to read the recent report* of the United States Silver Commission which is founded upon battalions of figures representing the store of gold and silver in the world in 1492, and the product and proportions since, tables which Bagehot justly thought and testified before the Goschen Silver Commission "were not worth the paper on which they were written." It suppresses or defers the testimony of the witnesses called before them, and appears to be the work of some hired dabster in all the misinformation that can be extorted from the statistics of national wealth and progress, and most of the misapprehensions that can be foisted into the literature which has classified and construed them. Its law wants nothing but humor to make it a fit appendix to "The Comic Blackstone;" and, in a style shockingly hirsute, its author rattles on through one hundred and thirty pages, finding within himself the means of believing a thousand times as much as there is to believe, judging by experience, and pouring forth with never a dash of doubt more unflinching assertions about debts, values, credit, and prices, silver, gold, currency, and its volume, than all the first-rate economists, from Pierre Boisguilbert to Wm. G. Sumner, could demonstrate in a millennium, even if any one such assertion, so unqualified and cosmical, could perchance be true.

Yet it will not do to be discouraged. It is a bad outlook, but public opinion constitutes our court of errors and final appeal; and self-government, of the people, by the people, for the people, is not therefore a foredoomed failure, because at last their votes revise the reports of monetary commissions, and decide the fate of silver bills. The seaman who saves his ship by heeding the storm-signal need know little of meteorology. The farmer who gets his crop under cover before a predicted heavy rainfall need know nothing of isobares and isocheims. The peo-

* The concise, masterly scientific minority report by Prof. Francis Bowen, of Harvard, concurred in by Randall Gibson, of Louisiana, is but the jewel in the mountain, 22 pages of sense hidden amid 574 pages mostly rubbish.

ple's votes support the Coast-Survey, which has mapped our shores, fathomed harbors, sounded sea-slopes, and guarded the keels of our commerce, without one in ten thousand of us knowing its problems or its plans. Here it is quite the same, and the people's common-sense, as in other cases outside their ken, may be trusted to estimate shrewdly and fairly the influence of authority in matters of opinion.

Now Sir George Cornewall Lewis and Mr. Gladstone in their discussions of this just and great authority, owned by the wisest even more than by the weakest of men, lay down one rule as primary for those who wish to walk wisely where with their own eyes they cannot see the way :

"With respect to subjects of speculation and science the existence of an *agreement* of the persons having the above qualifications (ability, honesty, and learning) is the most important matter. If all the able and honest men who have diligently studied the subject, or most of them, concur, and if this consent extends over several successive generations, at an enlightened period, and in all or most civilized countries, then the authority is at its greatest height. . . . If ten credible witnesses agree in their testimony to a fact, the value of their concurrent testimony is more than ten times the value of the testimony of each. So the joint probability of the agreement of ten competent judges in a right opinion is far greater than the sum of the probabilities of the rectitude of the opinion of each taken separately. . . . Therefore as the agreement in a scientific opinion among competent judges widens its area, the chances of rectitude increase and the chances of error diminish in a perpetually accelerated ratio."

Consider now that most of the able, honest, and learned men in all or most civilized countries, who are versed in the speculations and science of political economy, after diligent study of the subject, after debates which have extended over successive generations during the present century, have come to an agreement or consension that the single metallic standard of value coined in gold is best (not excluding silver overvalued in fractional coins, and paper convertible with gold). The silver bill has absolutely no scientific support, for, the small minority remaining of these able, honest, and learned men, who still contend for the superior advantages of a bi-metallic, double or alternative standard of value, condition the success of that scheme and their approval

upon a congress and coöperation of the leading commercial states of the world; affirm that, if but one metallic standard of value must be chosen, gold is best; admit that several of the greater European nations have for the present no hope of using coin of either metal, and that the rest are steadily discarding the double standard and adopting the single gold standard, or have adopted it; declare that the Bland silver bill if a law would drive out gold, demonetizing it in the land of its greatest production; and oppose its passage as fatal to the bi-metalism they prefer.*

Concerning universal bi-metalism, whether it is desirable or no, and if desirable, whether possible or no, and if possible, whether possible soon or no, and how; and whether the coöperation of England can be constrained by increasing her Indian difficulties, or by a drain of gold set up by the United States opening for three days in the principal markets of Europe a public subscription to a loan of about £85,000,000 United States sterling consols; and whether, by such a measure, or by any act of ours, or by the arguments of Laveleye, Wolowski, Seyd, Say, and Courcelle-Seneuil, Germany can be led to retreat from her recognized embarrassments, and join the other great powers and the United States in making both metals full legal tender at the fixed ratio of 1=15.5; and whether or no the guarantee of all the governments would suffice to fix and maintain that ratio amid great possible fluctuation hereafter in the relative supply of either metal from new mines or cheaper production; and whether, as to the measuring power of total currency over total commodities, including long debts, the disuse as full legal tender

* What Milton calls "a horse-load of citations" from the majority of the economists were prepared for dumping into this foot-note, which nobody would have read, or, if reading, sensible readers might have read no more. It is safer to cite only from the small minority of the economists, namely, from the most active and impassioned of European bi-metallists, Henri Cernuschi, and the most acute and learned of them all, S. Dana Horton, of Ohio. Says *Cernuschi:* "This exportation of gold is inevitable if you establish bi-metalism, Europe remaining gold-mono-metallic. . . . Bi-metalism can only be rehabilitated by the coöperation of all the states, India included." In his "Silver Vindicated," published in the *Journal des Économistes* (xliv., 1876), with criticism by Léon Walras, another economist who has betrothed mathematics to the dismal science, Cernuschi says the *only* remedy is *universal* bi-metalism. Says *Horton*, in his "Silver and Gold:" "The Bland bill means mischief. It is really an attack upon the bi-metallic system, the restoration of which is needed for the future prosperity of the world; and if it becomes law it will prove an obstruction to the prosperity of the United States. . . . Instead of the bi-metallic standard, the result would be mono-metallic inflation in the dollar of the Fathers."

of our small part, or even such disuse of any larger part, of the total of the precious metals, in the currency of European nations, or both, has brought down, or can bring down, the ratio of commodities in exchange for gold, here or throughout the world, effecting a universal fall of prices, when it is conceded that, even over the United States, with our bank-notes, checks, drafts, book-accounts, and clearing-house machinery to accomplish the great bulk of mercantile transactions, not twelve per cent. are done in cash, and in England not five per cent., to say nothing of the constant cheapening of most commodities by the steady advance in sciences and arts, the writer here defers the expression of any opinions whatsoever. It is a high debate, *inter apices;* and, besides, until the Copernicans have convinced the Ptolemaists, our readers who are ignorant of astronomy may as well refuse to acknowledge the heliocentricity of things. These are questions not now upon the carpet. The question under debate, lugged untimely into the public councils by eccentric quacks, mischievous and incapable to read in the horn-book of either school, is the Bland silver bill. In detestation of that, the Copernicans and the Ptolemaists of political economy are at one. The mono-metalists denounce it for demonetizing the best of the two metals, and the bi-metalists denounce it for that, and for postponing the restoration of both. So that the silver bill should be condemned by everybody who knows little or nothing of currency or coinage, lacks for any reason the ability to form a sound judgment for himself, and has the wisdom to accept one from those most competent to form and accredit such a judgment.

And here the case might well enough be rested were there not so many men in Congress and in the press who prefer to compose their own conclusions on the recoinage of the silver dollar, and whose capacity to do so need not be questioned, as they themselves have not suspected it. But their compositions are open to suspicious review, all the same. Here is Mr. Stanley Matthews, for example, who opened the Senate debate on the silver bill with an argument of which the pith is given in his resolution below,* and Senator Thurman said he was "marvel-

* "*Whereas*, By the act entitled 'An act to strengthen the public credit,' approved March 18, 1869, it was provided and declared that the faith of the United States was thereby solemnly pledged to the payment in coin or its equivalent of all the interest-bearing obligations of the United States, except in cases where the law au-

lously curious to know by what kind of reasoning a lawyer could arrive at any other conclusion than is asserted by this resolution."

Would Senator Thurman be surprised to hear that this argument is not convincing, because it is a merely legal argument? If it were all true, and besides were all of the truth, it would fall short of its conclusion. But it is neither; and, if it were both, it would establish only permission for economic and prudential arguments to be exclusively considered. Moreover, it skips the statesman's if not the lawyer's prior question—the expedient time and circumstance. More silver being in daily use, in pockets and pantries, on this continent than ever before, the silver bill could have waited. Two standards of dollar-value tormenting us now by favor of Congress and the United States Supreme Court, one of them variable, the proposal that Congress should anticipate the court in declaring that its laws have established a third standard, more variable than either and worse than both, might have been postponed. To one currency illegal, inconvertible, useless abroad and needing removal ere enterprise can revive in confident security, the plan to add another, non-exportable in nine-tenths of our foreign trade, or all, might have been deferred; the necessity was not urgent. Having one currency

thorizing the issue of such obligations had expressly provided that the same might be paid in lawful money or other currency than gold and silver; and—

"*Whereas*, All the bonds of the United States authorized to be issued by the act entitled 'An act to authorize the refunding of the national debt,' approved July 14, 1870, by the terms of said act, were declared to be redeemable in coin of the then present standard value, bearing interest payable semi-annually in such coin; and—

"*Whereas*, All bonds of the United States authorized to be issued under the act entitled 'An act to provide for the resumption of specie payments,' approved January 14, 1875, are required to be of the description of bonds of the United States described in the said act of Congress approved July 14, 1870, entitled 'An act to authorize the refunding of the national debt;' and—

"*Whereas*, At the date of the passage of said act of Congress last aforesaid, to wit, the 14th day of July, 1870, the coin of the United States of standard value of that date included silver dollars of the weight of four hundred and twelve and one-half grains each, as declared by the act approved January 18, 1837, entitled 'An act supplementary to the act entitled "An act establishing a mint and regulating the coin of the United States"' to be a legal tender of payment according to their nominal value for any sums whatever: Therefore—

"*Be it resolved by the Senate* (*the House of Representatives concurring therein*), That all the bonds of the United States issued or authorized to be issued under the said acts of Congress hereinbefore recited are payable, principal and interest, at the option of the Government of the United States, in silver dollars, of the coinage of the United States, containing four hundred and twelve and one-half grains each of standard silver; and that to restore to its coinage such silver coins as a legal tender in payment of said bonds, principal and interest, is not in violation of the public faith, nor in derogation of the rights of the public creditor."

which, consisting of notes believed to be payable in gold, has nevertheless fluctuated in value from 100 to 43 and back again to 97, in fifteen years, a scheme to displace gold and substitute for the basis silver, which itself has fluctuated more than fifty per cent. in the last hundred years, might have been adjourned.

To begin with, Mr. Matthews in his first "whereas" omits to cite an important part of the act of March 18, 1869. Not only did Congress in that act pledge the faith of the United States to the payment in coin or its equivalent of all the interest-bearing obligations of the United States, but it began by first pledging "the faith of the United States to the payment in coin or its equivalent of all the obligations of the United States not bearing interest, known as United States notes," and it ended by enacting that "the faith of the United States is also solemnly pledged to make provisions at the *earliest* practicable period for the redemption of the United States notes in coin." What the "earliest" duty of currency-tinkers is, then, a "marvelously-curious" lawyer might find out, unless confused by the fact that, while over $350,000,000 non-interest-bearing notes were in circulation, and "earliest" due, the Government has demanded, made a higher price for by demanding, and paid off with the proceeds of the sale of more than $400,000,000 gold, a corresponding amount of the interest-bearing obligations of the United States not due.

Besides, Mr. Matthews omits from the whereases that drive him to a resolve one whole act, a "whereas" just as coercive as any, to wit, the act of February 12, 1873, which abolished the then obsolete silver coin of 412.5 grains, and refused it thereafter the name and quality of "dollar." So that, like him who lost his eyes in the bramble-bush, if this Senator has whereased himself from legislation previous to 1877 into a resolve to have such a coin and dub it "dollar," he can whereas himself out again into legislation also prior to 1877, and nobody hurt.*

* This is as good a place as any to refer to the common charge that the passage of the act of 1873 was furtive and fraudulent. On the contrary, the bill was prepared by John Jay Knox, Deputy Comptroller of the Treasury, in 1869, transmitted to the Senate by the Secretary of the Treasury, in 1870, the views and criticisms of the Mint and Treasury officers and others versed in metallurgy and coinage having been previously collected and published by order of the House of Representatives. Mr. Knox's report accompanied the bill, explained it, and referred specifically to the silver dollar and its discontinuance as a standard. For two years it was discussed,

But even if the act of 1873, bastard or heritable, were not such a finality as at least forbids the United States to abuse its sovereign coinage-power over its contracts made between voluntary and equal negotiants, Mr. Matthews's argument otherwise lacks cogency by its omission of an essential part of merely legal facts and relations. This time it is the central core of the legal truth which he overlooks. For it is here submitted that the essential characteristic of the laws prescribing and regulating the coined legal money of the Union, from the beginning when Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury, supposing that gold and silver could both be kept in circulation as full legal tender at a ratio of exchange, to be ascertained from the markets, and then declared and fixed by law, and the original coinage act

amended, conferred upon by committees of the two Houses, and, after three years' consideration, after a recommendation by the Secretary of the Treasury in his annual report for 1872 to "prohibit the coinage of silver for circulation in this country," and after a speech by Judge Kelley, of Pennsylvania, declaring: "It is impossible to maintain the double standard. You must have one standard coin which shall be a legal tender for all others, and then you may promote your domestic convenience by having a subsidiary coinage of silver," the bill was passed, and became law. The charge thus refuted by the *Congressional Record* and executive documents, is also refuted by the economic journals of the time, the discussions of experts like Frederick Hendriks (London *Economist*, May 5, 1873) and Bagehot, and the admirable and exhaustive treatise ("The Metric System," Appendix A) by President Frederick A. P. Barnard, of Columbia College, which, by-the-way, may disclose the origin of the slight change in the half and quarter dollar, etc., enacted in the same law, whereby they were happily brought into some conformity with the metric coins of the Latin Union and several states of Central and South America. It is surprising that when so many men waked up, after the price of silver fell, to find themselves defrauded of a proper knowledge of its demonetization in the act of 1873, not one of them has yet risen in his wrath to denounce the foreign bondholders, by whose machinations probably Congress, about the same time, was seduced into permitting him to measure his whiskey in hectolitres and his weight, when mad, in kilogrammes. The indictment for bastardy brought against the act of 1873 omits to name the father; but that is of course a trifle which "the 5,000 representative men of Chicago," at their next mass-meeting, will doubtless correct. Since the act followed twelve years after the complete disuse and actual expulsion of silver by rag-money, it might be as well for them not to charge it with depreciative efficacy in the same breath that they expose the secret, black, and midnight deed. And if their purpose be indeed to raise the price of silver by the silver bill, so that no creditor shall be cheated a cent's worth in "the sweet by-and-by," they will do wisely to rebuke, at the next "terrible" arousal of their wrath, Senator Jones, General Ewing, Judge Kelley, and others, who assembled the same day in Washington as they in Chicago, and organized a "greenback league" and "intelligence bureau" for franking and "snowing" old inflation speeches over the Eastern States.

said that "in all payments shall" [lbs. Silver] 15 = 1 [Gold lbs.], down to the year 1853, when Thomas Corwin, of Ohio, was followed by James Guthrie, of Kentucky, as Secretary of the Treasury, and this Government abandoning the attempt to find, follow, or fix that ratio, reduced silver to a subsidiary coinage, demonetized it by taking from the fractional coins 7.4 per cent. of their weight, and limiting their legal tender to five dollars—from 1792 to 1853, the quintessence of every coinage act has been to find and fix an equality in market value and purchasing power between that quantity of gold and that quantity of silver upon which those acts conferred the name of "dollar" and the quality of legal tender.

"Dollar" being the name of our standard of value in either metal, whatever the ratio and whether one term of the ratio was a numerical unit, and the other term 15 or 16 of those units, or whether both terms were of troy grains bearing the same ratio as the units in the other case, the purpose of the ratio always was to insure equal purchasing or paying power to the defined quantity of either metal—was always to indorse the commercial equivalence symbolized in the sign of equality. "Dollar" being the legal unit in every equation and act of exchange, and both metals having the full legal-tender quality, the first purpose of those honest law-makers was to see that the dollar coined in gold and the dollar coined in silver were equivalents, and, by prescribing their respective weight and fineness, to give them but a single significance on either side of the equation. So long as we endeavored a bi-metallic currency, from 1792 to 1853, and whatever the terms of the ratio, *in hoc signo*, in that sign of equality, =, conforming to the commercial fact and establishing the legal fact, resided and reside the public honor and the midmost heart of every coinage law.

Yet the silver bill proposes that the unvaried "dollar" of American coinage, now by law housed in 25.8 grains of standard gold, shall also be found in 412.5 grains of standard silver, these quantities being to each other as 1 to 16, whereas the commercial equivalence of the metals now is found in the ratio of quantity, 1 = 17, or even 1 = 18, and fluctuating daily. And Messrs. Matthews, Ewing, Jones, and Bland, would fain persuade us to revive an obsolete, discarded silver piece, in order that the United

States may pronounce its equality to the gold-coined "dollar" in law, and profit by its inequality in fact.

There is still another coinage act and a group of coinage facts necessary for Mr. Matthews to regard, although, to be sure, they quarrel with his conclusion. Owing partly to the Government's errors, pointed out by Mr. Gallatin, in the established ratio of quantities of the two metals made equal in exchange, and partly to changes in that ratio which took place after a certain one had been fixed, the old bi-metallic difficulty, and partly also to other causes tedious to mention, the unit coined in silver, being then worth more as metal than as "dollar," streamed to the melting-pots and foreign parts. Few were coined, none remained in use.*

But, so that silver might be kept in the country for its convenience as small change, an act in 1853 was passed omitting mention of the silver dollar altogether, for it had practically ceased to exist, reducing the quantity of silver in the half-dollar and minor pieces, and limiting their legal tender. Now, where there is a silver coinage subsidiary to gold, overvalued and of limited legal tender, the standard of value for it and every other commodity is, and cannot but be, gold. The enactment of 1853, therefore, it was, standing in unimpaired authority when silver and gold gave place to paper, which then consigned silver to its subsidiary *rôle*, discarded bi-metalism as impracticable with unlimited legal tender, and thenceforth made the dollar coined in gold our sole metallic standard and unit of value. The act

* But few dollars were coined in silver from 1792 to 1804, less than 1,800,000; none were coined from 1804 to 1839; few from 1839 to 1853, less than 1,100,000; few from 1853 to 1870, less than 2,800,000, and less than as many from 1870 to 1877. Our total coinage of the "dollar" in silver had thus been a trifle over $8,000,000, and this while during the same period from 1792 to 1877 our total coinage was over $1,205,000,000. According to the director of the Mint, the silver dollar of the Fathers of 1792 "did not enter to any extent into circulation as money." Nor did the silver dollar of the Fathers of 1837–'53, for, "notwithstanding there had been a continuous coinage of the small silver coins, they had in consequence of their undervaluation been melted and exported to an extent rendering change-money very scarce, and entailing great inconvenience to the country, and a new adjustment again became necessary." And now what was done? Such being the group of coinage facts, what was then the coinage act? In 1849 a gold dollar was coined (eagles and their multiples previously), and in the five years 1849–'53 more dollars were coined in gold than had been coined in silver from 1792 to 1877.

twenty years later did but give strength and entablature to that pillared law.

But were all this otherwise, were legal obstacles out of the way, were the obligations of honor and the refinements of equity all conciliated, the whole economic argument would still remain untouched, the whole prudential argument would be unapproached. Now, as to the latter, there are many persons like Del Mar who prefer instructing Ricardo to learning how to spell. For them the existence of a gigantic debt invites a summary scaling of its weight, with every consequence, as an act of consummate prudence and sure profit. To such minds the reply may be suited that the burden of the tax-payer can be lightened by no such contrivance. It is vain. Nothing less than total repudiation will do their job. That may entail some inconveniences, but it offers the only prize their rascality can more than clutch at. When a great debt has to be carried for years, entailing a constant necessity of renewing transactions, the only way of diminishing the profit of the bondholder is by practising scrupulous honesty upon him. That is the best policy. It beats cheating by about $338,000,000 in thirty years.*

In so far as the debt is held in the United States, the loss to the creditor classes would be at least as great as the gain to the debtor classes. Who are the creditor classes? Here are some of them. In the savings-banks of New York State, 861,000 persons are depositors of $319,700,000, and the assets of these banks include, moreover, $80,755,000 of United States securities. In the savings-banks of the United States over 2,500,000 persons are depositors of $1,377,000,000. Their deposits are small in most cases. They are the the wage-receivers, the industrious, saving poor. They are the lenders of this enormous amount to the borrowing banks which lend it again in larger sums to the borrowing capitalists and business-men who therewith employ the original lenders. The life-insurance companies of the United States, holding also among their assets $30,421,142 United States stocks and securities, have insured the lives of 706,179 persons, on which their present liability is $346,279,780. They, too, are agents for lending vast sums to the well-to-do, wherewith labor

* Mr. Ellis, of the Third National Bank, New York City, demonstrated this by calculations read in the ears of the Senate Finance Committee.

is employed. From these vast aggregates the silver bill will strike off ten per cent. of the value. In the census of 1870, as Mr. Garfield vainly told the blatant repealers of the resumption-day pledge, it was calculated that on any given day there were $120,000,000 due to laborers in the United States for their unpaid wages. The silver bill proposes to swindle them of $10,000,000 before cock-crowing.

In short, the creditor class is the numerous class, and the debtor class the small class, as any man may see by polling his own and his neighbor's households. The great capitals are the aggregate of small savings. So the "more money" that is cried for, silver or shinplaster, is not the needed thing. It is this loanable capital, now paralyzed with distrust by delayed resumption, and imminent silver swindles. Having aught to sell that bears a market price, who, between Pembina and Key West, finds the sale frustrate for lack of currency or some means of exchange? Having a well-devised enterprise to employ capital and labor at a profit, what captain of industry, from Bangor to Galveston, ever found loanable capital so hard to get at any price? Who knows the "dollar's" future worth? But if our captains of industry cannot hire capital, they cannot employ labor; and that implies hungry mouths unfed, shivering at cold hearths, and the wolves of poverty at a thousand doors.

Ignorance which seats itself in the chair of Knowledge is thus the mother of revolutions in politics, Chicago resolutions, and Missouri silver bills. The prosperity of the people of the whole Union now depends upon their ability to detect charlatanism by its apparent marks, and to choose, rather than the blind leadership of blind guides in Congress, a wise deferring to the authority of the consentient judgment of the practised economists, the best financiers, and the first statesmen, of the foremost civilized nations of both hemispheres. For, as De Morgan said to the circle-squarers, it would be right and proper for every hungry hodman or unemployed ditcher to say to his well-fed representative who applies silver solutions to national finance: "Mr. Moses, before I allow you to lead me over the Red Sea, I must have the proof that you are learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians on this subject."

MANTON MARBLE.

XI.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

1.—*Political Science, or the State Theoretically and Practically Considered.* By THEODORE D. WOOLSEY, late President of Yale College. 2 vols. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co. 1878. 8vo, pp. x.–585, vi.–626.

DR. WOOLSEY justly observes in his introduction that the theory of the state and the theory of rights are closely connected, and he accordingly proceeds at the outset to examine the doctrine of rights, as the starting-point for the consideration of organized society. He then proceeds to assume, as the foundation of his argument, the moral freedom of man, the moral order of the world (non-utilitarian), and a system of final causes. Then follows a discussion of rights, which, we are not surprised, leads to the conclusion that "natural rights" are "those which by fair deductions from the present physical, moral, social, and religious characteristics of man he must be invested with, and which he ought to have realized for him in a jural society in order to fulfill the ends to which his nature calls him." It is not difficult with such a definition to do what we please with the science of politics, and we confess a sense of obligation to Dr. Woolsey for not having done more than construct a treatise in which, whatever the method of reasoning may be, the conclusions are in general only those which agree with the best opinion of the time as to government. But, taking his system as he states it, a fair deduction from man's characteristics can be arrived at only in two ways, either by accepting Dr. Woolsey's statement of it, or by taking the common consent of mankind on this point; the fulfillment of the ends to which his nature calls him must be got at in the same way. So that we are really very much where we were at the beginning, notwithstanding the important assumptions at the outset.

We have not the space to discuss Dr. Woolsey's treatise as it deserves, and we merely desire to point out here certain defects in the philosophical foundations he lays down at the outset, which prevent us from being able to regard the book as a contribution to science, properly so called. The great test of true science is the possibility of successful prediction, and the most perfect illustration is that given by astronomy, in the case of verified predictions of the movements of the heavenly bodies. Science has, however, invaded the domain of human social life so little as yet, that, in most of the branches relating to law and government, prediction is not thought of, except in an empirical way, as a forecast of things likely to happen in the future from what has happened in the past. But here and there true science has made its appearance, most notably in political economy, but also in matters not connected with economies. As has been pointed out by an able writer in the pages of this REVIEW, political economy has taken its place among the sciences in precisely the same way that astronomy has. The science proceeds upon the postulate of man as an animal seeking profit. Abstracting his other qualities, it proceeds to declare consequences from this assumption. Hence the objection made in certain quarters of recent years, to the science, that it overlooked the other motives, appetites, and desires of man, is not merely beside the point, but shows an incapacity on the part of those raising it for the discussion of the subject; for it is precisely by this abstraction that the science is possible at all. Now, political economy proves itself to be a true science by the possibility of successful prediction. The laws relating to currency have been verified over and over again, by the expulsion of the more valuable of two currencies from circulation. The law of profits and that of demand and supply are verified every day in the courts. So, too, in law, though it would be absurd to claim that this prudence has reached the position of a true science (and indeed the practical part of it must always remain an art), there are still many matters already connected with it which have been rescued from the domain of empiricism. The effect of certain sorts of legislation—for instance, on pauperism and on crime—can be predicted with absolute certainty, and the theory of its action is as well understood as that of gravity. So, too, with politics, there are certain laws which can now be formulated with considerable precision. The effect of an elective judiciary combined with universal suffrage can be foretold with certainty; so can the effect on administrative machinery of rotation in office. We do not, any longer, in either case, ask em-

pirically what has been found to be the effect of these systems in the past; but we inquire on what motives, appetites, and desires of the judge the system of election by a wide popular constituency acts. Finding that they act necessarily on motives the activity of which tend to make him unjust, oppressive, partial, and corrupt, ready to sacrifice the interests of the public to his own, we infer that all this will tend to make him a bad judge; and we shall have no hesitation in predicting that there will always be a tendency in any community having such a judiciary to have judicial scandals and a bad administration of justice. And so in the other case we have mentioned.

In order to advance political science in this direction, it is necessary to follow this true scientific method: that is, to abstract from the persons charged, under any form of government, with the performance of particular duties, all other than their official qualities, and then ask ourselves what effect on them in their official character will this or that political arrangement result in. A great and perhaps the most valuable part of the *Federalist* consists of speculations of this kind, directed to ascertaining the probable effect on President, judges, senators, etc., etc., of the proposed Constitution of the United States. Political science had already, at the time of the *Federalist*, made such advances that the speculations of Hamilton, Madison, and Jay, have been generally verified by the event.

This, of course, is but a small branch of political science; but, within the narrow limits that it covers, it is true science. The chief fault that we find with Dr. Woolsey's treatise is that it is not science at all, but either, first, an encyclopedic statement of facts connected with a variety of political systems or experiments; or, second, a highly-confused medley of principles drawn from all sorts of philosophies which do not advance the subject, and indeed would naturally tend to induce the reader to believe that political science was something like alchemy or astrology. Dr. Woolsey is bound, if he discusses rights at all, to adopt or reject the theory of natural rights. We cannot make out that he does either. On the first pages of his book he states, as the object of what he calls a "just" state (it is obvious that this term is incapable of precise definition), the protection of personal rights. But, perceiving that this limits his abstract state to a jurisdiction beyond which all actual states go, he adds that it "has other most important objects placed before it" (page 2). It would be interesting to know what these objects are, but how are we to discover this? If, as he says (page 4), the individual must,

"in order to fulfil his work in the world," have certain "powers of action" (rights), and these powers of action are "lodged in the individual by nations" (page 6), it would seem as if the first thing for the state to do was to find out what the work to be fulfilled was, and then give the appropriate powers of action or rights. But, on the contrary, we find (page 4) that "society was never meant to be the principal means by which the perfection of the individual was to be secured." From these few quotations it is obvious that the fundamental assumptions of Dr. Woolsey's system are strangely confused. The reason is, that he has at every stage introduced theological conceptions into his reasoning. He assumes throughout, as he says, the doctrine of final causes. He does not regard man as a political animal, but as "fulfilling a work." Society he does not regard simply as an organized aggregation of individuals, but as existing for religious ends. Now, we do not say that this is untrue. But politics as a science will make no progress while such considerations are admitted to its discussions—and this for a very simple reason: no two people are agreed about the doctrine of final causes; no two people are agreed as to the religious mission of man or of the state; and, therefore, in any discussion into which they are brought, one term of it is practically unknown, and, at the same time, variable at the pleasure of the disputants. That politics should ever be approached in this way, shows how little advanced the scientific conception of it is. If any one were to begin a treatise on political economy, or even on law, with reference to the "mission" of the state, and the fulfillment of the individual's "work in the world," and the final causes, and make them part of his argument, he would simply be regarded as an unscientific man. But in politics we are still, as a Comtean would say, in the theological or metaphysical stage; we confess to a disappointment at finding the former head of one of our oldest institutions of learning doing so little to help it forward to the position of a positive science.

In what we have said we have simply had in mind the philosophical portions of Dr. Woolsey's work; with regard to all that large portion which discusses prractical political questions, and the history of government, what he has to say is often valuable and interesting.

2.—*Myths and Marvels of Astronomy.* By Richard A. Proctor. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1877. 8vo, pp. vi.-363.

This book consists of a number of essays on matters connected with astronomy, of a popular sort. Mr. Proctor is one of the not

small number of English *savants* of celebrity who have devoted a large part of their time to the popularization of the science. Scientific men who do this always run the danger of arousing the suspicion and distrust of their professional brethren in the exact ratio of their success with the non-professional public ; and this danger Mr. Proctor has not escaped. As he incurs it in the interest of the public, the least the public can do in return is to express its indebtedness to him for his self-sacrifice ; and no one who reads his present book can fail to feel a lively gratitude to the author. The "myths" of which it gives an account are, some of them, the old legends (such as those which still survive in the names of the constellations), and some the later inventions, fancies, and paradoxes, which have sprung up even in the broad scientific daylight of modern times. Perhaps the most interesting chapter is that in which the author discusses the "Mystery of the Pyramids," and proposes a solution of it, which is, to say the least, highly ingenious. His theory is, that the kings who successively erected them did so at the instance of astrologers, and for the purpose of having their horoscopes calculated and their lives protected (as was always supposed possible) by frequent consultation of the stars. Mr. Proctor points out that many if not all the facts we know about the pyramids—their shape, the fact that each pyramid was built by a separate king (as would be necessary if the purpose related to each one's individual life), and so on—are all explicable on his theory, but not on any of those usually advanced. He has also some very curious speculations on the antiquity of the constellation-figures, or rather on their origin, founded on astronomical calculations as to the apparent position of the stars in them in periods of remote antiquity ; and he gives a perhaps unnecessarily full account of the once-famous "moon-hoax"—a story which does not heighten the reader's respect for the condition of public intelligence in this country forty years since.

3.—*The Life and Words of Christ.* By CUNNINGHAM GEIKIE, D. D. New York : D. Appleton & Co. 1877. 2 vols., 8vo, pp. xvi.–588, iv.–670.

DR. GEIKIE states in his preface that he has tried to restore as far as possible the world in which Christ moved, the country in which he lived, the people among whom he grew up and ministered, the religion in which he was trained, in fact all the surrounding circumstances and events necessary to a full comprehension of his life.

Of course, such a work does not profess to be critical. It aims rather at being interesting. Dr. Geikie has drawn for his materials upon every available source. From Ewald to Renan, and from Milman to the author of "Ecce Homo," he has taken everything that came to his hand, and has, as a result, produced a book which, considering the popular object in view, is very successful. It is profusely illustrated; the style is picturesque, not to say turgid; and much, if not all, the information highly interesting. It is not a book for students, as may be inferred from the summary manner of disposing of the criticisms of the authenticity of the fourth Gospel adopted. In vol. i., pp. 457 and 579, Dr. Geikie says:

"We owe our knowledge of the period immediately following the temptation, to the narrative of the fourth Gospel, written after the others. The splendor of the later ministry in Galilee seems to have overshadowed the humbler beginnings of the earlier period, in the other Gospels, so that they are almost passed over by them. Happily, however, John preserves for us, in comparative detail, the incidents of these silent months in which the public life of Jesus was slowly opening into full flower. How much would have been lost had his record not been given! There is a peculiar charm in the glimpses they supply of the early spring-time of the Saviour's ministry; a tender fragrance all their own."

In a note on this passage he adds:

"I confess I have no sympathy with the critics who would seek to invalidate the fourth Gospel. To me it carries its evidence in itself, for of it, as of him of whom it tells us, we may confidently say, 'Never man spake like this.'"

"Critics" who examine any external evidence with regard to the authenticity of the Gospel would hardly have much patience with this way of treating the question. But, as he says, Dr. Geikie is no critic. His object is picturesque and readable sacred biography, and in this he succeeds.

4.—*New Ireland.* By A. M. Sullivan, Member of Parliament for Louth. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1878. Pp. 532.

The history of Ireland during this century presents an interesting picture of the gradual but steady extinction of bitter religious hatred and class feuds by means of social and political reform, ending in the elevation of the people from a condition not far removed from that of savages to that of an industrious, free, modern community. Through this period Mr. Sullivan has lived, himself taking

part in many of the stormy scenes which make up its annals, and his book consists chiefly of sketches of the most interesting events of recent Irish history. It is a book which ought to be widely read in this country, where delusions on the subject of British tyranny and the aspirations of Irish agitators have been the source of much misunderstanding, and even loss of property and life. It is only a few years since one of the anniversaries celebrated regularly in the streets of New York with violence, riot, and not infrequently bloodshed, was that of the battle of the Boyne. The Irish vote has always been a powerful force in city politics. We have seen native-American mayors masquerade in Irish colors, and heard native-American orators arouse the wild enthusiasm of native-American audiences by glowing descriptions of the wrongs of Erin. We have had even an Irish republic established on our soil, and had our neutrality laws defied by Irish expeditions setting out from within our borders to prey upon neighbors with whom we were at peace. Besides all this, we were dependent on Ireland for half a century for domestic service—reason enough of itself for a keen interest in the progress of the country.

The fundamental mistake we made at the outset in dealing with the Irish, as will be apparent to any one who reads Mr. Sullivan's book, is in treating them like citizens of a modern civilized state, accustomed to well-defined rights, to respect for life and property, to the exercise of political franchises, and having political feelings, aims, desires, and ambitions, only different from our own in the fact that they had been suppressed by arbitrary power. On the contrary, the Irish who emigrated here until very recent times came from a country in which the mass of the population had never emerged from the clan-condition, in which they were totally unaccustomed to political combination, as we understand it, or to parliamentary customs, but followed blindly, with absolute confidence, the leaders whom they had been taught to trust, not because they had by any rational process arrived at a belief in a coincidence of aims, but because either it was a matter of religion to trust them, or a matter of inheritance, or because in some faction-fight they had proved their friendship. Down to a comparatively recent period the English were accustomed to speak of the Irish "savages," and we are not, even on this side of the Atlantic, unfamiliar with the expression "wild Irish"—neither epithet being given in derision, but growing out of the actual condition of the population. The "stage Irishman," for whom Mr. Sullivan, in common with all true patriots, has a

supreme contempt, was, after all, a sort of laudable æsthetic compromise between the barbarian himself and a certain ideal which he may be supposed to have kept in view—equally distant from the type from which it was taken, and the type into which reform has finally developed it. But we are trespassing on Mr. Sullivan's ground. In his book will be found a good many lively sketches—now and then perhaps a little too Irish in tone, but always entertaining—beginning with quite a charming picture of the Ireland of his boyhood, and coming down to the year of grace 1877.

5.—*Modern Philosophy from Descartes to Schopenhauer and Hartmann.* By Francis Bowen, A. M., Alford Professor of Natural Religion and Moral Philosophy in Harvard College.

On taking up this work we were partially misled by its title. It is by no means a history of modern philosophy from Descartes to Hartmann; for it says little or nothing of the foremost names among British philosophers, and omits even many Germans who are included in all other histories of philosophy. One chapter is given to Berkeley, but only the merest mention to Bacon, Hobbes, Locke, Hume, Reid, Stewart, Mill, Hamilton, Calderwood, and Bain; and, out of the whole line of German metaphysicians between Leibnitz and Hartmann, Prof. Bowen discusses only the doctrines of Kant, Fichte, Schelling, Hegel, and Schopenhauer. He tells us, indeed, in his preface, that it has not been his purpose to write a complete history of modern philosophy, but to present a full analysis and criticism of the systems only of those great thinkers whose writings have permanently influenced the course of European thought. Yet surely it can neither be affirmed nor taken for granted that the works of Bacon and Locke were not among the most influential in shaping modern thought, and that Hume's speculations were merely a minor force in producing the great resultant. Had it not been for Bacon, we might have known neither a Hobbes nor a Berkeley nor a Locke; had it not been for Locke, we might not have had a Hume; and, had it not been for Hume, we might not have seen an Immanuel Kant. In fact, the influence of Hume in modern European philosophy appears to us to have been greater than that of any other thinker, not excepting Kant himself, whose "Critique" Prof. Bowen analyzes and expounds with unrivaled skill. The truth is that, considering the enormous labor of master-

ing the works of all the distinguished philosophers from Bacon and Descartes to Schopenhauer and Hartmann, Prof. Bowen, with all his patience and perseverance, could have mastered only a limited number of them, and that, as was natural, he has probably given us a history of his own reading and thought—the rise and progress of speculation in his own individual mind. And for this we are abundantly thankful. His task has been performed so well that the restriction of it is a recommendation, and we are better instructed and more gratified than if he had expatiated over a wider field. Even had he bestowed on us nothing more than his admirable treatise on Kant, we should have been his perpetual debtors. To one who is not a German scholar Kant cannot be made intelligible in a translation, and we do not know where so complete an explanation of Kant's philosophy can be found in the English language as in Prof. Bowen's five long chapters on that system.

His two chapters on Schopenhauer are extremely interesting as containing an account of the latest development but one of German speculation.

The two concluding chapters of the work—those on Hartmann's "Philosophy of the Unconscious"—are equally interesting, and for a similar reason. He proves that the philosophy of the unconscious is a great improvement upon the doctrine of Schopenhauer, though built on the same foundations. But we cannot go all the way with him when he endeavors to show that Hartmann often approaches the teachings of Christianity. No Christian believes in an unconscious intellect. To all believers an intelligence without consciousness is a contradiction in terms. *Nemo, ceu potius nil, sentet, nisi sentiat se sentire.*

We recommend Prof. Bowen's volume to all students of philosophy as bringing down its history to its latest period, and containing the freshest thought of an avowed Christian philosopher on the great subject.

---

6. —*Californian Pictures in Prose and Verse.* By Benjamin Parke Avery. New York: Hurd & Houghton; Cambridge, The Riverside Press. 1878. 8vo, pp. 344.

Some of the sketches contained in this volume originally appeared in the *Overland Monthly*, but they have been, the author says, "retouched" for this volume. His aim has been, as he modestly says, merely to give a few pictures of California scenery

from Nature, true to local color and form, and barely indicating the "salient characteristics of plant and animal life, and rocky structure." The book consists partly of verse, which, Mr. Avery tells us, makes no poetical pretension. But, whether it does or not, some of it contains much better poetry than is written in verses which make a great deal of such pretension. We have not space to quote, but must refer the reader to the book itself, in proof of the truth of what we say. Mr. Avery's "Pictures" would make, with some revision, a guide-book of a very high order; but the prose style would need a little looking after by some remorseless reviser.

7.—*Money and Legal Tender in the United States.* By H. R. LINDERMAN, Director of the Mint. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1877. 12mo, pp. x.–173.

IN this little manual Mr. Linderman has collected the laws relating to coinage, legal tender, and the money standard. The information at the present time, when the currency question is undergoing, as it usually does in Congress at least every five years, a thorough reëxamination, is valuable. Mr. Linderman does not share the delusions of the silver agitators, and his opinions on the subject of resumption and silver coinage are such as we could wish every one connected with the financial administration of the country held. He even goes so far as to intimate that the issue of forced paper legal-tender currency by the Government is invalid under the Constitution; but, as he is aware of the decisions of the Supreme Court on the subject, we hardly understand his position—though, to speak it with reverence, it may be doubted if the Supreme Court itself does.

8.—*Victor Hugo: Histoire d'un Crime—Déposition d'un Témoin.* I. *Première Journée—Le Guet-apens.* II. *Deuxième Journée—La Lutte.* Paris: CALLMANN LÉVY, éditeur. Ancienne Maison Michel Lévy Frères. 1877. 8vo.

TWENTY-FIVE years ago, or even twelve—nay, even five or six—this book would have been regarded on all hands as the most important of the day. It is the narration, by an eye-witness, of the memorable *coup d'état* of 1851, which put Louis Napoleon on the throne of France, and that eye-witness one of the most noted of living Frenchmen. It was written at the time, and by a succession of

chances now first sees the light, twenty-six years after the event, when France, after two revolutions, a disastrous foreign war, and a dismemberment of her territory, again has been trembling on the verge of intestine tumult. Napoleon is disgraced and dead, his dynasty brought to an end, his family in exile ; and Victor Hugo, exiled by him in 1851, denounces him, over his grave, as a traitor to France. Here, one would think, we have materials enough for public interest, and the book itself is certainly not devoid of it. It is written, as the title indicates, more in the manner of a novel than of history ; but the style is not inappropriate to the subject, for all the events recounted are to the last degree sensational. It suffers somewhat from the fact that it comes out in parts. The promise held out in the "Guet-apens" and the "Lutte" will no doubt be amply redeemed in the forthcoming "Massacre," "Victoire," and "Chute," which form the subject of the third and fourth days, and the conclusion.

The mind turns back involuntarily, in reading this French account of the doings of the Man of December and his motley crowd of co-conspirators, to Kinglake's English description. Both writers treat the events in a highly-picturesque manner, and Kinglake was under disadvantages of a certain kind in being a foreigner. Yet does not Victor Hugo labor under disadvantages of his own in being a Frenchman ? There always arises a feeling in the reader's mind, on meeting with French accounts of French political or revolutionary movements, that they have not the good-fortune to know how singularly their performances would look in the eyes of people accustomed to constitutional government. To an Englishman or American they always present the serious spectacle of a conflict between constitutional aspirations and a natural tendency to the most unconstitutional and irregular political behavior. Hence French politics has always to our eyes a little of the spectacular and dramatic about it, and the drama is never to us more than half serious. Thackeray, in his "Next French Revolution," has admirably burlesqued this aspect of French affairs ; but to a Frenchman there is, of course, no burlesque about it. He cannot see why it is amusing that a people who do not know what *habeas corpus* is, should insist on trial by jury ; or why, if they do not understand that the responsibility of officers of government for illegal acts and a free election is an unheard-of thing, they should care very much whether the government is called a republic or a constitutional monarchy. For these reasons intelligent Englishmen, or Americans, are often able to discuss French questions better than

the French themselves, and for this reason we are inclined to think that Kinglake's will, as a history, supersede Victor Hugo's. As a story, the "Histoire d'un Crime" will bear comparison with the author's other works in narrative power, while it has besides the advantage of being true.

9.—*The House Beautiful. Essays on Beds and Tables, Stools and Candlesticks.* By CLARENCE COOK. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co. 1878. 8vo, pp. 336.

A YEAR or two since the English press, and, if we remember right, our own to a slight extent as well, undertook an investigation of the mysterious relations existing between the manufacturers of pianos and the noble army of pianists. The result of the inquiry seemed to establish the fact that piano-manufacturers had succeeded, by means of the control of concert-halls, and by combinations with managers, in reducing the pianist to a condition not far removed from slavery. He is, it appears, not allowed to play on any instrument he pleases, but is bound to use the pianos of the particular maker who has established his sway over the territory the artist selects for his professional tour. If he is not inclined to use this instrument, he finds it impossible to effect an engagement; and thus the artist, longing to "interpret" his favorite composer—it may even be himself—is forced to pound out the praises of the well-known manufacturer Smith or Jones. At some concerts we have seen Smith's name conspicuously displayed on a placard hanging on the instrument, giving Smith for the time being far more fame than was allowed to Beethoven, Schumann, or Schubert. It was pointed out, at the time these disclosures were made, that the practice of enslaving pianists, and making them advertising agents, was cruel and corrupt, that it had a tendency to debase art, and was an imposition on the public.

We fear very much that Mr. Cook's book will expose him in some quarters to the charge of trying to establish a relation between authors and venders of domestic furniture, similar to that said to exist between pianists and piano-makers. He has in "The House Beautiful" attempted, as he says, to persuade people to abandon fashion, and pursue the paths of true art and taste in furnishing their houses. In this he is doing his duty as an artist and a citizen; and if he could induce New-Yorkers to carry out this reform, not merely singly, but by whole blocks and streets, he would be entitled to much public grati-

tude. But, in his zeal he has, unfortunately, it seems to us, refused to confine himself to general criticism of existing fashions, and to general indications of correct principles of construction and decoration in furniture, and insists on telling us to what stores we should go to purchase the things of the sort he describes, and incidentally indulges in a good deal of praise of all the persons (except himself) concerned in getting up the book which contains the information he is kind enough to give. We are told (p. 16) that the excellence of its woodcuts is due "to the long experience and to the patient skill of Mr. A. W. Drake;" that the good luck of having Mr. Drake's services is due to the excellent management of *Scribner's Monthly;* that the book "must long be dear to the lovers of art," because it contains "the drawing of Francis Lathrop and the engraving of Henry Marsh;" and (p. 17) that the "cover of the book" is due to Mr. Daniel Cottier; while there is also a complimentary notice of his firm, and of Mr. James S. Inglis, its representative here. On page 54 we learn that we had better buy our carpets of the houses of Morris & Co. and Cottier & Co.; that "William Pollock, carpet-manufacturer, 937 Market Street, Philadelphia, second door below Tenth Street," also turns out a carpet that it is well to have; (p. 33) that Venetian chairs of the "finer kinds" are to be found at "such shops as those of "Sypher or Mr. Hawkins." We have not counted the number of recommendations like these scattered through the book, but they are sufficiently numerous to furnish to an enemy of earnestness and truth in furniture, to one of the ungodly, in short, ground for a charge that the work, while ostensibly designed to further art and taste, is really nothing more nor less than an elaborate puff of "William Pollock, carpet-manufacturer, 937 Market Street, Philadelphia," and the other persons who are mentioned with such favor. We fear that this criticism may suggest itself to captious critics, and therefore we take this opportunity of saying that no one who knows Mr. Cook's reputation would for a moment think him capable of lending himself to such an attempt, and that his energetic praises of the persons referred to merely come from a genuine desire to make their merits known. It is a sad thought that the world is so full of deception and corruption that explanations of this sort are necessary, and it is a proof of Mr. Cook's childlike simplicity that this possible criticism should apparently never even have occurred to him.

With regard to the book we may now say, without violating the reader's sense of propriety, that it is the handsomest of the season;

that it contains many pleasing cuts, and that most of its suggestions are valuable; that those who follow them will find their lives rendered brighter and happier, though perhaps not cheaper, by doing so; while those who persist in their present course, and go on buying the wrong kind of candlesticks or beds or tables or stools, will live all their lives and finally die in disgusting darkness and ignorance: and we may add that, by the laws governing the inheritance of personal property, their sins will be visited upon their next of kin to the third and fourth generation.

10.—*The Book of Gold, and Other Poems.* By JOHN TOWNSEND TROWBRIDGE. With Illustrations. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1878. Pp. 81.

THIS collection of verse consists of five poems, three having a moral tendency—one being apparently intended for a satire on social shams and vanities; and one, called "Tom's come Home," one of those nondescript efforts usually put down in household books of poetry either as "Poems of the Affections," or under the head of "Miscellaneous." Mr. Trowbridge is a very popular poet. Without knowing anything about it, we should be willing to wager that more persons have read his poems than have read those of Lowell, Tennyson, and Bryant, combined; and, if popularity be the test, he is more successful than any one of the three. The secret of his popularity is his ability to express in easy verse the common—not to say trite—morality of every-day life. "The Book of Gold," for instance, recounts the reclamation of the gambler from the paths of vice by means of a book containing moral maxims (emphasized by being written in verse, and printed in italics). The author of this book, one Charles Masters by name, is an opium-eater, and dies in great misery, the redeemed gambler only coming in in time to receive his dying words. The moral of all this is, that we ought not to eat opium, or gamble, or, we may add, commit suicide, as the hero of the tale was just about to do when saved by "The Book of Gold." "The Wreck of the Fishing-Boat" is a sea-side story illustrating the wickedness of boys who neglect their father's orders with regard to fishing-boats, and thus involve maritime families in great perils. "The Ballad of Arabella" is one of those familiar pieces of satire indulged in more frequently by newspaper wags than by gnomic poets like Mr. Trowbridge, directed at the supposed habit of fashionable women of wearing enormous quantities of false hair and

false teeth, which at critical periods of their lives come off or out, thus exposing not merely their nakedness, but the hollowness, insincerity, and wickedness of "society." All these poems, except the last, which we protest against in the name of society and woman as a libel, are unobjectionable in sentiment and smooth in versification. They serve a double purpose, for they not only convey moral lessons in a simple and intelligible form to one class of readers, but to another they may afford a good deal of amusement in the thought that there exists any class of readers so infantile in mind as to read them with interest. Nevertheless it is so.

We may not improperly regard the pabulum furnished by Mr. Trowbridge as bearing a certain relation to that provided by Mr. Tupper. It would not be difficult, after becoming well grounded in Tupper, to find a new and keen pleasure in Trowbridge; but the neophyte should beware of reversing the natural order of progress. It would be impossible (we say it with the kindest of feelings to Mr. Tupper), after familiarizing the mind with the thoughts of Mr. Trowbridge, ever to go back to "Proverbial Philosophy." As the well-taught child begins with pot-hooks, and thence proceeds to letters of the alphabet, so should the child of larger growth begin with Tupper and work up to Trowbridge. Higher levels will still be open to him after he has mastered both.

11.—*Upper Egypt: Its People and its Products. A Descriptive Account of the Manners, Customs, Superstitions, and Occupations of the People of the Nile Valley, the Desert, and the Red Sea Coast, with Sketches of the Natural History and Geology.* By C. B. KLUNZINGER, M. D., with a Prefatory Notice by Dr. Georg Schweinfurth. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co. 1878. 8vo, pp. xv.–408.

DR. KLUNZINGER left Europe in 1863 with the special object of making zoölogical investigations and collections in Egypt, but determined at the same time to study the country and its inhabitants. From 1863 to 1869, and again from 1872 to 1875, he lived at the Upper Egyptian seaport of Koseir, on the Red Sea, as "sanitary or quarantine doctor," under the Egyptian Government, but was also much occupied both on private and official business in the neighboring portion of the Nile Valley corresponding to the ancient Thebaid. As Dr. Schweinfurth says in his preface, "there could hardly be a better way of studying the people than by living among them in this

way, engaged in the practice of a profession which more, perhaps, than any other strips the veil from all disguises, and reveals the daily life of a community as it really goes on. Of course, any work on Egypt immediately suggests Lane, and the first question to be asked is, 'What does a new author give us that Lane had not given us already?'" This question Dr. Schweinfurth and the author answer as follows: Lane almost exclusively confined himself to life in a large town. His field of observation was the City of the Caliphs, "with the innumerable festivals and the pleasure-loving populace of an absolute monarch's capital." Dr. Klunzinger has seen Egyptian life in a more varied aspect.

He has produced a work of great value, a most interesting accumulation of facts, and such a description of the actual manners and customs of the Egyptians as is to be found nowhere else. The translation does not appear to have been done by the best hands, but even with this defect the author's literary ability is seen to be of no mean order. He has a great deal of descriptive power, as the first page of his book bears witness:

"We are standing upon a mound of rubbish, entirely destitute of vegetation; above us the deep-blue cloudless vault of heaven; a gentle north wind guards us from being scorched by the glowing rays of a vertical sun; so dry and transparent is the atmosphere that the eye can wander unimpeded to the distant horizon, and take in every detail of the surrounding landscape. Verdant crops, interspersed at intervals by groves of palm-trees, clothe the level valley that stretches away toward the north; and through it a large river pursues its winding course, lending moisture and fertilization to the arid soil. Eastward and westward the green valley is bounded—the line of separation being sharply defined—by the bare, yellowish-gray desert, which sometimes loses itself in gently-rising plateaus, over which the eye cannot reach, sometimes terminating suddenly in precipitous, rocky hills.

"At our feet lies a confused and labyrinthine collection of houses forming a considerable town. The houses, built of crude, unburnt bricks, are mostly one story high, flat-roofed, pierced with few apertures for light, and often growing narrower toward the top, in the antique style. Amid these rise a number of tall minarets, large cupolas with their vaulted roofs, and neat, quadrangular, battlemented towers—the last having their walls pierced with numerous holes, in which the pigeons carry on their busy traffic, while the grayish clay-color of the houses is richly relieved by the perennial green of the palms and other trees interspersed among them. Most of the buildings show signs of decay, and a considerable portion of the town is in ruins. With difficulty we make out streets and thoroughfares in this labyrinth, the houses standing apart from each other and being arranged in rows; and here and there larger areas are left free from buildings. . . . In a shady

grove in front of the town a man with a full beard and expressive features is seriously and quietly spreading a carpet on the ground. His head is covered with a large roll of linen, the turban; his body, bronzed of a deep-brown color, is enveloped in a full toga with wide sleeves reaching down to his feet. He takes off his red slippers, steps devoutly and composedly on the carpet, turns his face toward the southeast according to an invariable rule, and prostrates himself before the Almighty. In another spot sits or squats a son of the country, who, in contemplative mood, imbibes from a long pipe and a tiny cup the permitted luxuries of tobacco and coffee. Round the walls of the house before us a ghost-like being steals, the whole figure, from the crown of the head to the feet—which are alone visible—carefully enveloped in a wide mantle, which falls in numerous folds. We are told that it is one of the fair sex.

"We have seen enough, even though we had been carried away by a geni in the darkness of the night, and set down here on this mound of *débris*, to let us know that we are standing before a town in the Mohammedan East, far away from Central Europe—much farther even for the imagination to reach than the land of the West beyond the Atlantic. We are on the classic soil of the primeval Nile, far up in the south of Egypt, where the Mercury of the ninteenth century has indeed begun already to stretch out his wire feelers, where he goes and comes occasionally with his steam-pinioned sandals on road and liquid highway, leading after him the narrow-trousered bearers of civilization, but where he does not yet feel himself at home, and where the people rejoice in their aboriginal state of existence."

This is a good specimen of Dr. Klunzinger's style at its best; but it must not be supposed that the body of the book is made up of writing like this. Most of it consists of a painstaking and minute account of manners and customs; the author gives us the Egyptians eating, drinking, talking, walking, sleeping, marrying, and dying. It is a photographic reproduction, a description, and a guide-book as well. Dr. Schliemann calls it the "Baedeker" of Egypt, and the epithet is not undeserved. It will, we fancy, be in the future an unheard-of thing for any traveler to go to the Upper Nile without his Klunzinger, or at least for any one to talk about going there without pretending to be familiar with it. Besides the exact account of modern life it contains, the author also observes all cases —and they are, of course, very numerous—of identity between the manners of ancient and modern Egypt, and gives a considerable amount of accurate scientific information. It differs not only from Lane, but also from the more recent volume by McCoan, which consists mainly of a description, reënforced by a vast array of statistics, of the political system of the khedive.

12.—*Budge and Toddie: their Haps and Mishaps. An Illustrated Edition of Other People's Children.* By the author of "Helen's Babies." The Designs by LUCY G. MORSE. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1878. 12mo, pp. vii.–303.

MR. HABBERTON is the author of a new kind of book, the popularity of which is, to our minds, not only surprising, but humiliating. Descriptions of children are often interesting and amusing to grown people, and books about children's doings have often before now obtained a great and lasting success. But, in the case of the children whom Mr. Habberton describes, the interest that is aroused would, it seems, only be possible in an extremely degraded and low, and indeed almost effete state of society. His children are nothing more than mischievous little animals, more destructive and noisy than cats or dogs; but, as far as we can discover, without a single redeeming quality. We confess that we think both his children and their doings are utterly beneath criticism, and the only reason why we say a word about them is because, from the attention they have attracted, one might suppose that they already bid fair to become classics. The antics of "Budge" and "Toddie" furnish really most depressing reading, and, if they represent the "child of the period," all we can say is that the sooner he either grows up or dies the better.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

Through Rome On: A Memoir of Christian and Extra-Christian Experience. By NATHANIEL RAMSAY WATERS. New York: Charles P. Somerby. 12mo, pp. 352.

Hawthorne and Other Poems. By EDMUND CLARENCE STEDMAN. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. 16mo, pp. 164.

The Safety of Ships and of Those who Travel in Them. By JOHN M. WOODWORTH, M. D. 8vo, pp. 8.

Lives of Lord Herbert of Cherbury and Thomas Ellwood, with Essays. By WILLIAM D. HOWELLS. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. 24mo, pp. 369.

The General Subject of Quarantine, with Particular Reference to Cholera and Yellow Fever. By JOHN M. WOODWORTH, M. D. 8vo, pp. 13.

Memoirs of Frederica Sophia Wilhelmina, Princess Royal of Prussia, with an Essay. By WILLIAM D. HOWELLS. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. 24mo, pp. 268.

Life of Vittorio Alfieri, with an Essay. By WILLIAM D. HOWELLS. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. 24mo, pp. 357.

The Story of Avis. By ELIZABETH STUART PHELPS. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. 16mo, pp. 457.

The Principles of Science: A Treatise on Logic and Scientific Method. By W. STANLEY JEVONS. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 12mo, pp. 786.

Charlotte Von Stein: A Memoir. By GEORGE H. CALVERT. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 16mo, pp. 280.

Biology, with Preludes on Current Events. By JOSEPH COOK. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. 12mo, pp. 325.

A Book of French Poetry, from A. D. 1550 *to the Present Time.* Selected by JAMES PARTON. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. 12mo, pp. 515.

Lectures on the Centennial of American Independence. By JOSEPH P. THOMPSON. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. Crown 8vo, pp. 323.

Christianity and Humanity: A Series of Sermons by THOMAS STARR KING. Edited, with a Memoir, by EDWIN P. WHIPPLE. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. 16mo, pp. 380.

The Jimmyjohns and Other Stories. By Mrs. A. M. Diaz. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. 16mo, pp. 262.

Substance and Show, and Other Lectures. By Thomas Starr King. Edited, with an Introduction, by Edwin P. Whipple. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. 16mo, pp. 434.

The Religion of God and the Scientific Philosophy. By Joachim Kaspary. London: The Freethought Publishing Company. 8vo, pp. 56.

The Mount: Speech from its English Heights. By Thomas Sinclair. London: Trübner & Co. 12mo, pp. 302.

A Defence of Russia and the Christians in Turkey. By Sir Tollemache Sinclair, Bart., M. P. London: Chapman & Hall. 2 vols. 16mo, pp. 252, 257.

Our Merchant Marine. By Charles S. Hill. New York: Slote & Janes. 16mo, pp. 56.

New Ireland. By A. M. Sullivan. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. Crown 8vo, pp. 532.

Introduction and Succession of Vertebrate Life in America. By Prof. O. C. Marsh. Royal 8vo, pp. 57.

Voltaire. By Colonel Hamley. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 16mo, pp. 204.

The United States as a Nation. By Joseph P. Thompson, D. D. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. Crown 8vo, pp. 323.

California Pictures in Prose and Verse. By Benjamin Parke Avery. New York: Hurd & Houghton. 8vo, pp. 344.

Persons, Places and Things. By Popular Writers. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 8vo, pp. 279.

Maryland's Influence in Founding a National Commonwealth. By Herbert B. Adams, Ph. D. 8vo, pp. 123.

The Life and Words of Christ. By Cunningham Geikie, D. D. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 2 vols., royal 8vo, pp. 588, 670.

Angelo: A Poem. By Stuart Sterne. New York: Hurd & Houghton. 24mo, pp. 104.

Reminiscences and Anecdotes of Daniel Webster. By Peter Harvey. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. Crown 8vo, pp. 480.

Philosophie de la Science Politique, et Commentaire de la Déclaration des Droits de l'Homme de 1793. By Prof. Émile Acollas. Paris: A. Marescq Aine.

Early New England Interiors: Sketches in Salem, Marblehead, Portsmouth, and Kittery. By Arthur Little. Boston: A. Williams & Co.

From Egypt to Japan. By HENRY M. FIELD, D.D. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co. Crown 8vo, pp. 424.

Dictionary of Americanisms: A Glossary of Words and Phrases usually regarded as peculiar to the United States. By JOHN RUSSELL BARTLETT. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 8vo, pp. 813.

Hector Servodoc. By JULES VERNE. Translated by ELLEN E. FREWER. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co. Crown 8vo, pp. 370.

Mycenæ: A Narrative of Researches and Discoveries at Mycenæ and Tiryns. By Dr. HENRY SCHLIEMANN. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co. Royal 8vo, pp. 384.

Poetry for Children. By CHARLES and MARY LAMB. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co. 16mo, pp. 224.

Surly Tim. By FRANCES HODGSON BURNETT. 1 vol., small 12mo, cloth extra.

Upper Egypt. By Dr. C. B. KELUNZINGER. Illustrated from Original Sketches. 1 vol., crown 8vo.

About Old Story-Tellers: Of how and when they Lived, and what Stories they Told. By DONALD G. MITCHELL. With numerous Illustrations. 1 vol. small 12mo.

The House Beautiful. Essays on Beds and Tables, Stools and Candlesticks. By CLARENCE COOK. 1 vol., crown 4to.

The Beginnings of Christianity. With a View of the State of the Roman World at the Birth of Christ. By GEORGE P. FISHER, D. D.

Modern Philosophy, from Descartes to Schopenhauer and Hartmann. By Prof. FRANCES BOWEN. 1 vol., crown 8vo.

Faith and Philosophy; or, Discourses and Essays. By H. B. SMITH, D. D., LL. D.; with an Introduction by Rev. Dr. G. L. PRENTISS. 1 vol., 8vo.

The Final Philosophy; or, System of Perfectable Knowledge issuing from the Harmony of Science and Religion. By Prof. C. W. SHIELDS, D. D. 1 vol., 8vo.

Theological Essays. By Rev. Dr. G. T. SHEDD. 1 vol., crown 8vo.

Political Science; or, the State Theoretically and Practically Considered. By T. D. WOOLSEY, D. D., LL. D. 2 vols., 8vo.

Cyprus; its Ancient Cities, Tombs, and Temples. By General LOUIS PALMA DI CESNOLA. With Maps and Illustrations. New York: Harper & Brothers. 8vo, pp. 456.

The Silver Wedding. By EVAN AP COEL. London: Henry Lotherau & Co. 16mo, pp. 153.

Transcendentalism, with Preludes on Current Events. By JOSEPH COOK. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. 16mo, pp. 305.

Pottery and Porcelain, from Early Times down to the Philadelphia Exhibition of 1876. By CHARLES WYLLYS ELLIOTT. New York: D. Appleton & Co. Royal 8vo, pp. 358.

Memoir and Letters of Charles Sumner. By EDWARD L. PIERCE. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 2 vols., 8vo, pp. 380, 403.

Growth and Spirit of Christianity, from the First Century to the Dawn of the Lutheran Era. By the Rev. GEORGE MATHESON. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 2 vols., pp. 375, 400.

Contemporary Art in Europe. By S. G. W. BENJAMIN. New York: Harper & Brothers. 8vo, pp. 165.

THE

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

MARCH–APRIL, 1878.

No. 261.

Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur.

NEW YORK:
D. APPLETON AND COMPANY,
549 & 551 BROADWAY.
1878.

COPYRIGHT BY
ALLEN THORNDIKE RICE.
1878.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

MARCH-APRIL, 1878.

ART. PAGE

I. THE ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES. By General JAMES A. GARFIELD, Member of Congress from Ohio. With Letters of Generals SHERMAN and HANCOCK 193

II. ENGLISH AND AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES COMPARED. By CHARLES W. ELIOT, LL. D., President of Harvard College 217

III. STONEWALL JACKSON AND THE VALLEY CAMPAIGN. By General RICHARD TAYLOR 238

IV. THE DEATH-STRUGGLE OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY. By GEORGE W. JULIAN, of Indiana 262

V. THE POSITION OF THE JEWS IN AMERICA. By Rabbi GUSTAV GOTTHEIL 293

VI. THE POLITICAL ALLIANCE OF THE SOUTH WITH THE WEST. By JOHN F. MORGAN, United States Senator from Alabama 309

VII. THE DOCTRINE OF ETERNAL PUNISHMENT . . 323

By The Rev. NOAH PORTER, D. D., LL. D.,
President of Yale College.
The Rev. O. B. FROTHINGHAM.
The Very Rev. THOMAS S. PRESTON, V. G.
The Rev. HENRY W. BELLOWS, D. D.
The Rev. WILLIAM R. WILLIAMS, D. D.
The Rev. THOMAS J. SAWYER, D. D.

VIII. CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE:

1. May's Democracy in Europe, 358.—2. Fisher's Beginnings of Christianity, 361.—3. Moore's Prose and Verse, 363.—4. Harvey's Reminiscences and Anecdotes of Daniel Webster, 365.—5. Ribáry's Essai sur la langue basque, 368.—6. The New Republic; or, Culture, Faith, and Philosophy, in an English Country-House, 369.—7. Frothingham's Gerrit Smith, 370.—8. Adler's Creed and Deed, 372.—9. Jennings's Field-Paths and Green Lanes, 373.—10. Newcomb's Popular Astronomy, 374.

THE Editor disclaims responsibility for the opinions of contributors, whether their articles are signed or anonymous.

Cambridge, Mass.,
Feb. 6, 1878.

The undersigned proposes to publish an Index to the North American Review up to the time of its removal to New York, if a sufficient number of subscriptions are obtained to insure the publisher from loss.

The usefulness of such an Index will be at once apparent.

It will consist of two parts, Subjects and Authors—the list of authors compiled from reliable sources—and will make a volume of about 200 pages the same size as the North American Review.

The price, bound in cloth, will be $2.50.

Subscriptions are solicited.

WILLIAM CUSHING,
Assistant,
Harvard College Library.

P. O. ADDRESS,
70 Antrim St.,
Cambridgeport, Mass.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CCLXI.

MARCH-APRIL, 1878.

I.

THE ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES.

PART I.

THE following paragraphs have formed a part of the "law of the land" for more than eighty-five years, and were recently reënacted in the Revised Statutes of the United States:

"SECTION 1625. Every able-bodied male citizen of the respective States, resident therein, who is of the age of eighteen years, and under the age of forty-five years, shall be enrolled in the militia."

"SEC. 1628. Every citizen shall, after notice of his enrollment, be constantly provided with a good musket or firelock, of a bore sufficient for balls of the eighteenth part of a pound, a sufficient bayonet and belt, two spare flints, and a knapsack, a pouch with a box therein to contain not less than twenty-four cartridges, suited to the bore of his musket or firelock, each cartridge to contain a proper quantity of powder and ball; or with a good rifle, knapsack, shot-pouch, and powder-horn, twenty balls suited to the bore of his rifle, and a quarter of a pound of powder; and shall appear so armed, accoutred, and provided, when called out to exercise or into service. . . . Each commissioned officer shall be armed with a sword or hanger and spontoon."

"SEC. 1632. . . . The officers [of cavalry] shall be armed with a sword or hanger, a fusee, bayonet and belt, with a cartridge-box to contain twelve cartridges. . . . Each dragoon shall furnish himself with a serviceable horse, at least fourteen and a half hands high, a

good saddle, bridle, mail-pillion, and valise, holsters, and a breast-plate and crupper," etc.

Few of the younger men of our generation can interpret these provisions without the aid of a dictionary. The powder-horns, flints, fusees, muskets, hangers, spontoons, breastplates, and mail-pillions of our fathers, must be looked for, not in our arsenals, but in the cabinets of antiquaries. The sections of the law quoted above indicate how far modern improvements in the *matériel* of war have carried us since the close of the last century. Military implements, the supply of an army, its organization, tactics, and discipline, have constituted the elements of military science in all ages; but improvement in weapons and accoutrements appears to lead and control all the rest. Each new development in arms must be followed by a corresponding change in organization, discipline, and tactics. It would be interesting to trace the changes through which military science has passed during the last century. We should find, especially during the last half-century, that at the end of each great war some leading implement was mustered out of service, and replaced by a better one; and every such improvement has required a corresponding change in the prevailing methods of warfare. Just now, military inventors are inquiring whether it is easier to produce an irresistible projectile than an impenetrable target. When the problem shall be solved, the armaments of the civilized world must be conformed to the result.

During the great war for the Union, the United States acquired an experience in all branches of military science more rich and varied than in any previous half-century of our history; and many efforts have since been made, both by Congress and students of military science, to embody this experience in the better organization and equipment of our army.

It was the purpose of Congress, in the act of July 28, 1866, "fixing the military peace establishment," to make a permanent organization of the army, and to use, in its formation, the very excellent material which the war had developed. Public opinion, at that time, was almost unanimous that the army should be larger, in proportion to our population and extent of territory, than it was before the war; and the five regiments of artillery, ten regiments of cavalry, and forty-five regiments of infantry, constituting an army of fifty thousand men, authorized by that act, was con-

sidered as small a force as was consistent with the development of military science and the proper defense of the nation. Whether the change of opinion which has since taken place in Congress be founded on sufficient or insufficient grounds, it is not now worth while to inquire. But it should be remembered that at the date of the act fixing the peace establishment, and during several succeeding years, the duties of the national Government were necessarily of a semi-military character. It was a period of transition from war to peace; and the work of reconstruction, as undertaken by Congress, could only be successfully accomplished by the aid of the army. The employment of the army in a service so closely related to political action, produced not a little prejudice against the entire military establishment; and it should be mentioned to the credit of the army that, while the work was distasteful to all its leading officers, they not only performed their duty without a murmur, but bore, with honorable fortitude, the political criticisms which this unsought service brought upon them.

When the seceded States were restored to their normal relations to the Union, and the work of reconstruction was substantially complete, it became evident that the army was larger than the country needed for the ordinary service of peace; and the necessary economy required to reduce the heavy burden of taxation resulting from the war rendered imperative such reduction as was consistent with the public safety. As early as 1868 Congress addressed itself to the work of reconstructing the army on the basis of a smaller organization, and, in so doing, encountered some of the most difficult and delicate questions of statesmanship and military science. Not only in Congress, but also among officers whose experience in the field entitled their opinions to great weight, there was found the widest disparity of views on almost every leading topic of inquiry. Added to the inherent difficulties of the subject was the fact that no considerable reduction could be made without doing great injustice to officers who had abandoned the pursuits of civil life, and had so long devoted themselves to the military profession that they were in a measure unfitted for other avocations.

At every session of Congress since 1868, the question of the strength, organization, and administration of the army, has been examined and discussed with more or less thoroughness. But

legislation on the subject has consisted only of fragmentary acts, temporary makeshifts, in which repeated reductions have been effected in the force of the army, accompanied with the intimation that the work of reorganization was only postponed. By the act of March 3, 1869, all appointments and promotions in the line and staff of the army were stopped until further legislation by Congress, and all enlistments were stopped until the number of infantry regiments should be reduced to twenty-five. This act, together with the act of July 15, 1870, effected a reduction in the number of commissioned officers from 3,036 to 2,277; and the number of enlisted men was reduced by two steps, first from 51,605 to 35,000, and then to 30,000.

The act of June 16, 1874, reduced the number of commissioned officers to 2,161, and the number of enlisted men to 25,000. By the act of August 15, 1876, a temporary increase of 2,500 enlisted in the cavalry regiments was authorized, to meet the necessities of the Sioux War, but they were to be continued only during the Indian hostilities. And, finally, a bill is now pending (February, 1878) in the House of Representatives, which abolishes several of the staff departments, some by actual muster out, and others by consolidation, and musters out ten regiments of infantry, four of cavalry, and two of artillery. It reduces the force of enlisted men to 20,000, and requires the mustering out of 835 commissioned officers, with the provision, however, that, in case the Indian Bureau shall be transferred to the War Department, the President may retain in the service 198 of the proscribed officers of the lowest rank; but 637 commissioned officers will be peremptorily dismissed if the bill becomes a law.

Early in the discussion of the subject the difficulties connected with the proper adjustment of the several staff departments were so great that the expedient was adopted of suspending promotions in the staff altogether until it should be so reduced by the casualties of the service as to make the problem of reorganization more easy of solution. By the act of July 24, 1876, Congress referred the whole subject of reforming and reorganizing the army to a commission, to consist of two members of the Senate, two members of the House of Representatives, and two officers from the army, one from the line and one from the staff corps. Unfortunately, the act required the commission to

report to Congress the results of their deliberations by the 1st day of December following. The commission accumulated much valuable material, but their term of service expired before it was possible to reach satisfactory conclusions; and now the whole subject is again pending in Congress as unsettled as ever. In the mean time the efficiency of the army is seriously impaired by the uncertainty and apprehension which the situation produces; and the continual agitation of the subject by Congress, without reaching any conclusion, is a grievous wrong to the officers. It is the purpose of this article to give the readers of the REVIEW an opportunity to know what the army itself thinks upon these questions.

Probably every intelligent citizen recognizes the necessity of maintaining a regular army in time of peace, and for two reasons: 1. To keep alive the knowledge and practice of military science, so that, at any time, in case of foreign or domestic war, the nation may know how to defend itself against the most skillful enemy. A military establishment, sufficient for the attainment of this object, would be necessary, even if we had no present employment whatever for a single soldier. 2. To have constantly at our command an active, disciplined force sufficient to preserve inviolate the national boundaries; to protect our widely-extended frontier against a savage and treacherous race; to protect the public property and preserve the peace in all places subject to the exclusive jurisdiction of the United States; and to aid the several States in case of invasion or insurrection too powerful to be controlled by their local authorities. An army large enough to meet these two requirements will doubtless receive the generous and cordial support of all right-minded citizens. The size, character, and administration of such an army, are the factors of the problem now under discussion before the American people. Before expressing any opinion on the several questions involved in this controversy, we propose to hear what the leaders of military science are thinking in regard to it.

The papers laid before the commission already referred to, but not yet published, are of great value, both on account of the ability with which they were prepared, and the high character and varied experience of their authors.

The paper presented by the General of the Army gives us an

admirable condensation of the history of our army from the birth of the Constitution to the present time, and also his suggestions for the better organization and administration of our present establishment.

Its author has passed through all the grades of the service with distinguished honor. To a career of extraordinary brilliancy and success in the command of great armies in the field, and nine years of experience at the head of the army, since the war, he has added his own personal examination and study of the military establishments of the leading states of Europe.

His patriotism, breadth of views, and fullness of knowledge, entitle his opinions and recommendations to great weight.

We quote his paper entire:

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES,
WASHINGTON, D. C., *September*, 1876.

To Hon. J. D. CAMERON, *Secretary of War, and President of the Commission for the Reorganization, etc., of the Army.*

SIR: . . . In compliance with the resolution adopted by the commission at its first session, August, 1876, I have the honor to submit my individual views and opinions of the matters confided to our action.

Preliminary thereto, I have endeavored to select, from the American state papers, military affairs, and from the various reports of the Secretaries of War and committees of Congress, such documents as will show the gradual growth and development of the small army which existed at the time of the inauguration of our present Government in 1789.

From these it will appear that General Washington, in the very first year of his administration, called the attention of Congress to the neeessity of maintaining a regular force "to protect the frontiers from the depredations of hostile Indians; to prevent intrusion on the public lands, and to facilitate the surveying and selling of the same for the purpose of reducing the public debt." Subsequently, on January 21, 1790, he submitted a plan of the Secretary of War, General Knox, for the organization of the militia, with his famous report, which has been held as fundamental doctrine in this country ever since.

Yet in his "plan" of organization he seems to have been convinced by the arguments of Maréschal Saxe to adopt the old Roman legion as the "unit or basis," because it was a "little army in itself," composed of all parts, and "prepared to meet every species of war that could present itself."

Under this influence, and authorized by Congress, General Washington, in 1792, organized the then army into the "Legion of the United States," divided into four sub-legions. Each sub-legion contained one troop of dragoons, one company of artillery, four companies of rifles, and eight compa-

nies of infantry, amounting to 1,280 men, and the four sub-legions aggregated 5,120 officers and men.

The *general staff* was: one major-general, or legionary-general, four brigadier-generals, or sub-legionary generals, one adjutant, one quartermaster, one deputy-quartermaster, one surgeon, one chaplain.

Field-Officers.—Fourteen majors, fifty-six captains, sixty lieutenants, forty-eight ensigns, and four cornets.

In addition were allowed four surgeons, twelve surgeons' mates, and six surgeons' mates for garrison duty, or extra service.

This organization may be assumed as the foundation on which all subsequent armies have been built.

The experience of a few years, however, seems to have demonstrated that the modern regiment was better adapted to administration than the legion composed of all arms; and we find that by an act of Congress of March 6, 1802, the army was reorganized into a regiment of artillery, two regiments of infantry, a corps of engineers, and a general staff, aggregating 3,356. Many changes followed in quick succession, embracing the period of the war with Great Britain of 1812–'14; and in 1817 we find the army to have consisted of a general staff, corps of engineers, Ordnance Department, a regiment of light artillery, a corps of artillery, eight regiments of infantry, and one of rifles, aggregating 8,221 men.

Then, as now, the country was staggering under the effect of a large debt, incurred in the then recent war, which called for a reduction of the expenses of the General Government. Under a resolution of the House of Representatives, of April 17, 1818, the Hon. John C. Calhoun, then Secretary of War, submitted a special report on the subject of army organization and administration; and subsequently, on January 12, 1820, another on the same general subject, which reports seems to me so exhaustive, and so applicable to the present occasion, that nothing more need be written, further than to apply his principles and reasoning to the new state of facts.

He assumes as axioms:

"That the army, in organization and numbers, should have reference to the *objects* for which it is maintained. The objects for which a standing army in peace ought to be maintained, may be comprised under two classes: 1. Those which, though they have reference to a state of war, yet are more immediately connected with its duties in peace; and, 2. Those which relate immediately and solely to war. Under the first class may be enumerated as the leading objects, the garrisoning of our forts along the Atlantic frontier in order to preserve them, and to cause the sovereignty of the United States to be respected in their immediate neighborhood; and the occupying of certain commanding posts in our inland frontiers to keep in check our savage neighbors, and to protect our newly-formed and feeble settlements in that quarter. These are, doubtless, important objects, but are by no means so essential as those which relate solely to a state of war. . . .

"The great and leading objects, then, of a military establishment in peace, ought to be to create and perpetuate military skill and experience, so that at

all times the country may have at its command a body of officers sufficiently numerous and well-instructed in every branch of duty, both of the line and of the staff; and the organization of the army ought to be such as to enable the Government, at the commencement of hostilities, to obtain a regular force adequate to the emergencies of the country, properly organized and prepared for actual service. . . .

"To give such an organization, the leading principles in its formation ought to be, that at the commencement of hostilities there should be nothing either to new-model or to create. The only difference, consequently, between the peace and the war formation of the army ought to be in the increased magnitude of the latter; and the only change in passing from the former to the latter should consist in giving to it the augmentation which will then be necessary.

"It is thus, and thus only, the dangerous transition from peace to war may be made without confusion or disorder; and the weakness and danger which otherwise would be inevitable be avoided. Two consequences result from this principle: 1. The organization of the staff in a peace establishment ought to be such that every branch of it should be completely formed, with such extension as the number of troops and posts occupied may render necessary; and, 2. That the organization of the line ought, as far as practicable, to be such that, in passing from peace to the war formation, the force may be sufficiently augmented without adding new regiments and battalions; thus raising the war on the peace establishment, instead of incurring a new army to be added to the old, as at the commencement of the late war (1812). The next principle to be observed is, that the organization ought to be such as to induce, in time of peace, citizens of adequate talents and respectability of character to enter and remain in the military service of the country, so that the Government may have officers at its command, who to the requisite experience would add the public confidence. The correctness of this principle can scarcely be doubted, for surely if it is worth having an army at all, it is worth having it well commanded."

Since the date of that report the country has had the experience of three great wars, and innumerable conflicts with the Indians, yet the principles enunciated are the same to-day as in 1820. The various changes of organization and of the strength of parts are better illustrated by the documents and tables herewith, than by any written statement I might attempt, but it is seen clearly that the present organization and strength of the army result logically from antecedent events; and that measured by any standard—of the population of the country, its wealth, the extent of territory, the number of posts to be maintained, the routes of travel to be guarded, the public lands, from which trespassers are to be excluded, or indeed by any fair inference of necessity—it can be demonstrated that the existing military establishment, including all officers and enlisted men, aggregating 27,489, is less in proportion than was the Legion of the United States, fixed by General Washington in 1792.

Therefore, it would seem to be the part of wisdom to let well enough

Proposed Organization of the Army.

	Commissioned Officers.																	Enlisted Men.														Aggregate Officers and Men.
	General.	Lieutenant-General.	Major-Generals.	Brigadier-Generals.	Aides-de-Camp.	Professors.	Colonels.	Lieutenant-Colonels.	Majors.	Captains.	First-Lieutenants.	Second-Lieutenants.	Cadets.	Regimental Adjutants.	Regim'l Quartermasters.	Increase.	Diminution.	Total Officers.	Sergeant-Majors.	Quartermaster-Sergeants.	Commissary-Sergeants.	Chief Musicians.	Hospital Stewards.	Orderly-Sergeants.	Sergeants.	Corporals.	Artificers.	Musicians.	Privates.	Increase.	Diminution.	Total Enlisted.	
General officers	1	1	3	6	19	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	....	11	11	..	..	..	..	..	....	....	....	....	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	11
																		11															
SPECIAL STAFF CORPS.																																	
Engineers	..	..	..	1	..	..	6	12	24	30	30	10	...	..	..	4	..	113	1	1	1	2	..	4	12	12	8	8	200	45	.....	245	358
Ordnance	..	..	..	1	..	..	3	4	10	20	16	...	...	..	..	....	..	54	1	1	1	2	..	4	12	12	8	8	200	.....	155	245	299
Military Academy	..	..	..	..	..	9	..	..	..	..	..	..	312	..	..	....	..	321	1	1	1	2	..	2	6	6	4	4	100	127	.....	127	448
																		488															
STAFF DEPARTMENTS.																																	
Adjutant-general's	..	..	..	1	..	..	2	4	10	...	...	...	...	..	..	....	..	17	..	..	..	..	..	....	....	....	....	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	17
Inspector-general's	..	..	..	1	..	..	2	2	2	...	...	...	...	..	..	2	..	7	..	..	..	..	..	....	....	....	....	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	7
Quartermaster's	..	..	..	1	..	..	4	8	14	30	...	...	...	..	..	....	..	57	..	..	..	..	..	....	....	....	....	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	57
Subsistence	..	..	..	1	..	..	2	3	8	12	...	...	...	..	..	....	..	26	..	..	..	..	..	....	....	....	....	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	26
Pay	..	..	..	1	..	..	2	2	50	...	...	...	...	..	..	....	..	55	..	..	..	..	..	...	....	....	....	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	55
Medical	..	..	..	1	..	..	2	2	50	92	58	...	...	..	..	....	4	205	..	..	..	..	79	....	....	....	....	....	.....	.....	.....	79	284
Judge-advocates	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	4	...	...	...	...	..	..	....	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	....	....	....	....	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	5
Signal	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	...	...	...	...	..	..	....	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	....	....	....	....	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1
																		373															
LINE.																																	
5 Regiments artillery	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	5	10	60	120	60	...	5	5	....	10	270	5	5	5	5	..	60	180	180	120	120	3,000	1,080	.....	3,680	3,950
10 Regiments cavalry	..	..	..	..	..	..	10	10	20	120	240	120	...	10	10	110	..	540	10	10	10	10	..	120	360	360	240	240	6,000	.....	1,090	7,360	7,900
20 Regiments infantry	..	..	..	..	..	..	20	20	40	240	480	240	...	20	20	203	..	1,080	20	20	20	20	..	240	720	720	480	480	12,000	1,635	.....	14,720	15,800
																		2,762														26,456	29,218

alone, and to allow the existing army to increase or diminish by natural causes, according to the necessities of the country.

But on the supposition that the present commission prefer to accomplish a thorough reorganization, I have prepared the accompanying table, exhibiting an organization easily reached from the present standard, and which would better fulfill the second of Mr. Calhoun's principles of being enlarged to a war standard with the least possible "confusion or disorder," and "at the least possible expense."

It will be observed that I assume the new force, or peace establishment, to consist of five regiments of artillery, ten of cavalry, and twenty of infantry; each to have the same identical organization, leaving to the artillery and cavalry the same number of companies as now, and diminishing the number of infantry regiments by five, but adding two companies to each regiment, thus only disbanding ten of the existing companies. I take from the artillery and cavalry fifteen majors, and give twenty to the infantry, an increase of five; and give to each company of cavalry and infantry two first-lieutenants, the same that the artillery now have. This will increase the number of first lieutenants in the army by three hundred and sixty, a most valuable increase, because they are the active "duty-officers," and they constitute the school from which the country will, in times of war and danger, habitually draw the chief officers for hard service.

Examining the table further, we find that each regiment, of every arm of service, is composed of twelve companies, susceptible of being grouped into three battalions of four companies each, to command and administer which are—

One colonel, one lieutenant-colonel, two majors (one field-officer to command each battalion); one adjutant, and one quartermaster and commissary —making six officers; and —

One sergeant-major, one quartermaster-sergeant, one commissary sergeant, and one principal musician—making four non-commissioned staff.

Each company will have one captain, two first-lieutenants, and one second-lieutenant—making four officers; one orderly sergeant, three sergeants, three corporals, two artificers, two musicians, and fifty privates—making four officers and sixty-one enlisted men.

Each regiment would then contain, for a *peace establishment*, fifty-four officers and seven hundred and thirty-six enlisted men—aggregating seven hundred and ninety; or the

5	regiments of	artillery	= 60	companies	= 270	officers, and	3,680	men.
10	"	cavalry	120	"	540	"	7,360	"
20	"	infantry	240	"	1,080	"	14,720	"
					1,890		25,760	

Aggregating officers and men, 27,650.

To increase to the *war standard*, simply add to each company one sergeant, one corporal, and fifty privates, which would result as follows:

5	regiments of	artillery	= 60	companies	= 270	officers, and	6,800	men.
10	"	cavalry	120	"	540	"	13,600	"
20	"	infantry	240	"	1,080	"	27,200	"
					1,890		47,600	

To further increase for war purposes, add four new companies to each battalion, and we have—

5	regiments of	artillery	= 120	companies	= 510	officers, and	13,700	men.
10	"	cavalry	240	"	1,020	"	27,400	"
20	"	infantry	480	"	2,040	"	54,800	"
					3,570		95,900	

The Germans now use companies as large as two hundred and fifty men, so that a battalion of eight companies numbers two thousand men. Assuming that as the *maximum*, we will have—

5	regiments	= 15	battalions of artillery	= 30,000
10	"	30	" cavalry,	60,000
20	"	60	" infantry,	120,000
			Making an army of	210,000

on a *minimum*, or peace basis, of 27,650. Thus an effective and well-organized army, of over 200,000, can be created promptly, "without the least confusion or disorder," fulfilling all the conditions of Mr. Calhoun's second great principle, which he regarded as of more national importance than the first.

On considering any paper organization, it is safe to assume that about one-third are usually absent. This seems a large proportion, but it is the result of experience extending back for centuries. Good discipline and good administration diminish this ratio; while bad discipline and worse administration increase it largely. The usual causes of diminished ranks are, wounds and sickness; furloughs and leaves of absence; confinement, by way of punishment; details for cooking; for care of sick; as teamsters; care and distribution of supplies; detachments for escorts of trains and exposed points along the routes of supply, etc. These causes are common to all armies in peace and in war; besides which our peace establishment is specially subject to causes which take officers away from their legitimate regiments and companies. It is a very common popular error that an army is necessarily idle in time of peace; and, for this alleged reason, influential families strive to draw their sons and friends away from their duty. No army in war performs more real hard work than does our American peace establishment, building forts and posts along our ever-changing frontier; building roads hundreds and thousands of miles in extent; guarding trains, and in explorations, which cause them to march thousands of miles in a single season, etc. Among these special *causes*, I will enumerate the following: The Military Academy at all times draws from the regiments thirty officers; the civil universities are entitled to thirty by law; the recruiting service requires forty;

besides which are courts-martial, boards of survey, boards to examine new inventions in arms, accoutrements, clothing, and equipments; "Centennial Boards," etc. At this very time there are three hundred and thirty-five officers so absent from their proper companies, besides many more who have leave of absence from their division and department commanders. I am satisfied that discipline and good economy demand that there never should be less than two, and habitually not less than three, officers present with each organized company; and it is for this reason that I have added one first-lieutenant to each company of cavalry and infantry, the same as now exists in the artillery companies.

The *company* is the foundation of all good armies. It is here the officers and soldiers learn guard-duty, picket-duty, the drill, the mode of cooking, the manner of sleeping in barracks or in the field, the indispensable habit of subordination and obedience; how to preserve the health and strength of the men; how to care for the sick and wounded; the muster, embracing the history of individuals, on which are based all claims for pensions, bounties, and provision in old age and infirmity.

Four such companies united form the *battalion*, with a field-officer to command, which is a splendid unit for peace or for war; and the value of this organization is, that, in the ever-varying phases which military duty assumes in our country, two of these battalions may be easily strengthened by the transfer of all the effective officers and privates of the third battalion to the other two, thus constituting an effective force of eight companies, each of which will have about seventy-five privates, eleven non-commissioned officers, and four officers, while the reduced battalion would remain at some depot, constituting a sufficient guard, and be useful in collecting a reserve force of recruits.

The *three* battalions habitually compose the *regiment*, which is the most perfect organization, common to all civilized arms, where administration and discipline are united under the colonel, an officer of experience, who should be qualified for every manner of duty—field and staff—in peace or war; and who would be ready for the most parsimonious administration, or for an enlargement of his command to the equivalent of an ordinary division.

Having thus disposed of the army proper, I will now pass to the subjects of "generals" and of "general staff," which have given rise to so much controversy.

According to existing laws, there are in the military establishment to-day—

One general, one lieutenant-general, three major-generals, six brigadier-generals.

These are all now employed on duties commensurate with their rank, yet there are employed two other officers of the grade of colonel, who command departments, viz.: Colonel Ruger, Department of the South, and Colonel Kautz, who commands the Department of Arizona. Should vacancies occur in the grades of general and lieutenant-general, they could not be filled, and the command of the army would devolve on the senior major-general. In

my judgment this law should be modified so as to leave the rank of lieutenant-general permanent; for all the world over 25,000 men are held to be the equivalent of a corps d'armée, the legitimate command of a lieutenant-general, and the title alone will be an incentive to honorable conduct and competition among the general officers of the army.

In discussing the general staff, I will treat of the several parts, with the titles by which they are at present known, following the classification of the *Army Register* of 1876. Aides-de-camp and military secretary are *personal* staff, selected by each general officer, from officers in the regiments or staff, without increasing the general aggregate. They simply receive additional rank and pay while so acting, which rank and pay have been sanctioned by long experience, and are necessary, by reason of their increased expense while following the fortunes of their chiefs.

I recommend that no change be made in existing laws, but, if reduction is inevitable, then that the general have four aides, that the lieutenant-general have three aides, instead of two aides and one secretary, thus avoiding a title which is in fact obsolete; that major-generals have two, and brigadier-generals one each—in all nineteen.

The *Adjutant-General's Department* consists of one brigadier-general, two colonels, four lieutenant-colonels, and ten majors, seventeen in all—a number which is not deemed excessive; nor do the rank and pay exceed their necessities.

The *Inspector-General's Department* consists of three colonels, two lieutenant-colonels, and two majors, certainly as low in numbers and rank as the most rigid economy could demand. I advise that the senior colonel be made a brigadier-general, on a par with the other heads of departments.

The *Bureau of Military Justice* consists of one brigadier-general and four majors, which also seems as small as possible.

The *Quartermaster's Department* has one brigadier-general, four colonels, eight lieutenant-colonels, fourteen majors, and thirty captains—fifty-seven in all. When we contemplate the extent of our country, the scattered condition of the troops, and the important functions performed by this branch of the staff, I surely see no good reason for further reduction.

The *Subsistence Department* consists of one brigadier-general, two colonels, three lieutenant-colonels, eight majors, and twelve captains—twenty-six in all. To fulfill their proper duties there is now, and will likely continue to be, plenty of work for this number of officers.

The *Medical Department* now consists of one brigadier-general, two colonels, two lieutenant-colonels, fifty majors, ninety-two captains, and fifty-eight first lieutenants; also, four store-keepers and seventy-nine hospital stewards—in all two hundred and nine officers and seventy-nine enlisted men. The rank of these officers is assimilated for the purpose of pay and quarters, and their functions are so professional that I dislike to venture the expression of an opinion as to their number or rank; but the Medical Department does seem too large, and I have always preferred that each regiment

should have one surgeon and two assistants, leaving a small number as a general staff for assignment to divisions and departments.

The *Pay Department* consists of one brigadier-general, two colonels, two lieutenant-colonels, and fifty majors; in all, fifty-five.

By existing laws, every regiment, company, and detachment of the army, must be mustered and paid every two months. When we contemplate the necessarily scattered condition of the army, I do not see how a less number can, by the utmost activity, succeed in fulfilling this task.

The *Signal Department* consists of one brigadier-general; and the officers necessary for the execution of the duties devolving on this department are detailed from the line of the army, at present eighteen. These duties are more civil than military; and I confess that I would prefer that they should be devolved on some civil branch of the Government, such as the Coast Survey.

Chaplains.—Of these the law provides for thirty post chaplains, and four regimental chaplains; the latter provided specially for the regiments of colored troops. I have no hesitation in advising that chaplains, as an army rank, should be abolished. It is notorious that these chaplains are not serving at the remote posts, for which they were specially provided. It would be preferable that, in place of commissioning the chaplains as army captains, that the Secretary of War be authorized to designate fifty of the military posts as chaplain posts; that the council of administration at each of said posts be authorized to select and employ a chaplain, who shall receive, while performing the duties, one hundred dollars a month. The aggregate cost of fifty thus selected would not exceed that of the present thirty-four. In this connection I will also say that I believe the time has come when the words "white" and "black" should be omitted in all military laws; that recruits should be enlisted and distributed to all companies and regiments without reference to color or previous condition. Time would soon, in the army as it already has in the navy, obliterate the old prejudice that led to the formation of the regiments of colored cavalry and infantry. All should be alike.

There still remain the *Corps of Engineers*, consisting of one brigadier-general, six colonels, twelve lieutenant-colonels, twenty-four majors, thirty captains, twenty-six first-lieutenants, ten second-lieutenants, thirty-eight non-commissioned officers, eight musicians, one hundred and fifty-four privates: in all, one hundred and nine officers, and two hundred enlisted men.

The enlisted men of engineers are now organized into three companies, two of which are at Willett's Point, New York, under Major H. L. Abbot, a most thorough and competent officer, as a school of instruction in pontooning, torpedoes, and in modern galvanic appliances; the other company is at West Point. So far as the army is concerned, these companies are not available to the general commanding the department in which they are stationed, and are held as only subject to the orders of the President. In like manner the officers, with few exceptions, are not subject to army inspection and association, being employed in the construction of military and civil works.

I have the most unqualified respect for the superior qualifications and attainments of the officers of this corps, always selected from the highest graduates of the Military Academy, and ony regret their isolation from the army proper. I am satisfied that both parts would be benefited by a closer alliance, but in this connection will only recommend that, in the estimates for the maintenance of the military establishment, the pay, allowances, transportation and incidental expenses of the army, the Engineer Corps be made distinct, so that Congress may see at a glance the cost of this corps, when compared with the infantry, cavalry, etc. Instead of *three* companies, I suggest a battalion of four companies of the exact standard of the other arms of service.

The *Ordnance Department* consists of one brigadier-general, three colonels, four lieutenant-colonels, ten majors, twenty captains, sixteen first-lieutenants, one hundred and twenty non-commissioned officers, and two hundred and eighty men—in all fifty-four officers and four hundred men. The officers and men of this corps also are so separated from the army proper, that both are the losers thereby. The arsenals are not subject to the supervision or inspection of the generals commanding divisions or departments, so that the isolation is perfect. In years past the policy of the Government was to distribute the ordnance-stores to arsenals in almost every State, but now that railways admit of the prompt distribution of such stores, the tendency is to contraction, so as ultimately to have but four great arsenals—one on the Atlantic (Springfield, Massachusetts), one on the Pacific (Benicia, California), and the third at Rock Island, Illinois; the fourth, to be chiefly a powder-depot, has been wisely recommended by the present chief of ordnance, General Benét, to be located near New York City. All the other arsenals could be dispensed with, sold or converted to some other public use. This would require an act of Congress authorizing the construction of the powder-depot near New York and the sale of the surplus arsenals, most of which are in fact mere "magazines." Certain of these magazines, located at military centres, should be held, subject to the supervision and control of the commanding generals of the departments wherein they happen to be. To dignify them by the title of arsenal is a misnomer. They are, and should be, *magazines* in charge of an ordnance sergeant and a commissioned officer of ordnance, who should be a staff officer to the department or division commander. If thus modified, I advise the retention of those at Fort Columbus, Fort Monroe, Leavenworth, San Antonio, Texas, Augusta, Georgia, and Vancouver, Washington Territory, and all others to be sold, and proceeds applied to the four main arsenals. The manufacture and preparation of ordnance-stores should be, as now, in charge of this department, under the immediate and sole control of the Secretary of War; but the magazines could be guarded by the department commander, and the stores therefrom issued under such regulations as the Secretary of War may prescribe. This would reduce materially the force and expenses of this department, make it far more efficient, and bring it into closer harmony with the rest of the army.

I advise that this *department* be styled a *corps*, the same as the engineers, and that it have four companies of enlisted men, of the same strength as

other companies of the army, these companies to be officered by the corps. This would give one company to each of the four great arsenals proposed.

There remains a subject which has been discussed in the Military Committee, one of a somewhat delicate nature, that must be met sooner or later. I refer to marriage in the army.

No married man is permitted to be enlisted, but there are allowed to each company four laundresses, or one to every fifteen men, who are supposed to wash the clothes of the men for pay. These laundresses are entitled to a ration per day, and are always provided quarters apart from the men. Taking twenty-five thousand men as the standard, gives sixteen hundred and fifty women, which at twenty-five cents a day, the estimated cost of a ration at the points of consumption, makes $150,562.50. It is impossible to estimate the incidental cost to the army estimates for laundresses' quarters, for fuel, and for transportation on a change of station, but I have no doubt the entire cost exceeds $300,000. If marriage in the army is proper and right, all who choose should be permitted to marry, but this is the *reductio ad absurdum;* and I conclude it should be universally prohibited to enlisted men attached to regiments, and that captains of companies should provide for the washing of their men as they now do for the cooking.

In like manner, and for similar reasons, I think marriage should be denied to the lowest grade of officers, viz., to second-lieutenants. Too many of these now marry, and crowd the barracks and quarters which are insufficient, especially at new posts on the frontiers. Though the Government is supposed to have nothing to do with the consequences of such early marriages, yet in practice much cost is entailed in the way of extra quarters, transportation, etc.

No cadet is now permitted to marry, and, for the same reason, second-lieutenants should be assigned to regiments for probation, and be prohibited to marry till they are promoted to the next grade of first-lieutenant.

Though the estimates might not show any saving, still I am satisfied the actual result would equal the cost to the United States of the small number of surplus men (seven hundred and sixty) to keep up the twenty-five thousand men which experience has shown to be needed to make up the permanent peace establishment.

In future appointments to the grade of second-lieutenant, I would advise that such appointments be restricted by law to—

1. Graduates of the United States Military Academy.

2. To graduates of the civil universities at which army-officers are detailed as professors, under sections 1225 and 1260, Revised Statutes, not to exceed one to each college per annum, on the approval of the Faculty and of the officer of the army detailed as professor.

3. Meritorious non-commissioned officers, not over twenty-five years age, recommended by their commanding officers, and approved by the Board of Examiners under existing army regulations.

This would give average candidates per annnm:

Military Academy	50
Civil colleges	30
Regimental candidates	35
Total candidates	115

This number will probably exceed the average vacancies, and enable the President to appoint to commissions the most worthy. The rule and practice will add greatly to the influence of military education in the civil universities now so popular, and will encourage a class of worthy young men to enlist in the army, with a reasonable prospect of securing a commission by good conduct.

Again I would, in regiments "in the field," or "subjected to epidemic,' limit promotion to those actually *present* with the regiment, because it is not fair that the absent should profit by their own exemption from the very cause that creates promotion. And, furthermore, no officer should be promoted from one grade to a higher grade without a previous examination, if the commanding officer, or any three officers of the regiment to which the promotion is to be made, represent to the adjutant-general of the army their belief that the officer entitled to the vacancy by the ordinary law of seniority is incapacitated for such new commission from any cause whatsoever.

All of which is most respectfully submitted as preliminary. Transmitted to the Recorder in order that it may be printed, "in confidence, for the use of the commission."

With great respect, your obedient servant,

(Signed) W. T. SHERMAN,
General.

The letter of General Hancock, commander of the Military Division of the Atlantic, is very full in reference to the required strength of the army in time of peace, and to the details of organization and administration. His long service on the staff, before the war, his honorable and distinguished service as a corps commander during the war, and his important commands of troops in the South, West, and East, since the war, have made him thoroughly acquainted with the practical wants of the army, and its defects of organization.

We quote the principal parts of his letter:

HEADQUARTERS MILITARY DIVISION OF THE ATLANTIC,
NEW YORK CITY, *October* 19, 1876.

To the Hon. J. D. CAMERON, *Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.*

SIR: . . . What the strength, composition, and organization of the army should be, depends on the purpose for which it is maintained.

A *large* standing army is against the settled policy of the nation. We rely upon creating armies from our population, when the necessity for them has actually arisen, or is impending. But, "in peace prepare for war," is an accepted and respected maxim among us. Under the operations of these

somewhat contradictory principles, we have been led to the compromise of a small standing army, which is expected to keep pace with the progress of the profession, construct adequate and suitable national defenses, hold some of our most important military positions, preventing their sudden seizure by an enemy, his occupation of our harbors, and destruction of our great commercial cities; be prepared at all times to supply the national forces with the most approved weapons, implements, and munitions of war; and to guard these and other public property until distributed for service; be ready at a moment's notice to organize, equip, and supply, with efficiency and economy, armies of any magnitude which the occasion may call for; and, lastly, to serve as a nucleus for the raw levies raised as needed. . . .

What, then, should be the strength, composition, and organization of the army, that it may best accomplish the objects of its existence?

Looking from the standpoint assumed, the first question which presents itself is the question of cost. What, during peace, are the people able and willing to pay in the way of insurance by military proficiency and preparation against heavy loss in case of war? If *nothing*, then the army as a permanent institution ought to be dispensed with. A discussion of the questions arising from our Indian frontier is omitted in this connection. The Indian furnishes only incidental duty for part of the army. The service is of secondary importance, and is comparatively temporary in its nature. It must for a few years longer occupy the attention of our cavalry and infantry, and some parts of the staff, and from time to time influence the strength and organization of these arms, but is entitled to no weight in considering the question just proposed.

If the people are willing in peace, as they have always shown themselves to be, to guarantee their own protection in case of war, by intrusting to an army the accomplishment of the objects hereinbefore enumerated, then the main question is closed, and the resulting ones of the strength, etc., of the force to be kept up are opened.

INFANTRY AND CAVALRY.

As a general proposition, it may be said that every arm of the service, in order that it may be a model for the national forces, ought to be large enough to give full development, at whatever cost of time and money, to its own specialty.

In discussing the condition of the infantry and cavalry, General Hancock calls attention to the fact that the number of enlisted men in each company had become too small for effective discipline and instruction, so that in late years it has not been practicable to carry military instruction beyond the school of the individual soldier, or rarely beyond the school of the company. To remedy this evil he recommends that the companies in these arms of the service be filled up to one hundred men each, and

to prevent the aggregate increase of the army which this would occasion, he recommends that the number of companies in each regiment be reduced to eight.

The General then continues:

The question of any further reduction of these arms than that just suggested, should, I think, be deferred a few years longer, until our Indian frontiers are in a more settled condition. If no other disturbances have arisen, I have no doubt that these arms could, with safety, be still further reduced, if then deemed advisable.

THE ARTILLERY.

. . . . In the organization of an army for active service sixty batteries of artillery would certainly be an extravagant supply of that arm for twenty-five regiments of infantry, but it must be borne in mind that the different branches of our military peace establishment are not constituted to form due proportions of an active army.

The relative strength of the different parts of our standing army cannot be governed either by the principles of organization for large armies in the field, established by our own experience, or by the principles developed by the more matured experience of foreign nations. On the contrary, in relation to their strength, the different branches of our peace establishment are quite independent of each other, each being intended, not for a proportional integral of our twenty-five thousand men, but to supply a recognized want of our nation.

Artillery, if not the most, is one of the most important, abstruse, and progressive branches of military science. Much time, practice, favorable opportunity, and hard study, are absolutely necessary to master and keep pace with it. *Very* expensive under the most skillful, in untrained hands it becomes *enormously* so. This is true of the heavy as well as of the light artillery. Every shot, for example, from the 15-inch guns of one of our forts costs, for powder and projectile alone, $63.78, to say nothing of the original cost of the gun, the carriage, implements, etc. The Government only, and not States or individuals, as in the case of cavalry or infantry, can take care of this branch of the military profession. If not protected and fostered by the General Government, it is lost.

Proceeding, as we do, upon the possibility of war, it would certainly be unwise, if not foolish, to build defenses, cast cannon, devise projectiles, and then neglect in peace to teach those things in relation to the use of them which it will be *too late* to learn after war begins. Without multiplying arguments, I may state my conclusion that our true policy is to maintain a comparatively large force of artillery, and keep it well instructed in its specialty. That arm is now too large; perhaps in rank and file not large enough. If the number of enlisted men cannot be increased, and probably it ought not to be at this time, then certainly the men should be concentrated into fewer companies, so that each company shall contain a hundred. Instruction in artillery is seriously retarded under the present system. . . .

A considerable saving of expense would result from the reductions and consolidations proposed in the cavalry, artillery, and infantry. The concentration of enlisted men, so as to have fewer and larger companies, would be a departure from the old theory that our army in peace, especially the line, should be a skeleton, to be filled out for war. This theory, false in principle, has always failed in practice. It involves just that lack of power so much complained of during peace—companies too small for instruction, drill, and other duty—and when war comes, in lieu of filling out the skeleton, we take entire new organizations from the volunteers or militia. Our standing army should be a small, complete, compact, vigorous, healthy body; always in a thorough state of discipline and instruction; serving as a model and a standard for the national forces, and not preserved as a skeleton, into which it is expected to infuse vitality, activity, and knowledge, at the moment an emergency arises.

THE ENGINEER CORPS.

This branch of the service is of special importance in time of peace. Speaking generally, its military duties consist mainly in the preparation of permanent defenses. It has, especially with us, *comparatively* little to do in the theatres of offensive modern warfare. In our great war of the rebellion, but very few of the higher officers of the Engineer Corps were on duty *as engineers.* In late years a new feature in the system of river and harbor defenses, by means of torpedoes, has grown up, and promises to be very important. Its successful development requires careful application of the higher sciences. It is at present intrusted to the engineers, and must be regarded as an addition to the duties heretofore required of that corps, although it would ultimately, in case of war, fall into the hands of the artillery. Our extended sea-coast, on two fronts of a continent, with innumerable harbors and great cities exposed, renders a well-matured system of military defenses of vast importance to us. The Engineer Corps should be large enough to execute efficiently the purposes of the Government in relation to these defenses, and to perform, in addition, such subordinate military duties as properly belong to it. The strength which the corps should have for its military duties is, like the artillery, quite independent of the strength of any other arm of service, or of all of them combined. If their duties required it, and their services justified it, the corps might even be largely increased in both the numbers and rank of its officers without any just criticism from the rest of the army. The corps is designed for the performance of important duties to the nation, and not as an adjunct to the standing army, and it has become a rule to intrust its officers with a variety of civil as well as military duties, such, for example, as the improvement of rivers and harbors, and the construction of lighthouses and public buildings. As far as I am able to judge from the limited information I possess, the corps is not larger than it ought to be for the performance of the duties required of it. I credit it with high scientific attainments, with industrious and faithful performance of duty, and with scrupulous honesty in the disbursement of public funds; yet it seems to me that there is a large proportion of high grades in the corps. . . .

THE ORDNANCE DEPARTMENT.

So far as I have the means of judging, the Ordnance Department, like the Engineer Corps, is not too large, but I see no sufficient reason for the great proportion of high grades authorized in it. In my judgment, however, the most important point concerning this corps is its management, not its organization. I have already alluded to the immediate and vital interest which other branches of the service have in the success of its operations. There is nothing so important to the combatant arms of service, and to the general officers who command them, as the arms and ammunition with which the troops are supplied. All of the branches of the service should, as far as possible, add their information and experience in the use of arms to that of the Ordnance Department, for the production of the best arms, ammunition, and equipments; but, instead of this, our Ordnance Department is practically a close corporation, and all officers, from the general-in-chief down, are not only excluded from control in it, but from its councils. To the men who make the arms, etc., is intrusted the solution of all questions in relation to them, the men who use them being excluded from these deliberations. The oft-repeated efforts to consolidate the ordnance and artillery is attributable mainly to the practice just mentioned. . . .

No consolidation is required to effect the object here suggested. It is only necessary that the isolation and independence of this department, in whose labors all of the army is specially interested, shall cease, and that it be brought under the control of the general-in-chief.

The absurdity, if I may be permitted to use the word, of completely isolating interests in our service which are naturally dependent on each other, cannot be better shown than by considering three of the branches of the service already discussed in this letter, viz., the Engineers, Ordnance, and Artillery. The first constructs the national defenses, including the beds for the gun-carriages, the second manufactures all the guns and their carriages, and supplies the ammunition; and the third uses what the other two make. Yet the three act not only independently of each other, but without a common military superior. . . .

THE QUARTERMASTER'S, SUBSISTENCE, AND PAY DEPARTMENTS.

These are essentially the supply departments of the army. I do not see why any one of them should ever be larger than necessary to fill the demand made on it by the army actually in service. Regulated by this rule in time of peace, I have no doubt that each would, in the future as it has in the past, be found a complete and sufficiently large nucleus on which to build in case of war. In my judgment, the Subsistence and Pay Departments are now, in their strength and organization, well suited to the wants of the army. The bar to promotion in the Pay Department established by the act of March 3, 1869, still exists, although removed in all of the other corps to which it originally applied. I see no reason for this exception, and think that the good of the service, as well as justice to the few officers concerned, demands that it should be removed.

I do not under-estimate the importance, the difficulty, and the variety of the duties of the Quartermaster's Department. Yet I cannot but think that this branch of the service is larger than necessary, especially in the higher grades. The legal organization is, one brigadier-general, four colonels, eight lieutenant-colonels, fourteen majors, and thirty captains. There is nothing in the absolute or relative importance of these positions or duties requiring so large a proportion of offices in the higher grades. In fact, I think it possible that the efficiency of the department is impaired rather than promoted by it. . . .

After quoting a portion of his testimony before the military committee of the House, against the proposed consolidation of the Quartermaster's and Subsistence Departments, General Hancock says:

I adhere to that opinion. The subject is one that has been pretty fully discussed through inquiries made of the most prominent officers of the army by committees of Congress. In 1869, four officers, or ex-officers, expressed themselves in favor of it. In 1874, fifteen were in favor of it, and thirty-four against it. In 1876, twenty were in favor of it, and thirty-five against it. (In all cases, as the matter was presented to me, but especially in the last case, the form of inquiry was as to the *practicability* rather than advisability of the consolidation.) Of the number (twenty) mentioned as in favor, a part merely answered the question of *practicability*. Officers of rank, distinction, and acknowledged ability, are found on both sides in the opinions given in the years above named. A careful examination of all the views expressed will not only show that the weight of evidence has been against the consolidation of these corps, but that the opposition to it has decidedly increased; and that, while some, who at first favored it, now either oppose or do not support it, there are no changes of opinion in the other direction. . . .

I understand that the supply-branches of the British army have recently undergone consolidation of some kind, but the experiment has been but partially tested in peace, and has not yet been subjected to that trial in a great war which would enable us to judge of its success. . . .

THE BUREAU OF MILITARY JUSTICE AND THE CORPS OF JUDGE-ADVOCATES.

After expressing the opinion that the number of judge-advocates is too small, and that the grades of colonel and lieutenant-colonel should be introduced into the corps, General Hancock says:

The duties of judge-advocates are inseparable from the military system. They can only be fully and properly performed by men who make a specialty of them. If the regular corps be abolished or crippled, the duty must be indifferently done, wholly or partly by officers taken for the time from their proper positions. It is a fact worthy of special consideration that this corps constitutes the only element in our whole system of military jurisprudence

which, not being created for temporary and special purposes, has the character of permanency. In the civil system, changeable juries simply find the facts; but judges, both eminent and permanent in the profession, determine questions of law, and award sentences. In the military system, courts are convened from time to time, composed of officers who act both as judges and jurors, but none of whom are, in general, selected with any reference to their knowledge of the judicial duties they are called upon to perform. In these courts the vote, for both findings and sentence, of the most ignorant in the law is as weighty as that of the most learned. In fact the junior, presumably the most uninformed, is required to vote first, in order that he may not be influenced by his seniors.

Is it wise to destroy or weaken, in these tribunals, their only element of stability?

Inasmuch as the military is a more arbitrary and despotic system than the civil, so is uniform and even-handed justice the more necessary in it. But we are far from securing this under our code, even with our judge-advocates. Without an efficient corps of them, we shall be still further from it. It is no uncommon thing to see soldiers, as prisoners in charge of the same guard, for identically the same offense, one under sentence of twice, or even thrice, the severity of another. They have been tried by different courts-martial, each using its discretion as to the amount of punishment for the common offense. Judge-advocates have not the power to *prevent* this evil by awarding sentences or otherwise, but, so far as their limited number permits, they mitigate it. I am not well informed as to the duties of the head of the bureau in Washington, but my own extended observation and experience justify me in speaking quite positively of the importance of judge-advocates at department headquarters. Without going into the details of the various duties required of them, I will say that I consider them absolutely necessary. But the necessity for maintaining these officers does not rest alone on the importance of their current duties. A thorough knowledge of military law in its higher principles, as well as the intricacies of its details, is particularly necessary in new armies. Its prompt and correct application is one of the principal proceedings in the establishment of discipline and order in the armies which we rely upon creating in time of need. This can only be accomplished through a corps prepared beforehand. Ours is peculiarly a government of law in the army as well as out of it. . . .

In these remarks I have given prominence to the duties of judge-advocates in connection with courts-martial. But there are various other matters upon which I need not dwell, such as the questions arising out of the relations of military affairs to the civil service, in which their knowledge and experience are of great value to the public service, to commanding generals, and to subordinate officers.

These are some of the general considerations which lead me to the conviction that a "judge-advocate's department" is an important and necessary feature of our military establishment, whether the regular army be large or small. . . .

INSPECTOR-GENERAL'S DEPARTMENT.

. . . . This corps should be kept large enough to answer the demands of our peace establishment, covering, as it does, a vast territory, and should be ever in readiness for its most essential duty of mustering, organizing, and otherwise preparing new levies for service in time of war. It should, I think, consist of eight or ten members. . . .

RECRUITMENT.

. . . . Patriotism produces no recruits for the regular army. On the contrary, it holds the citizen to his civil pursuits in time of peace, and hurries him into a volunteer organization in time of war. There is no *public* sentiment to be relied upon for filling the ranks of the permanent force, and hence the recruiting bureau can appeal only to the wishes, tastes, and necessities, of individuals. Thus the ranks of the army are made to contain men of many nationalities, and no regard is paid to citizenship. Under these circumstances all that can reasonably be expected of the recruiting bureau is to obtain men whose mental, moral, and physical qualities are such that they may become *soldiers* by a proper course of discipline and instruction. . . .

The principal objection I see to the recruiting system is, that the bureau is not confined to its legitimate functions. Its duty should, in my judgment, end as soon as it has put the recruit into the military service, and delivered him at a post or depot designated to receive him. But, instead of this, the bureau retains control of the recruit while he is at the depot. To effect this, the officer in charge of the bureau (the adjutant-general) is permitted to depart from his proper sphere of staff duty, and exercise an actual *command*, which, in my opinion, is not justified, either by his office, the wants of the recruiting bureau, or the good of the service at large. There are three or four depots of the same general character. The one nearest me —Fort Columbus—is one of the most conspicuous military stations in New York Harbor—a permanent work armed with heavy guns, at present garrisoned by a larger number of men than any other post in the bay, and sheltering an immense amount of military material. It is withdrawn from the general rules governing command in the service, and with all the other so-called depots is placed under the command of the officer in charge of the recruitment of the army, who, by General Orders No. 87, Adjutant-General's Office, series of 1873, is said to stand toward them in the light of a department commander. . . .

I have the honor to be, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

(Signed) WINFIELD S. HANCOCK,

Major-General U. S. Army, commanding Division of the Atlantic.

Other weighty testimony remains to be heard, which must be deferred till the next number. In the mean time, those who are seeking fame by destroying or crippling our army will do well to withhold the fatal blow until they have disposed of the facts and reasonings of the letters already quoted.

JAMES A. GARFIELD.

II.

ENGLISH AND AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES COMPARED.

By the term "English universities," everybody understands Oxford and Cambridge; but the term "American universities" has no such definite meaning. We touch at once the most striking difference between the organization of superior education in England and in the United States. There, two universities, rich in numbers, possessions, privileges, and memories, have a predominating influence which is without parallel here. The *élite* of the English nation, with exceptions which only prove the rule, have, for centuries, reosrted either to Oxford or Cambridge for their education. There are no universities in America which occupy an analogous position. In the absence of an established church, or of a dominant sect in the United States, denominational zeal has inevitably tended to scatter even those scanty resources which in two centuries have become available for the higher education; and this lamentable dissipation has been increased by the local pride of States, cities, and neighborhoods, and the desire of many persons, who had money to apply to public uses, to found new institutions rather than to contribute to those already established—a desire not unnatural in a new country, where love of the old and venerable in institutions has but just sprung up. In short, the different social, political, and religious conditions of this country have, thus far, quite prevented the development of commanding universities like those of the mother-country.

No single university of the United States can for a moment be compared with either Oxford or Cambridge in respect to invested property, number of teachers and students, libraries, buildings, and grounds, or in past and present influence. Among American universities, moreover, there are great diversities of

organization and method; thus, Harvard has one system of teaching and discipline, Yale another, the University of Virginia a third, and the small, country colleges, like Bowdoin and Williams, another still; whereas at Oxford and Cambridge the mode of life, the discipline, the methods of teaching, and the main subjects of study, are, with many differences of detail and proportion, essentially the same. In comparing English and American universities, we compare two ancient institutions of well-defined character, established reputation, and abundant resources, with a number of comparatively new institutions, more or less experimental in plan and structure, and diverse in history and spirit, which have shared to the full the rawness of the country, and have never for a moment been free from the pressure of importunate needs. Nevertheless, there are many points upon which comparison, however incomplete, may profitably be made.

The amount of residence required of an Oxford or Cambridge undergraduate, in the course of a year, is very much less than that expected of American undergraduates. The best American institutions have, as a rule, about eight and a half months of actual term-time in a year, during the whole of which all undergraduates are expected to be present, and are under instruction or examination. The absolute requirements of the English universities can be satisfied by from eighteen (Oxford) to twenty-one (Cambridge) weeks of residence in the course of the year; but the requirements of the several colleges which make up the universities add a few weeks to this short residence, so that from twenty-four to twenty-seven weeks may be considered the commonest period of residence. This amount of annual residence must be divided into at least three different periods, and it may be made fragmentary in the extreme; for the required days of residence in any term are not necessarily consecutive. At Oxford, candidates for the degree of bachelor of arts must have constructively resided for twelve terms at the university, and of terms counted for this purpose there are four in each academic year, namely, Michaelmas, Hilary or Lent, Easter, and Trinity; but Easter and Trinity terms, being continuous, may be technically "kept" by residing forty-eight days in the two terms conjointly, in whatever way those days are distributed between the two terms. As a candidate is eligible in his twelfth term as soon as

he has completed six weeks of residence in that term, it follows that at Oxford a student who enters in October of any year may get his degree in June of the third year following—that is, in about two years and eight months. At Cambridge, the year is divided into three terms, Michaelmas, Lent, and Easter, and the candidate for the bachelor's degree must have resided at the university nine terms during two-thirds of each term before he can take his degree; but the general result is the same as at Oxford—the degree can be regularly won in about two years and eight months.

Corresponding with this minute subdivision of the academic year is the frequency of the various examinations by which students advance from one stage to another of their course. At Oxford, there are four obligatory examinations to be successively passed by candidates for the B. A., namely, 1. Responsions; 2. First Public; 3. Second Public—Faith and Religion; 4. Second Public—Pass or Honor "School" (choice of six "Schools").* Of these examinations, Responsions are held three times a year, and the rest twice a year. At Cambridge, the obligatory examinations, namely, the "Previous" and "General and Special examinations for the ordinary B. A. degree," are held twice a year, the examinations for honors once a year, and there are three days of general admission to the degree of B. A. in every year. A student at Oxford or Cambridge may begin his residence in any term of the year, since the colleges hold two or even three admission examinations in the course of a year. In the best American colleges, on the other hand, there is, as a rule, but one time of entering, and but one of graduation, in the course of the year; and a four years' course of progressive instruction is provided, with examinations at the end of each year to test each student's fitness to advance to the studies of the next year, or ultimately to receive his degree. In the American institutions the shortest stage of progress which can be counted is, therefore, the academic year; in the English it is the term, of which there are at least three in the year; while the total amount of residence required of the English student is but little more than one-half of that required of the American student. Again, the examinations which record

* The subjects in the six Honor "Schools" are: 1. Literæ Humaniores; 2. Mathematics; 3. Natural Science; 4. Jurisprudence; 5. Modern History; 6. Theology.

progress toward a degree are open to the English student at least twice a year, but to the American only once a year. In some respects the English arrangement is more favorable to students of limited means or feeble health than the American. The English terms of residence need not be consecutive; they can be irregularly distributed, if need be, over any reasonable number of years. Poor students may reside one or two terms (i. e., seven or fourteen weeks) only in a year, giving the rest of their time to earning money. A student whose health fails, so that he is obliged to absent himself for three or four months, loses perhaps two terms; whereas under the American arrangement such a student is very apt to lose a whole year.

The English division of the year, with its frequent admission, frequent examinations, and frequent graduation, is highly significant of the nature of the studies which have predominated for centuries at Oxford and Cambridge, and also of the prevailing methods of instruction. To young men already grounded in Latin and Greek, these languages can be taught a few weeks at a time, without any very strict order of development, or need of long consecutive courses of instruction. The pupil who begins in October reads, perhaps, portions of Livy and Herodotus first, then fragments of Tacitus and Thucydides, and then bits of Juvenal and Homer; while the pupil who enters in January takes the Tacitus and Thucydides first, then the Juvenal and Homer, and lastly the Livy and Herodotus; and one order is about as good as the other. The mathematics which are required for the ordinary degree at Oxford and Cambridge are elementary, and are divisible into five or six subjects not closely dependent, each of which can be satisfactorily treated in a few weeks. To the "Honor" examinations these remarks do not apply; they demand much more consecutive and sustained work; but much less than half of the whole number of English undergraduates seek "Honors" at all; and the number of competitors for the highest "Honors" —for those, in other words, which are really difficult to obtain— must, in the nature of things, be always small. Students who are seeking "Honors" are permitted by special favor to increase the amount of their residence, but it still remains short and broken. Classic and mathematics, begun at school, can be dealt with reasonably well in the short English university terms; but most

other subjects cannot be; thus it is quite impossible to teach satisfactorily languages, whether living or dead, in which the foundation is to be laid, natural history, physical science, history, metaphysics, the higher mathematics, law, medicine, political economy, jurisprudence, fine arts, or systematic theology, in the disjointed way which the English rules of residence necessitate. There is great advantage in carrying on instruction in these subjects continuously through the academic year, without repetition and without sensible break; and when courses of lectures or recitations are organized upon this plan it is impossible for a new-comer to enter upon the courses at any other time than the beginning of the year unless at an extreme disadvantage. At Harvard University, for example, students in all departments enter in October, with the rarest exceptions, and they can only graduate in June. There are, of course, many ill-organized American institutions where the attendance of the students is broken by irregular absences for all sorts of reasons—as, for instance, to keep school in winter, to help their families at home in sowing-time and reaping-time, or to earn money by peddling books, or by preaching; but the effort of all American colleges and universities is to maintain long annual courses of instruction, and to secure continuous attendance thereat. The arrangement of the courses of study in preparatory schools is greatly facilitated by making the academic year, rather than any fraction thereof, the unit of time. This consideration strongly recommends the American plan, for the welfare of the universities is bound up with the welfare of the secondary schools.

The mode of teaching which, for many generations, prevailed at the English universities might also be inferred from their regulations concerning residence. Although there has been a great increase of public teaching by professors, lecturers, and readers, within ten years, private tuition is still a characteristic mode of teaching. An accomplished tutor, privately engaged for a fee which varies from a dollar and a half to two dollars an hour, gives personal instruction to one pupil at a time, or, in some subjects, to a very small group of pupils at a time for a smaller fee from each. The candidate for "Honors" ordinarily finds it expedient to employ such aid to supplement the public instruction, and the dull or ill-trained student finds it indispensable. This mode of

teaching cannot be said to exist at American institutions, except to a very small extent for the duller students, who resort to private teachers (often fellow-students) just before the periodical examinations.

On the question of the best length of residence for the Bachelor's degree—three years according to English practice, or four years according to American—there is much to be said in favor of the English practice, provided that the year saved be appropriated to professional education. The period of professional education is far too short in the United States. Even the common requisition of three years of training is not efficiently enforced; yet four years is all too short a time in which to master the elements of law, medicine, or theology. Five years is the minimum period of professional study in Germany. When the secondary schools take their proper place in the system of American education, and provide, as they do in Germany, all the elementary instruction indispensable to a liberal education, including the elements of all the languages and sciences which a boy of eighteen, whose education is to be prolonged until he is twenty-five or twenty-six, ought to know, before he begins to make choice of his studies in the freedom of the university, it will be practicable to reduce the period of study for the degree of Bachelor of Arts from four years to three. The American colleges were all originally what would now be called secondary schools, and many of them are so still. At Harvard College, previous to 1766, one tutor took charge of a class when it entered, and gave it all the instruction it received in all subjects during its four years' residence. The four years' period was expedient while the colleges were instructing boys of fourteen to eighteen in the elements of knowledge, as Harvard and Yale Colleges still were not more than fifty years ago. To this day, the common American college curriculum is made up of fragments of fifteen or twenty different languages and sciences, so put together as to preclude the possibility of getting a thorough knowledge of any one of them; yet this curriculum has been an almost inevitable result of the peculiar circumstances of the people, including among these circumstances the sudden invasion of the province of education by a large number of new sciences. As there have been very few substantial secondary schools, the colleges have been obliged to

do, themselves, the fundamental work which, in more favored communities, schools for boys of thirteen to eighteen accomplish, and have had little means or opportunity for higher work. As the necessity for strong secondary schools for boys of from twelve to eighteen years of age is seen, and the nature of their function becomes better defined in the public mind, institutions of this class will be provided in large number by new foundations, or the conversion of old foundations to this use. American universities will then secure a broad and substantial basis for their own distinctive work, and will cast off many of the methods of discipline and instruction which have heretofore characterized them. Among other changes, the length of residence required for the Bachelor's degree will then, doubtless, be reduced.

Any foreigner, who studies the methods of the English universities will be at once struck with the exaggerated importance of examinations as compared with instruction in their system. All prizes, honors, and rewards, as well as ordinary degrees, are given by examination; a large part of the time of some of the most efficient men connected with the universities is devoted to devising, regulating, and conducting examinations; and the standards of instruction are set not by the lectures of the most learned teachers, but by the examination questions of former years, and the probable questions of the current year, as inferred from the quality of the examiners of the year, who cannot, of course, be often the most learned teachers, but must, in the long run, represent only a high average of attainment in limited subjects. The degraded condition of the professoriate at Oxford and Cambridge is partly due to the supremacy of examinations, and it is very desirable that American institutions should take warning in season against subordinating teachers to examiners. The English examinations are admirably conducted as regards fairness, thoroughness, and reasonable steadiness; and they were a necessary consequence of the system of private tuition, since a public test was necessary to bring the hundreds of private teachers to a common standard; but their very excellence is a serious difficulty in the way of developing professorial public teaching of the highest sort, such as the German universities abundantly supply, and as the best American universities aspire to give. When all university honors, and great money prizes also, amounting to comfort-

able support for many years of life, depend upon success at certain well-defined examinations, even the most ambitious students will refuse to follow their teachers far beyond the limit of these examinations. Hence, the teaching, in even the highest subjects, is limited at the English universities by examinations which the teachers do not control. The more a teacher excels the common standard of learning in his subject, the less he is able to bring his students up to his level; they are working, not to satisfy him, or to master his teachings, but to satisfy examiners who, in his own subject, are confessedly his inferiors. The fact is that the method of competitive examination, conducted by independent examiners, is advantageously applied only to elementary subjects, or to those in which the methods of instruction are perfected, the matters of instruction limited by custom, and the average attainments well understood. Moreover, those subjects only which admit of a certain precision of statement, either natural or conventional, are appropriate to such examinations. In regard to most of the higher instruction proper to a university, these conditions do not exist.

The examination-methods of most American institutions are still extremely crude; so that American universities may learn much from Oxford and Cambridge concerning the right conduct of ordinary examinations in common elementary subjects, or at the lower stages of instruction; but they should also learn in time that the superior examinations ought always to be under the control of the superior teachers; that the active professors who give the most advanced instruction should never be subordinated to examination-boards mainly composed of teachers of less age and rank; and that the whole method and process of competitive examination in writing becomes less and less satisfactory as instruction becomes higher, and attainments greater and more special. The English universities have suffered deeply from evils to which no American universities seem at present likely to be exposed—from clericism, celibacy, and sinecurism, for example—but the evil of attaching too great importance to examinations is one into which American institutions might easily fall within the next thirty years. The predominance of Germany in all science and learning is, however, a safeguard against this evil; for German universities have had for fifty years past, and are likely to have for many years to come, vastly more influence than the English

upon American institutions. Exaggerated examination-machinery is no part of the German system.

The condition of the professoriate at Oxford and Cambridge is a warning which ought not to be disregarded; but its degradation is due to a complication of causes, some of which, like celibacy, are not likely to affect American institutions. The professors at Oxford and Cambridge are not, as they are on the Continent of Europe and in America, the principal teachers and most influential persons in the university; their emoluments do not equal those of many other university or college officers of lower nominal rank; as a rule they are not brought into close contact with the undergraduates; they are even non-resident in many cases; they do not control the examinations; in short, they are appendages to a system essentially tutorial, appendages sometimes useful and sometimes ornamental, but too often neither the one nor the other. The number of professors at Oxford and Cambridge, relatively to the number of students, is curiously small. Harvard University, with only half the number of students, has many more professors than either of them. The *Cambridge University Reporter* of December 12, 1877, contains a comparison, published by a syndicate appointed May 27, 1875, to consider the requirements of the university, between the scheme of lectures, professorial and intercollegiate, announced for delivery in Cambridge during the academic year 1876–'77, and the schemes of lectures announced at the University of Berlin and at the University of Leipsic during the same year. The comparison is not satisfactory, because the number of lectures actually given by each teacher is not reported; but the inferiority of the English university is very striking, particularly when its wealth and social power are duly considered. The amount of professorial instruction announced at Cambridge, except in the departments of mathematics and physical science, can only be characterized as insignificant. Were it not for the recently organized intercollegiate instruction (lectures provided by groups of colleges, and open to students of the combining colleges), the comparison which the syndicate has so frankly given to the world would be much more humiliating than it is. How very trivial the service of some of the professors at Cambridge really is may be inferred from the statutes of some of their professorships; thus, the Pro-

fessor of Sanskrit must deliver not less than twenty lectures a year; the Professor of International Law must "deliver to the Master and Senior Fellows of Trinity College a certificate signed by ten resident members of the university that they have each of them attended ten, at least, of the professor's lectures during the preceding academic year;" the Professor of Latin is required to deliver a course of not less than ten lectures in each of two terms of every year; the Professor of Botany gives an elementary course of lectures, chiefly on descriptive botany, during the Easter term; the Professor of Archæology is required to deliver six lectures, at least, during the academical year; the Professor of Fine Art is required to give, annually, a course of not less than twelve lectures. Such services as these can hardly be considered as serious contributions to the work of a university. The condition of the professorships at Oxford is not essentially different from that of the Cambridge professorships, except that they are more numerous, and are somewhat better endowed. At Cambridge there are no professorships of ecclesiastical history, comparative philology, mental philosophy, physiology, Teutonic languages, English language and literature, or of any modern European language, to mention none but the most obvious vacancies. In complete and fortunate contrast with the condition of the professors at Oxford and Cambridge, is the position of the professors in American colleges and universities. Here the professors are the most influential and best paid university or college officers. Their salaries are intended to be adequate to the support of a family in a simple way; they hold the chief places of instruction in all the main departments of learning; they are the teachers of the most advanced students, and have a strong influence, when they please to exert it, upon the work of all the younger or less experienced teachers in their respective departments; their appointments are for life, or during good behavior and efficiency; in short, the position of professor is the highest in the profession of teaching, the legitimate object of his desire from the time a young man enters the profession, the goal of a worthy career. Indeed, the status of the American professor in respectable institutions is satisfactory upon all points but one—namely, the average salary, which, in comparison with the earnings of men of like ability in other walks of life, is too low. The

American professor enjoys, indeed, a certain local consideration which offers a real inducement to the professorial career; but still the professor's salary is, on the average, decidedly lower than a wise regard for the interests of society would allow. Oxford and Cambridge are now burning with zeal for reform, but no reform there will be real which does not strengthen the professoriate on every hand—which does not add considerably to the number of professors, and increase largely their stipends, functions, duties, and powers.

A very striking difference between the English universities and American colleges is the very different administration of scholarships and fellowships. At Oxford and Cambridge scholarships and fellowships are pecuniary rewards of scholarship, paid, during one or more years, to those who best satisfy the conditions of a limited competition, without any regard whatever to the candidates' need of help in the further prosecution of liberal or professional studies. The college fellowships were, undoubtedly, intended to foster religion and learning, and this original intention is still respected to the extent of making literary or scientific attainments the basis of election; but Fellows, once elected, are under no obligations to pursue their studies. Scholarships are ordinarily tenable for four or five years; a few for longer or shorter periods. Fellowships are tenable for life, or for various limited periods, as, for example, for seven, eight, ten, or twenty years, the conditions of eligibility and tenure varying considerably in different colleges. Fellowships are ordinarily vacated by marriage, ecclesiastical preferment, or accession to property of certain specified amounts. The number of fellowships in the University of Cambridge is nearly four hundred; in the University of Oxford about three hundred and sixty. Two hundred and fifty pounds a year is a low estimate of the average annual value of a fellowship; so that the annual expenditure at Oxford and Cambridge for Fellows, who in that capacity are bound to no service to the university, and are free to follow their own pursuits whether they be literary or otherwise, cannot be reckoned at less than $900,000. The expenditure for scholarships is also enormous, but it may be said of them that, as they are won early in the period of residence at the university, they do directly contribute to the support of actual students, although need of such aid is not a condition of receiving it.

It is extremely difficult for a foreigner, and especially for an American who is unfamiliar with sinecures, to enter fully into the English view of a scholarship or fellowship; or, indeed, to speak with patience of what seems gross perversion of charitable endowments. To an Englishman a fellowship is simply a money-prize, to which success in a youthful competition has given him an absolute title. When he has won it, he feels entirely at liberty to use it as best suits his own interest or convenience. A rich man's son will get it if he can, and keep it as long as he can, without ever rendering any direct service to his college, the university, or to education in general. He regards his fellowship as a piece of property, and not as a payment for any services to be rendered, or as a trust to be given account of. If a Fellow does not remain at the university, his fellowship secures for him a comfortable living during the period of professional education, and the early years of professional life. It is greatly to the credit of human nature that the English system of fellowships should have done as much good as it has; one would have imagined that it could do nothing but harm. At any rate, no one would for a moment desire to see such a system imitated in a new country, whatever can be said in its defense in the old country where it has grown from seeds that were planted in the middle ages. The few fellowships which have, thus far, been founded at American colleges are intended to enable picked men who are already Bachelors of Art to pursue their studies. They are tenable for a limited number of years, generally three, and their incumbents are required to give account of their studies from year to year, and to devote themselves to literary or scientific pursuits. Their chief use is to prolong the training of young men who intend to teach in colleges or secondary schools. At Harvard University there are also a few scholarships in the professional schools, which are useful in partially supporting young men of ability who need such pecuniary help while they are obtaining a thorough professional training. Within the last twenty years many scholarships, varying in value from forty to four hundred dollars a year, have been founded in American colleges; but they are given exclusively to young men who need money-aid in obtaining a liberal education. None but persons who need such assistance are expected to apply for these scholarships; they are chari-

table foundations, and are administered as such, although to hold a scholarship is also an honor, because it argues high standing as a scholar. For many, many years to come even the richest American universities will need to apply all the money they receive to the endowment of instruction and research (not separately, but together), the acquisition of grounds, buildings, collections, and instruments, and the enlargement of their means of providing a gratuitous education for promising young men of slender means. When these more pressing objects are accomplished, they may, perhaps, begin to think of offering money-prizes, accessible to rich or poor, for notable attainments at school and at the university, and of providing for the comfortable support of able young men, rich or poor, for several years after they have left the university; unless, in the mean time, they should come to the conclusion, from a comparison of the results of the English method with the results obtained by other nations, that there are means of promoting piety and learning more effectual than that of presenting money to the youthful mind as the most appropriate reward of scholarship. It is to be observed, however, that the winners of scholarships at the English colleges get, besides money, certain distinctions which, under the conditions of student-life which there prevail, are desirable, such as a distinctive dress and a special table in the hall.

The abandonment by the English universities of the great field of professional education is one of the most noteworthy things in their history. Formerly they, like the Continental universities, had Faculties of theology, law, and medicine; but professional instruction in law and medicine has been practically abandoned by them for generations; while even in theology they hardly make an ample provision of systematic instruction; partly, perhaps, because the Anglican Church has no peculiar theology, being based upon a peculiar ritual and a peculiar church government; and partly, doubtless, because in England, as elsewhere, university men are less attracted to the Church than they were formerly. In 1876, at the "preliminary examination of candidates for holy orders" (an examination devised at Cambridge in 1874, and conducted twice a year at nine or ten places in England simultaneously "under the direction of the divinity professors and members of the theological Faculty, in coöperation

with many of the bishops"), only thirty-nine (thirty per cent.) of the one hundred and thirty-three candidates were graduates of the universities. In 1877 the number of candidates was one hundred and sixty-five, of whom only forty-one (twenty-five per cent.) were graduates. The number of degrees in theology annually given by Oxford and Cambridge is very small. The theological tripos at Cambridge and the class-list in theology at Oxford are by no means large in comparison with the other triposes and lists. The very institution of such an examination as the "preliminary examination of candidates for holy orders," just referred to, which is not a university examination in any proper sense, but an examination of low standard by which it is hoped "to raise the level of theological attainments among the English clergy generally," indicates that the universities have lost control of the education of the Anglican clergy. Professorial instruction in law and medicine long since left Oxford and Cambridge, and went to London, where neither legal nor medical education has been satisfactorily provided for.

During the past sixty years the best organized American universities have been gradually strengthening their hold upon professional education, and although the beginnings were crude, and the connection of the professorial schools with the universities was often slight, there has been a steady progress toward an effective occupation of this very important field. The experience of the universities of Continental Europe would be conclusive upon the expediency of associating professional with liberal education in universities, were it not for two doubts—one affecting theology and the other law. The European theological Faculties have the advantage of supplying churches established by government, and therefore limited, within any one nation, to not more than two or three different rituals or creeds. A doubt may reasonably be entertained whether, in a country which has no established church and no dominant sect, universities can train the ministers of a sufficient variety of sects. That this doubt has not yet been completely removed in the United States, may be inferred from the existence of independent theological seminaries with large numbers of students; but during the last sixty years many theological schools have been established in connection with colleges and universities, and, on the whole, both theology and

liberal education have gained by the association. In regard to law, a notion has prevailed in England and the United States that the English law, unlike the Roman and the systems derived from that of Rome, admits of no scientific teaching, but must be taught empirically, and learned by practice; but this prejudice has gradually given way, and it is now beginning to be understood that English law can be effectively taught as a scientific system, having logical and ethical foundations, a connected history, and a progressive development. It has, moreover, been conclusively demonstrated in those American universities which have developed their professional schools, that there is great advantage in closely associating professional training with a previous course of liberal education. The courts, and most of the eminent counsellors in the United States, although still too much influenced by the English rules for the training of attorneys, are inclined to encourage this connection of professional with liberal studies—the courts, by granting to Bachelors of Arts certain privileges in regard to admission to the bar, and the members of the profession, by advising aspirants to go through both a college and a law-school. The best educated physicians and surgeons, too, are sincerely desirous of getting medical education into the hands of strong academical bodies, that it may be redeemed from the degraded condition to which independent schools, conducted in the spirit of a commercial venture, have brought it; and good progress has been made in this direction during the past ten years. Although much still remains to be done in informing public opinion and organizing professional instruction, the American universities may be said to have already made professional education a successful and important part of their service to the public. It is a function which they have acquired within this century, have found very useful, and propose to enlarge. To them the relinquishment of this function by Oxford and Cambridge seems a loss of power, and an injury both to the universities and the nation.

About twenty years ago Oxford and Cambridge undertook the huge task of supervising the secondary education of the middle class in England, by means of examinations for boys and girls of from twelve to eighteen years of age, to be held simultaneously at many different points scattered over England. The exami-

nations were to have no reference whatever to preparation for the universities, and the undertaking confessedly lay entirely outside of the natural province of the universities; nevertheless, in the great need of such supervision, and in the absence of any other competent educational authority, it seemed proper that Oxford and Cambridge should assume the function; for, by reason of their age, wealth, and services, they held a position recognized throughout the country as supreme, they could command the services of a large number of men competent for the work, and the strong point of both institutions was skill in conducting examinations in writing. Moreover, it seems as if both universities must have been inclined to welcome an opportunity of coming into friendly relations with a large and influential portion of the people, which through their regular work they had never directly served; for it can hardly be supposed that universities which felt themselves strong in public favor, worthily occupied with university work, and serviceable to the country in due proportion to their means and privileges, would have assumed a function so laborious and so foreign to their habits and purposes. The "local examinations" of Oxford and Cambridge present many minor points of difference, but are, on the whole, very much alike. Since their first establishment they have been repeatedly modified in details, and they have developed rapidly in regard to the number of candidates and the number of centres at which the examinations are held.* They have undoubtedly exercised a strong influence for good upon English secondary schools, and promoted the recent wonderful development of pop-

* Some idea of the recent development of the system may be obtained from the following table, which gives the number of candidates entered for the Cambridge local examinations in the years 1871–1876 respectively:

Year.	Junior Boys.	Junior Girls.	Senior Boys.	Senior Girls.	Total.
1871	1,788	463	335	257	2,843
1872	1,841	530	388	316	3,075
1873	2,020	668	461	401	3,550
1874	2,333	920	472	563	4,288
1875	2,459	908	424	644	4,434
1876	2,568	966	434	713	4,681

In 1876 the number of centres for boys was 73, for girls 57; and the number of examiners was 141.

ular education in England. A very brief sketch of the system must suffice for the purposes of the present discussion. Two examinations, called "local," are held every year by each university—one for boys and girls not more than sixteen years old (called Junior students or Junior candidates), and one for boys and girls not more than eighteen years old (called Senior students or Senior candidates). In each year a more advanced examination is also held for young men and women who are more than eighteen years old, or who have obtained the highest honors in the Senior "local" examinations. At these higher examinations the number of candidates, though rapidly increasing, is still small in comparison with the number of boys and girls who enter for the lower.* The examinations (Junior, Senior, and Higher) are held at all places approved by the Syndics, or Delegates, at which local committees have been organized with a local secretary, and have guaranteed the payment of at least twenty fees. At many of the principal centres both universities hold examinations, though at different seasons of the year. At centres for the examination of girls or young women, committees of women must be organized, and rooms separate from those of the boys or young men must be provided. The names of those candidates who pass the examinations are published annually, with suitable distinction of those who pass with credit. Against the name of every successful candidate are set his or her place of residence and school (if any), and the name of his or her teacher. This publication is not only very stimulating to the candidates, but also to the schools from which they come.

The examination for Juniors covers reading, writing, arithmetic, and the rudiments of religious knowledge, all of which are required subjects, and eight optional subjects, in at least one of which every candidate must satisfy the examiners. No candidate is examined in more than five of the optional subjects. In all the subjects the requisitions are well defined, and suited to the age of the candidates, which, on the average, is about fifteen years. The examination for Seniors covers the same required

* Number of candidates examined at the Cambridge "Higher Local" examinations in the years 1875–1877: 1875, 333; 1876, 529; 1877, 793. In 1877 there were ten centres and thirty-four examiners. These examinations have been held only nine years.

subjects, and eight groups of optional subjects. Every candidate is required to satisfy the examiners in at least two of the optional subjects, and no one is examined in more than four. The requisitions are defined with a precision which leaves nothing to be desired, and are, of course, intended to be higher by two years of work than those of the Juniors.

The "higher local" examinations (or examinations for men and women) are again an advance upon the Senior examinations, and have a like liberal range of topics. Indeed, they cover all the languages ever taught in boys' or girls' schools, all the elementary mathematics, all the natural sciences taught in schools, history, logic, political economy, music, and drawing. Candidates have a very wide liberty of choice among the subjects, so that the examinations apply, in some measure, to all sorts of schools, and every imaginable course of study.

There is a liberality and comprehensiveness about these examinations which is very striking. Here are two great universities, which have seemed, until within a few years, absolutely to scorn all learning except classics, mathematics, and divinity, giving certificates to boys and girls, and young men and women, of whom large numbers offer only one language besides English (and that one oftenest a modern language), and no mathematics but arithmetic. Thus, at the "higher local" examinations of Cambridge, in 1877, out of 793 candidates few knew any Latin at all, and those few very little; in Greek there was but one candidate, and in mathematics but eighteen, of whom the greater part presented only geometry and algebra. At the Junior and Senior examinations French is the commonest choice among foreign languages, and Greek is offered only by an insignificant number. But if these facts set in a clear light the liberality of the universities in regard to choice of youthful studies, they also indicate how foreign to the true concerns of a university is this whole business of examining the school-work of thousands of boys and girls who have, as a rule, no thought of preparing themselves for university studies. It is as if a few American universities should undertake to examine, when requested, boys and girls from the two or three upper classes in high and union schools, all over the United States. Clearly, this function belongs to the state, or to some authority representing the community, and dealing principally

with secondary education. In spite of some noteworthy English opinions and practices to the contrary, the primary functions of a university, whatever subordinate labors it may from time to time provisionally assume, are to learn and to teach; and an institution whose primary function it is to prescribe subjects or courses of study to youth, and to examine upon such subjects or courses, is misnamed a university. The Oxford and Cambridge local examinations, however useful they may temporarily be, are to be regarded as provisional even for England, and as not to be imitated in other countries.

Much more interesting than the local examinations are the examinations of schools and the examinations for certificates, recently (1873) instituted by Oxford and Cambridge together, acting through a board made up of fourteen members from each university. The schools examined are schools which are competent to prepare boys for the universities, and the certificates exempt their holders from the college entrance examinations at Oxford and Cambridge, Responsions at Oxford and the Previous Examination at Cambridge, from certain examinations preliminary to medical and legal education, and from parts of the examinations which are among the conditions of first appointments in the army, and of admission to the Military Academy of Woolwich. This work, though elementary, is strictly relevant to the objects of the universities, so far as it is done for schools which prepare for the universities, and for young men who are to pursue, for years, liberal or professional studies either at the universities or elsewhere. In 1877 these examinations were extended to girls' schools, and girls, by the regulations for 1878, are to be admitted as candidates for certificates, upon conditions somewhat modified. This action has doubtless been taken in the expectation that the schools for girls, which invite the inspection of the universities' examiners, will be benefited by thus submitting their work to an external test, which is of acknowledged merit and authority. American teachers will find these school and certificate examinations very suggestive; their method is one which, with some modifications, would be in many respects applicable to those schools in the United States, whether private, endowed, or public, which prepare boys for college.

The student-life at Oxford and Cambridge presents some

noticeable contrasts with American student-life in regard to manners, discipline, and morals; but the limits of this article forbid more than a passing allusion to this interesting topic. Allowance being made for the national lack of that quick perception which is essential to the highest courtesy, the tone of manners at the English universities is better than at the American; probably because the great majority of English students are sons of highly-educated families, whereas in most American colleges and universities a large proportion of the students, and in some nearly all, are sons of uneducated or very imperfectly educated men. "Hazing," "rushing," secret societies, society initiations and badges, and the other barbarities and puerilities which still linger in most American colleges, are unknown at Oxford and Cambridge; and the relations between students and teachers, undergraduates, graduates, and dons, are unreserved and thoroughly friendly. The practice of having breakfast and lunch in one's own room promotes the frequent interchange of pleasant hospitalities, while the universal habit of taking exercise in the open air every day is often the happy foundation of delightful companionships.

The daily use of beer or wine by English students has some amiable aspects, but is, on the whole, decidedly to be regretted; for it is, of course, entirely unnecessary to the health or cheerfulness of robust youth of the university age, and it leads some young men into drunkenness, and provokes others to worse vice. The habitual abstinence from alcohol as a daily beverage, which the great majority of American students observe, explains, in some degree, the absence in American institutions of all measures to prevent students from passing the night away from their college rooms, or lodgings. The college halls at Harvard, Yale, and Princeton stand open all night; while at Oxford and Cambridge locked doors and gates, and barred and shuttered windows, enforce the student's presence in his room after 10 P. M., but are most ineffectual to restrain him from any vice to which he may be seriously inclined. There is more drunkenness and licentiousness at Oxford and Cambridge than among an equal number of American students; but this fact is due rather to national temperament, and to characteristics of the social class to which English students generally belong, than to anything in university organization or

discipline. Among manly virtues, purity and temperance have a lower place in English estimation than in American.

Both Oxford and Cambridge try to prevent extravagant expenditure on the part of students, by prohibiting gaming, horse-racing, large or frequent entertainments, dealing with money-lenders, driving "four-in-hands," and contracting debts with very long credit. American institutions do not yet feel the need of such regulations, but they well may before they are half as old as Oxford.

Foreigners who would intelligently compare the English universities with those of their own countries, must remember that, in the English view, Oxford and Cambridge are not simply institutions of learning, like the Continental universities; they are also bulwarks of the Church, the aristocracy, and parliamentary government.

Finally, Oxford and Cambridge have an astonishing power of outgrowing and overcoming their own faults and shortcomings—an inexhaustible endurance, and an abundant vitality, which challenge admiration, and justify the firmest confidence in their future. Americans can only hope that one or two centuries hence there may exist here a few universities of equal dignity, power, and renown.

CHARLES W. ELIOT.

III.

STONEWALL JACKSON AND THE VALLEY CAMPAIGN.

In obedience to orders, I marched my brigade to New Market, on May 21, 1862, and sought Jackson, whom I had never met. This officer by no means held the place in public estimation he subsequently attained. His march on Romney in the previous winter had resulted in nothing except to freeze and discontent his troops. This discontent was shared and expressed by the Government at Richmond, and Jackson resigned. The influence of Colonel Alek Boteler, seconded by that of the Governor of Virginia (Letcher), alone induced him to withdraw his resignation.

A figure, perched on the topmost rail of a fence, overlooking the road and field, was pointed out as Jackson. Approaching, I saluted and declared my name and rank; then waited for a response. Before this came, I had time to see a pair of cavalry-boots covering feet of gigantic size, a mangy cap, with visor drawn low, a heavy, dark beard, and weary eyes—eyes I afterward saw filled with intense but never brilliant light. A low, gentle voice inquired the distance and road marched that day.

"Six-and-twenty miles—Keazletown road."

"You seem to have no stragglers?"

"Never allow stragglers."

"You must teach my people. They straggle badly."

A bow in reply. Just then, my creoles started their band and a waltz. After a contemplative suck at a lemon, "Thoughtless fellows for serious work" came forth. I expressed a hope that the work would not be less well done because of the gayety. A return to the lemon gave me an opportunity to retire. Where Jackson got his lemons "no fellow could find out," but he was rarely without one. To live twelve miles from that fruit would

have disturbed him as much as it did the witty dean. Quite late that night, General Jackson came to my camp-fire, where he remained some hours. He said we would move at dawn, asked a few questions about the marching of my men, which seemed to have impressed him, and then remained silent. If silence be golden, he was a "bonanza." He sucked lemons, ate hard-tack, and drank water, and, I imagine, his idea of the "whole duty of man" was—praying and fighting.

In the gray of the morning, as I was forming my column on the pike, Jackson appeared and gave the route north, which, from the situation of its camp, put my brigade in advance of the army. After moving some little time in this direction, the head of the column was turned short to the east, and took the road to Luray over Massanutten Gap. Jackson rode with me during the day. From time to time, a courier would gallop up, report and return toward Luray. Scarcely a word was spoken on the march. An ungraceful horseman, mounted on a sorry chestnut with a shambling gait, his huge feet, with out-turned toes, thrust into the stirrups, and such parts of his countenance as the low visor of his shocking cap failed to conceal wearing a wooden look, our new commander was not prepossessing. That night, we crossed the east branch of the Shenandoah, on a bridge near Luray, and camped near the stream. Here, after three long marches, we were but a short distance below the bridge at Conrad's Store—a point we had left several days before. I began to think that Jackson was a concealed, perhaps unconscious poet, and, as an ardent lover of Nature, desired to give strangers an opportunity to admire the beauties of his Valley. It seemed hard lines to be wandering, like sentimental travelers, about the country instead of gaining "kudos" on the Peninsula.

Off the next morning, my command still in advance, and Jackson riding with me. The road ran north between the east bank of the river and the western base of Blue Ridge. Rain had fallen and softened it, so that the wagon-trains in the rear were delayed. Not long after mid-day we reached a wood extending from the mountain to the river. Just here, a mounted officer from the rear called Jackson's attention, who rode back with him. A moment later, there rushed out of the wood to meet us a young, rather well-looking woman — afterward

widely known as Belle Boyd. Breathless with speed and agitation, some little time elapsed before she found her voice. Then, with much volubility, she said we were near Front Royal —beyond the wood—that the town was filled with Federals, whose camp was on the west side of the river, where they had guns in position to cover the wagon-bridge, but none bearing on the railway-bridge below the former; that the Federals were ignorant of our approach, and believed that Jackson was west of Massanutten—near New Market and Harrisonburg; that General Banks, the Federal commander, was at Winchester, twenty miles northwest of Front Royal, where he was slowly concentrating his widely-scattered forces to meet Jackson's advance, which was expected some days later. All this she told with the precision of a staff-officer making a report, and it was true to the letter. Jackson was possessed of these facts before he left New Market, and based his movements on them, but, as he never told anything, it was news to me, and gave me an idea of the strategic value of Massanutten, pointed out, indeed, by Washington before the Revolution. There also dawned on me quite another view of our leader than the one from which I had been regarding him for two days past. Convinced of the correctness of the woman's statements, I hurried forward at "a double," hoping to surprise the enemy's idlers in the town, or swarm over the wagon-bridge with them and secure it. Doubtless this was rash, but I was immensely "cocky" about my brigade, and believed it would prove equal to any demand. Before we had cleared the wood, Jackson came galloping from the rear, followed by a company of horse. Halting, he ordered me to deploy my leading regiment as skirmishers on both sides of the road, and continue the advance—then passed on. We speedily came in sight of Front Royal. The enemy had taken the alarm, and his men were skurrying across the upper bridge to their camp, where troops could be seen forming. The situation of the village is surpassingly beautiful. It lies near the east bank of the Shenandoah, which just below unites all its waters, and looks directly on the northern peaks of Massanutten. Blue Ridge, with Manassas Gap—through which passes the railway—overhangs on the east, distant Alleghany bounds the horizon to the west, and down the Shenandoah the eye wanders over a fertile,

well-farmed country. Two bridges spanned the river—a road or wagon bridge above, a railway some yards lower down. A fine pike led to Winchester, twenty miles. Another followed the river north, and from this many cross-roads united with the Valley pike at Winchester, and north and south of that place. The river, swollen by rain, was deep and turbulent, with strong current. The Federals were posted on the west bank—here somewhat higher than the opposite—and a short distance above the junction of waters, with batteries bearing more especially on the upper bridge. Under instructions, my brigade was drawn up in line, a little retired from the river, but overlooking it, the Federals and their guns in full view. So far, not a shot had been fired. I rode down to the river's brink to get a better look at the enemy through a field-glass, when my horse, heated by the march, stepped into the water to drink. Instantly a brisk fire was opened on me, bullets striking all around, and raising a little shower-bath. Like many a foolish fellow, I found it easier to get into than out of a difficulty. I had not yet led my command into action, and remembering that one must "strut" one's little part on the stage to the best advantage, sat my horse with all the composure I could muster. A provident camel, on the eve of a desert-journey, would not have laid in a greater supply of water than did my thoughtless beast. At last, he raised his head, looked placidly around, turned, and walked up the bank. This little incident was not without value, for my men welcomed me with a sudden cheer, upon which, as if in response, the enemy's guns opened, and having the range, inflicted some loss on my line. We had no guns up to reply, and in advance, as has been mentioned, had outmarched the troops behind us. Motionless as a statue, Jackson sat his horse some few yards away, and seemed lost in thought. Perhaps the circumstances mentioned some lines back had obscured his star. If so, a few short hours swept away the cloud, and it blazed, like Sirius, over the land. I approached him with the suggestion that the railway-bridge might be crossed by stepping on the cross-ties, as the enemy's guns bore less directly on it than on the upper bridge. He nodded approval. The Eighth Louisiana was on the right of my line, near at hand. Dismounting, Colonel Kelley led his regiment across, under a sharp musketry-fire. Several men fell, to dis-

appear in the dark water beneath; but the movement continued with great rapidity, considering the difficulty of walking on ties, and Kelley, with his leading files, gained the shore; whereupon the enemy fired combustibles previously placed near the centre of the upper bridge. The loss of this structure would have seriously delayed us, as the railway-bridge was not floored; and I looked at Jackson, who was near by, watching Kelley's progress. He nodded at me again, and my command rushed at the bridge. Concealed by the cloud of smoke, the suddenness of the movement saved us from much loss, but it was rather a near thing. My horse and clothing were scorched, and some of the men burned their hands severely throwing brands into the river. We were soon over, and the enemy in full flight to Winchester, with the loss of camp, some guns, and prisoners. Just as I emerged from flames and smoke, Jackson was by my side. How he got there was a mystery, as the bridge was thronged with my men, going at "a double;" but I remember thinking his costume was improved by fire. We followed the enemy on the Winchester road, but to little purpose, as we had few cavalry over the river. Carried away by his ardor, my commissary, Major Davis, gathered a score of mounted orderlies and couriers, and followed on the track. A volley from the enemy's rear-guard laid him low on the road, shot through the head. We buried him in a field near the place of his fall. He was much beloved by the command, and many gathered quietly around the grave. As there was no chaplain at hand, I repeated such portions of the service for the dead as a long neglect of pious things enabled me to recall.

Late in the night Jackson came out of the darkness and seated himself by my fire. He mentioned that I would move with him at dawn, then relapsed into silence. I fancied he looked at me kindly, and interpreted this into an approval of the conduct of my brigade. The events of the day, anticipations of the morrow, the death of Davis, drove away sleep, and I watched Jackson. For hours he sat silent and motionless, with eyes fixed on the fire. I took up the idea that he was inwardly praying, and he continued throughout the night.

Off in the morning—Jackson leading the way—my brigade, a small body of horse, and a section of the Rockbridge (Virginia) Artillery, forming the column. I directed Major Wheat, with

his battalion of "Tigers," to keep close to the guns. Sturdy marchers, they trotted along with the horse and artillery at Jackson's heels, and, after several hours, were some distance in advance of the infantry, with which I remained. A volley in front, followed by wild cheers, stirred us up to a double, and we speedily came upon a moving spectacle. Jackson had struck the Valley pike at Middletown—twelve miles south of Winchester—along which a large body of Federal cavalry, with many wagons, was hastening north. He had attacked at once with his handful of men, overwhelmed resistance, and captured prisoners and wagons.

The gentle "Tigers" were looting right merrily, diving in and out of wagons with the activity of rabbits in a warren—an occupation abandoned on my approach—and, in a moment, they were in line, looking as solemn and virtuous as deacons at a funeral. Prisoners and spoils were promptly secured.

The cavalry was from New England—a section in which horsemanship was an unknown art—and some of these centaurs were strapped to their steeds. Ordered to dismount, they explained their condition, and were given time to unbuckle. Many breastplates and other protective devices were seen here, and later at Winchester. We did not know whether the Federals had organized cuirassiers, or were recurring to the customs of Gustavus Adolphus. I saw a poor fellow lying dead on the pike, pierced through breastplate and body by a rifle-ball. Iron-clad men are of small account before modern rifles. A part of the enemy's column had passed north before Jackson reached the pike, and this, with his mounted men, he pursued. Something more than a mile to the south, a road left the pike and led directly west, where the Federal General Fremont, of whom we shall hear more, commanded the "Mountain Department."

Attacked in front as described, a body of Federals—cavalry, artillery, and infantry—with some wagons, took this road; and, after moving a short distance, drew up on a crest with unlimbered guns. Their number was unknown, and for a moment they looked threatening. The brigade was rapidly formed, and marched straight upon them, when their guns opened with effect. A shell knocked over eight men of the Seventh Louisiana. Another, as I rode forward to an eminence to get a view, struck the ground under my horse and exploded. The saddle-

cloth on both sides was torn away, and I and Adjutant Surget, who was just behind me, were nearly smothered by earth; but neither man nor horse received a scratch. The enemy soon limbered up and fled west. By some well-directed shots, as they crossed a hill, the Virginia guns with us sent wagons flying in the air, and produced a *scatteration.* With this P. P. C. we left them to wing their flight to the west, and turned north down the pike. At dusk we overtook Jackson, pushing the enemy with his little mounted force—himself in advance of all. I rode with him, and we kept on through the darkness. At no time was there resistance enough to deploy infantry. A flash, a report, and a whistling bullet from some covert met us, but there were few casualties. I quite remember thinking at the time that Jackson was invulnerable, and that persons near him shared that quality. An officer, riding hard, overtook us, who proved to be the quartermaster of the army. He reported the wagon-trains far behind, impeded by bad road in Luray Valley.

"The ammunition-wagons?" (sternly).

"All right, sir. They were in advance, and I doubled teams on them and brought them through."

"Ah!" (in a tone of relief).

To give countenance to this quartermaster, if such can be given of a dark night, I remarked, jocosely: "Never mind the wagons. There are quantities of stores in Winchester, and the general has invited us to breakfast to-morrow."

Jackson, who had no more capacity for jests than a Scotchman, took this seriously, and reached out and touched me on the arm. In fact, he was of Scotch-Irish descent, and his unconsciousness of jokes was "*de race.*" Without physical wants himself, he never remembered that others were differently constituted, and paid little heed to the commissariat; but woe to the man who failed to bring up ammunition! In advance, his trains were left far behind; in retreat, he would fight for a wheelbarrow. Some time after midnight, by roads more direct from Front Royal, other troops came on to the pike, and I halted my jaded people on the side of the road, where they built fires, and took a turn at their haversacks. Moving with the first light of morning, we came to Kernstown, three miles south of Winchester, and the scene of Jackson's fight with Shields. Here heavy

and sustained firing—artillery and small-arms—was heard. A staff-officer approached at full speed to summon me to Jackson's presence and move up my command. A gallop of a mile or more brought me to him. Winchester was in sight, a mile to the north. To the east, Ewell, with a large part of the army, was fighting briskly, and driving the enemy on to the town. On the left a high ridge, overlooking the country to the south and southeast, was occupied by a heavy mass of Federals with guns in position. Jackson was on the pike, and near him were several regiments lying down for shelter, as the fire from the ridge was heavy and searching.

A Virginia battery, the Rockbridge Artillery, was fighting at a great disadvantage, and already much cut up. Jackson, impassive as ever, pointed to the ridge, and said, "You must carry it." I replied that my command would be up by the time I could inspect the ground, and rode to the left for that purpose. A small stream, Abraham's Creek, flowed from the west through the little valley at the southern base of the ridge. The ascent was steep, though nowhere abrupt. At one point a broad, shallow, trough-like depression broke the surface, which was further interrupted by some low copse, outcropping stone, and two fences. On the summit the Federal lines were posted behind a stone-wall, and along a road coming west from the pike. Worn somewhat into the soil, this road served as a countersink, and strengthened the position. Farther west there was a break in the ridge. This was occupied by a body of cavalry—the extreme right of the line. There was scarcely time to mark these features before the head of my column appeared, when it was filed to the left, close to the base of the ridge, for protection from the plunging fire. Meanwhile, the "Rockbridge" battery held on manfully, and engaged the enemy's attention. Riding on the flank of my column, between it and the enemy, I saw Jackson beside me. This was not the place for the commander of the army, and I ventured to tell him so; but he paid no attention to the remark. We reached the shallow depression spoken of, where the enemy could depress his guns, and his fire became close and fatal. Many men fell, and the whistling of shot and shell occasioned much ducking of heads in the column. This annoyed me not a little, as it was but child's play to the work immediately in hand. Always an admirer of

delightful Uncle Toby, I had contracted the most villainous habit of his beloved army in Flanders, and, forgetful of Jackson's presence, ripped out: "What the h— are you dodging for? If there is any more of it, you will be halted under this fire for an hour!" The sharp tones of a familiar voice produced the desired effect, and the men looked as if they had swallowed ramrods; but I shall never forget the look of reproachful surprise on Jackson's face. He placed his hand on my shoulder, said, in a gentle voice, "I am afraid you are a wicked fellow," then turned and rode back to the picket.

The proper ground gained, the column faced to the front and began the ascent. At the moment the sun rose over Blue Ridge without cloud or mist to obscure his rays. It was a lovely Sabbath morning, the 25th of May, 1862. The clear, pure atmosphere brought Blue Ridge and Alleghany and Massanutten almost overhead. Even the clouds of murderous smoke from the guns above made beautiful spirals in the air, and the broad fields of luxuriant wheat glistened with dew. It is remarkable how one's attention may be fixed by some insignificant object, as mine was by the flight past the line of a bluebird, one of the brightest-plumaged of our feathered tribe, bearing a worm in his beak—breakfast for his callow brood. Birdie had been on the war-path, and was carrying home spoil. As we mounted, we came in full view of the army, whose efforts in other quarters had been slackened to await the result of our movement, and I felt an anxiety amounting to pain for the brigade to acquit itself handsomely, and this feeling was shared by every man in it.

About half-way up, the enemy's cavalry from his right charged. I directed Lieutenant-Colonel Nicholls, Eighth Louisiana, whose regiment was on the left of the line, to withdraw slightly his two flank-companies and receive them with a volley. While listening to the order, Nicholls was severely hit, but executed it before pain and loss of blood forced him to quit the field. With some emptied saddles, the cavalry fled. Progress was not stayed by this incident. Closing the many gaps made by the fierce fire, steadied the rather by it, and preserving an alignment that would have been creditable on parade, the line, with cadenced step and eyes on the foe, swept grandly over copse and ledge and fence, to crown the heights from which the

enemy had melted away. Loud cheers went up from the army, prolonged to the east, where warm-hearted Ewell cheered himself hoarse, and led forward his men with renewed energy. In truth, it was a superb feat of arms, worthy the pen of him who immortalized the charge of the "Buffs" at Albuera. Breaking into column, we pursued closely. Jackson came up and grasped my hand—worth a thousand words from another—and we were soon in the streets of Winchester, a quaint old town of some five thousand inhabitants. There was a little fighting in the streets, but the people were all abroad—certainly all the women and babies. They were frantic with delight, only regretting that so many "Yankees" had escaped, and seriously impeded our movements. A buxom, comely dame, of some five-and-thirty summers, with bright eyes and tight ankles, and conscious of these advantages, was especially demonstrative, exclaiming, "Oh! you are too late—too late!" whereupon a tall creole from the Teche sprang from the ranks of the Eighth Louisiana, just passing, clasped her in his arms, and imprinted a sounding kiss on her ripe lips, with "Madame, je n'arrive jamais trop tard!" A loud laugh went up, and the dame, with a rosy face, but merry twinkle in her eye, escaped. Past the town, we could see the enemy flying north on the Harper's Ferry and Martinsburg roads. Cavalry, of which there was a considerable force with the army, might have reaped a rich harvest, but none came forward. Raised in the adjoining region, our troopers were gossiping with their friends, or worse, perhaps, they thought the war was over. Jackson joined me, and, in response to my question, "Where is the cavalry?" glowered, and was silent. After pursuing for several miles, finding we were doing no good, as indeed infantry, preserving its organization, cannot hope to overtake a flying enemy, I turned into the fields and camped.

The headquarters and depot of all the Federal forces in the Valley, Winchester was filled with stores. Prisoners, guns, and wagons, in large numbers, fell into our hands. Of especial value were ordnance and medical supplies. The subsequent occupation of Martinsburg added to the spoil. The following day my command was moved ten or twelve miles north on the pike leading by Charlestown to Harper's Ferry, and, after a day, some miles east toward the Shenandoah—this in consequence of the opera-

tions of the Federal General Shields, who, in command of a considerable force on the east of Blue Ridge, passed Manassas Gap, and drove from Front Royal a regiment of Georgians left there by Jackson.

Meanwhile, a part of the army was pushed forward to Martinsburg and beyond, as stated, while another part threatened and shelled Harper's Ferry. Jackson himself was engaged in forwarding captured stores to Staunton. On Saturday morning, 31st of May, I received orders to move through Winchester, clear the town of stragglers, and continue to Strasburg. Three days' rations were prepared for haversacks, and the brigade marched. But few stragglers were found in Winchester, from which the wounded and sick, except extreme cases, had been taken. We reached camp at Strasburg after dark—a march of five-and-thirty miles—weather very warm. Winder, with his brigade, came in later after a longer march from the direction of Harper's Ferry. Jackson sat some time at my camp-fire that night, and was more communicative than I ever remember him before or after. He said Fremont, with a large force, was three miles west of our present camp, and must be defeated in the morning. Shields was moving up Luray Valley, and might cross Massanutten to New Market, or continue south until he turned the mountain, and fall on our trains near Harrisonburg. The importance of pushing forward the immense trains, filled with captured stores, was great, and would engage much of his personal attention; and the army, under Ewell's direction, must deal promptly with Fremont. This he told with a low, gentle voice, and with many interruptions, to afford time, as I thought and believe, for inward prayer. The men said his anxiety for the wagons was because of the lemons among the stores!

Dawn of the following day (Sunday) was ushered in by the sound of Fremont's guns. Our lines had been early drawn out to meet him, and skirmishers pushed to the front to attack. Much cannonading, with some rattle of small-arms, ensued. The country was densely wooded, and little, save the smoke of the enemy's guns, could be seen. My brigade was in reserve, a short distance to the rear, and out of the line of fire.

Cannonading, without much effect, continued. Ewell summoned me to his presence, directing my brigade to remain in

position till further orders. Jackson, busy with his trains, was not at the moment on the field, which he visited several times during the engagement, but I did not happen to see him. To reach Ewell, it was necessary to pass under some heavy shelling, and I found myself open to the reproach visited previously on my men. Whether from fatigue, loss of sleep, or what not, there I was, nervous as a lady, ducking like a mandarin. It was disgusting, and, hoping no one saw me, I determined to take it out of myself. There is a story related of Turenne—the greatest soldier of the Bourbons—which, if not true, is "ben trovato." Of a nervous temperament, his legs, on the eve of an action, trembled to such an extent as to make it difficult to mount his horse. Looking at them contemptuously, he said, "If you could foresee the danger into which I am going to take you, you would tremble more." It was with a similar feeling, not only for my legs, but for my wretched carcass, that I reached Ewell and told him I was no more good than a frightened deer. He laughed, and replied: "Nonsense! 'Tis your servant's strong coffee—better give it up. Remain here in charge, while I go out to the skirmishers. I can't make out what these people are about. My skirmish-line has stopped them. They won't advance, but stay out there in the woods, making a great fuss with their guns, and I don't wish to commit myself to much advance while Jackson is absent." With this, he put spurs to his horse and was off. Soon a brisk fusillade, which seemed gradually to recede, was heard. During Ewell's absence, I did contrive, surrounded by his staff, to sit my horse respectably. It appeared to me an hour, though not more than a fourth of that time, before his return, when he said: "I am completely puzzled. I have just driven everything back to the main body, which is large. Dense wood everywhere. Jackson told me not to *commit myself* too far. At this rate my attentions are not likely to become serious enough to *commit* anybody. I wish Jackson were here himself!" I suggested that my brigade might be moved to the extreme right, near the Capon road, by which Fremont had marched, and attempt to strike that road, which would enable us to find out something. He replied: "Do so. That may stir them up. I am sick of this fiddling about." Had Ewell been in supreme command he would have "pitched in" long before, but he was

controlled by Jackson's instructions not to be drawn too far from the pike.

We found the right of our line held by (I think) a Mississippi regiment. The colonel told me he had advanced just before and driven the enemy. Several of his men were wounded, and he was bleeding profusely from a "hit" in the leg, which he was engaged in tying with a handkerchief as I reached him, remarking that "it did not pester him much." Learning our purpose, he was eager to go in with us, and was not at all pleased to hear that I declined to change General Ewell's dispositions. A plucky fellow, this colonel, and I regret that his name, if ever known to me, cannot be recalled.

The brigade moved forward until the enemy was reached, when, wheeling to the left, it walked down his line. The expression is used advisedly, for it was nothing but a "walk-over." Sheep would have made as much resistance as we met. Men decamped without firing, or threw down their arms and surrendered. It was so easy that I began to think of traps. At length we got under fire from our skirmishers, and suffered some casualties—the only ones received in the movement. Our whole skirmish-line was advancing briskly as the Federals retired. I sought Ewell and reported. We had a fine game before us, and the temptation to play it was great, but Jackson's orders were imperative and wise. He had his stores to save, Shields to dispose of, Lee's grand strategy to promote; and all this he accomplished—alarming Washington, fastening McDowell's strong corps at Fredericksburg, and preventing its junction with McClellan, on whose right flank he threw himself at Cold Harbor. He could not waste time chasing Fremont; but we, who looked from a lower standpoint, grumbled and shared the men's opinions about the *lemon*-wagons.

The prisoners taken in our "promenade" were Germans—speaking no English—and we had a similar experience a few days later. In the Federal army was a German corps—the Eleventh—commanded by General O. O. Howard, and this corps was, on both sides, called "The Flying Dutchmen." Since the time of Arminius, the Germans have been a brave people. To-day, in military renown, they lead the van of the nations; but they require a cause and leaders. In our Revolutionary

struggle, the Hessians were unfortunate at Bennington and Saratoga, Trenton and Princeton. We have many millions of German citizens, and excellent citizens they are. Let us hope the above facts may be commended to them, so that their ways may be ways of peace in their adopted land.

Though the movement along the enemy's line, as described, was successful, it was rash and foolish. Fremont had troops which, had they been in the place of these Germans (without interest or officers), would have made us pass one of Rabelais's unpleasant quarters of an hour. Alarm at my own nervous timidity occasioned it—proving weak nerves to be the source of rash action. Fremont made no further sign, and, as the day declined, the army was recalled to the pike, and marched south. Jackson, in person, gave me instructions to draw up my brigade, facing west, on some hills above the pike, and distant from it several hundred yards, where I was to remain. He said the road was crowded, and he wanted time to clear it; that Fremont was safe for the night, and our cavalry toward Winchester reported Banks returned to that place from the Potomac, but not likely to move south before the following day—then rode off, and so quickly as to give me no time to inquire how long I was to remain, or if the cavalry would advise me in the event Banks changed his purpose. This was near sunset. By the time the command was in position darkness fell upon us. No fires were allowed; and, stacking arms, the men rested, munching cold rations from their haversacks. It was their first opportunity for a bite since early morning. I threw myself on the ground, and tried in vain to sleep. No sound could be heard, save the clattering of hoofs on the pike, which, as the night wore on, became constant. Hour after hour passed, when, thinking I heard firing to the north, I mounted, and looked for the pike. The darkness was so intense that I could not have found it but for the whiteness of the limestone. Some mounted men were passing, whom I halted to question. They said their command had passed south to rejoin the army, and, supposed, had missed me in the dark, but there was a squadron behind near the enemy's advance, which—a large cavalry force—had moved from Winchester at an early period of the day, and driven our people south. This was pleasant! Winder's

brigade—the last to move—had marched at least four hours since, so that a wide interval existed between us. More firing, near and distinct, was heard, and the command ordered down to the pike, which it reached after much stumbling and swearing, and some confusion. Fortunately, the battery, Captain Bowyer, had been sent forward, at dusk, to get forage, and an orderly was dispatched to put it on the march. The Sixth Louisiana (Irish) was in rear, and I took two companies for a rear-guard. The column had scarcely got into motion before a party of horse rushed through the guard, knocking down several men, one of whom was severely bruised. There was a little pistol-shooting and sabre-hacking, and for some minutes "things were rather mixed." The enemy's cavalry had charged ours, and driven it in on the infantry. One Federal was captured. His horse was given to the bruised man, who congratulated the rider on his "*promotion* to a respectable service." I dismounted, gave my servant my horse to lead, and marched with the guard. From time to time the enemy would charge; but we could hear him coming, and be ready. The guard would halt, about face, front rank with fixed bayonets kneel, rear rank fire. By the light of the flash we could see emptied saddles. His fire was wild—passing overhead—so we had few casualties, and these slight; but he was bold and enterprising, and well led—charging often right up to the bayonets. I remarked this, whereupon the Irishmen answered, "Divil thank 'em for that same!" There was no danger on the flanks. The white of the pike alone guided us. Owls could not have found their way through the fields. The face of the country has been described as a succession of rolling swells. Later, the enemy got up guns, but always fired from the summits, and the shells passed far above us—exploding in the fields. Had they been trained low, with canister, it might have proved uncomfortable, for the pike ran straight to the south. "It was a fine night, intirely, for divarsion," said the Irishmen, with which sentiment I did not agree; but they were as steady as clocks and chirpy as crickets, indulging in many a jest whenever the attention of our *friends* behind was slackened. They had heard of Shields's proximity, knew he was an Irishman by birth, and had Irish regiments with him. During an interlude, I was asked if it was not probable we would meet Shields, and, answering affirmatively, heard,

"Them Germans is poor creatures, but Shields's boys will be after fighting." Expressing a belief that my "boys" could match Shields's any day, I received loud assurance from half a hundred Tipperary throats, "Ye may bet yer life on that, sir!" Thus we beguiled the weary hours. During the night, I desired to relieve the rear-guard, but was diverted from my purpose by scornful howls of "We are the boys to see it out!" As Argyle's to the tartan, my heart has warmed to an Irishman since that night.

Daylight came, and I tried to brace myself for hotter work, when a body of troops was reported in position to the south of my column. This proved to be Charles Winder with his (formerly Jackson's own) brigade. This accomplished soldier and true brother-in-arms had heard the enemy's guns during the night, and, knowing I was in the rear, halted and formed line to await me. His men were rested and fed, and he insisted on taking my place in the rear, and we passed through his line. We moved slowly, with frequent halts, so as to remain near Winder, to whom the enemy was much devoted during the morning. The day was uncommonly hot, the sun like fire. Water was scarce along the road, and the men suffered greatly. Just after mid-day my brisk young aide, Hamilton, whom I had left with Winder to bring early intelligence, came to report that officer in trouble and want of assistance. My men were so jaded as to make me unwilling to retrace ground if it could be avoided; so they were ordered to form line on the crest of the slope at hand, and I went to Winder, a mile and a half to the rear. His brigade—renowned as the "Stonewall"—was deployed on both sides of the pike, on which he had four guns. Large masses of cavalry, with guns and some sharp-shooters, were pressing him closely, while far to the north clouds of dust marked the approach of troops. His line was on one of the many "swells" crossing the pike at right angles, and a gentle slope led to the next crest south, beyond which my brigade was forming. The problem was to retire without giving the enemy—eager and persistent—an opportunity to charge. The situation looked so blue that I offered to move back my command, but Winder thought he could pull through, and splendidly did he accomplish it. Regiment by regiment, gun by gun, the brigade was withdrawn,

always checking the enemy, though boldly led. Winder, cool as a professor playing the new German game, directed every movement in person. The men were worthy of him and of their first commander, Jackson. It was very close work in the vale before he reached the next crest, and heavy volleys were necessary to stay our plucky foe. Once there, my command showed so strong as to impose on the enemy, who halted to reconnoitre, and the brigades were united without further trouble. The position was good, my battery was at hand, and our men were so fatigued that we debated whether it was not more comfortable to fight than to retreat. We could hold the ground for hours against cavalry, and night would probably come before infantry got up, while retreat was certain to bring the cavalry on us. At this juncture up came General Turner Ashby, followed by a large force of horse, with guns. I think this officer had been destroying bridges in the Luray Valley, to prevent Shields from crossing that branch of the Shenandoah, and guarding Massanutten Gap. However, up he came, and to our satisfaction, to take charge of the rear. He proceeded to pay his respects to our friends, and soon took them off our hands. We remained an hour to rest the men and give Ashby time to get up his force, then moved on. Before sunset heavy clouds gathered, and the intense heat was broken by a regular down-pour, in the midst of which we crossed the bridge over the west branch of the Shenandoah, a large stream at Mount Jackson, and camped. There was not a dry thread about me. My boots would have furnished a respectable bath. We were less than ten miles from New Market, between which and this point the army was camped. Jackson was easy about Massanutten Gap. Shields must march south of the mountain to reach him, while the river just crossed was impassable except by bridge. We remained thirty-six hours in this camp—from the evening of the 2d until the morning of the 4th of June—a welcome rest to all. Two days of easy marching carried us to Harrisonburg, some thirty miles. Here Jackson quit the pike leading to Staunton, and took the road to Port Republic. This village, twelve miles southeast of Harrisonburg, lies at the base of the Blue Ridge, on the east bank of the Shenandoah. Several streams unite here to form the east (locally called south) branch of that river. The only bridge

from Front Royal south was at this point. All others had been destroyed by Ashby, to prevent Shields gaining the west bank of the river. This commander was moving south from Front Royal and Luray by the road on the east bank. On the night of June 5th the army camped three miles from Harrisonburg, toward Port Republic. Ewell's division, which I had rejoined for the first time since we met Jackson, was in the rear, and the rear brigade was General George Stewart's, composed of one Maryland and two Virginia regiments. My command was immediately in advance of Stewart. Ashby, commanding the rear-guard, had burned the bridge at Mount Jackson, to delay Fremont, and was camped, with his cavalry, in advance of and near Harrisonburg. The road to Port Republic was heavy, causing much delay to the trains, so that we did not move on the morning of the 6th. Early in the day Fremont, reënforced from Banks, got up, and his cavalry, vigorously led, pushed Ashby through Harrisonburg, when a sharp action occurred, resulting in the capture of many Federals, among others Colonel Percy Wyndham, commanding a brigade, whose meeting with Major Wheat has been described. Later, while Ewell was conversing with me, a message from Ashby took him to the rear. Federal cavalry, supported by infantry, were advancing on Ashby. Stewart's brigade was lying in a wood, under cover of which Ewell placed it in position.

A severe struggle ensued. The enemy's advance was driven back, and many prisoners taken. I had ridden back with Ewell, and so witnessed the affair—uncommonly spirited, and creditable to both sides. Colonel Kane, of Philadelphia, commanding a Pennsylvania regiment, was among the prisoners, and painfully wounded. Having known this gentleman's father, Judge Kane, as well as his brother, the arctic explorer, I solicited and obtained from Jackson his parole. The skirmishing developed into severe work, in which General Ashby was killed. Alluding to his death in an official report, Jackson says, "As a partisan officer, I never knew his superior." On the 7th of June we marched to a place four miles from Port Republic, called Cross Keys, where several roads met. Near at hand was the meeting-house of a sect of German Quakers—Tunkers or Dunkards, as they are differently named. Here Jackson determined to await and fight Fremont, who followed him hard; but, as

Shields was now unpleasantly near, he pushed on to Port Republic with Winder's and other infantry and a battery, which camped on the hither bank of the river. Jackson himself, with his staff and a cavalry escort, crossed the bridge, and passed the night in the village. Ewell, in immediate charge at Cross Keys, was ready at an early hour of the morning of June 8th, when Fremont attacked. The ground was undulating, with much wood, and no extended view could be had. In my front, the attack—if such it could be called—was feeble in the extreme—an affair of skirmishers, in which the enemy's yielded to the slightest pressure. A staff-officer of Jackson's, in hot haste, came with orders from his chief to march my brigade double-quick to Port Republic. A brigade—Elzey's, I think—was in the second line to my rear, which I requested to take my place and relieve my skirmishers. Then, advising the staff-officer to notify Ewell, whom he had not seen, we started on the run, for such a message from Jackson meant business. Two of the three intervening miles were quickly passed, when another officer appeared with orders to halt. In half an hour, during which the sound of battle at Cross Keys thickened, Jackson came. As before stated, he had passed the night in the village with his staff and mounted escort. Up, as usual, at dawn, he started alone to recross the bridge, leaving his people to follow. The bridge was a few yards below the last house of the village, and some mist overhung the river. Under cover of this, a small body of horse, with one gun, from Shields's army, had reached the east end of the bridge, and trained the gun on it. Jackson was within an ace of capture. As he spurred across, the gun was fired on him, but without effect, and the sound brought up staff and escort, when the enemy retired north. This incident occasioned the order to me. After relating it (all save his own danger), Jackson passed on to Ewell; thither I followed, to remain in reserve until the general forward movement in the afternoon, by which Fremont was driven back, with loss of prisoners. We did not persist far, as Shields was near upon us.

I learned from Ewell that there had been some pretty fighting in the morning, though less than might have been expected from Fremont's large force. I know not if the presence of this commander had a benumbing influence on his troops, but cer-

tainly his advanced cavalry and infantry had proved bold and enterprising. In the evening I moved to the river and camped. Winder's and other brigades crossed the bridge, and, during the night, Ewell with most of the army drew near, leaving Trimball's brigade with the cavalry at Cross Keys. No one apprehended another advance by Fremont. The following morning—Sunday, 9th of June—my command passed the bridge, moved several hundred yards down the road, and halted. Our trains had gone east over the Blue Ridge.

The sun appeared above the mountain, while the men were quietly breakfasting. Suddenly, from below, was heard the din of battle—loud and sustained—artillery and small-arms. The men sprang to their arms, formed column, and marched. I galloped forward a short mile to see the following scene: From the mountain, clothed to its base with undergrowth and timber, a level plain, clear, open, and smooth, extended to the river. This plain was some thousand yards in width. A half-mile north was a gorge, through which flowed a small stream, cutting the mountain at a right angle. The northern shoulder of this gorge projected farther into the plain than the southern, and on an elevated plateau of the shoulder were placed six guns, sweeping every inch of the plain to the south. Three lines of the enemy, at intervals, their right touching the river, were advancing steadily, with banners flying and arms gleaming in the sun. A gallant show—they came on. Winder's and another brigade, with two batteries, alone opposed them. This small force was suffering cruelly, and its skirmishers were driven in on their thin supporting line. As my Irishmen predicted, "Shields's boys were after fighting." Below, Ewell was hurrying his men over the bridge, but it looked as if we should be doubled up on him ere he could cross and develop much strength. Jackson was on the road a little in advance of his line, where the fire was hottest, with reins on his horse's neck, seemingly in prayer. Attracted by my approach, he said in his usual low voice, "Delightful excitement." I replied it was pleasant to learn he was enjoying himself, but thought he might have an indigestion of such fun if the six-gun battery was not silenced. He summoned a young officer from his staff, and pointed up the mountain. The head of my approaching column was turned short up the slope, and speedily came to a path running parallel

with the river. We took this path, the guide leading the way. From him I learned that the plateau occupied by the battery had been used for a charcoal-kiln, and the path we were following, made by the burners in hauling wood, came upon the gorge opposite the battery. Moving briskly, we reached the hither side of the gorge, a few yards from the battery. Several regiments were posted near, and riflemen were in the undergrowth on the slope above. Our approach, masked by timber, was unsuspected. The battery was firing rapidly, enabled from its elevation to fire over the advancing lines. The head of my column was deploying, under cover, for attack, when the fire to our rear appeared to recede, and a loud Federal cheer was heard, proving Jackson to be hard pressed. It was rather an anxious moment, demanding instant action. Leaving a staff-officer to direct my rear regiment, the Seventh Louisiana, Colonel Harry Hays, to form in the wood as a reserve, and halt, I ordered the attack. With a rush and shout the gorge was passed, and we were in the battery. Surprise had aided us, but the enemy's infantry rallied in a moment, and drove us out. We returned, to be driven out the second time. The riflemen above worried us no little. Two companies of the Ninth Louisiana were sent up the gorge to gain ground above them and dislodge them, which was accomplished. The fighting in and around the battery was hand-to-hand. Many fell from bayonet-wounds. Even the artillerymen used their rammers in a way not laid down in the "Manual," and died at their guns. As Conan said to the devil, "'Twas claw for claw." I called for Hays, but he, the promptest of men, and his splendid regiment, could not be found. Something unexpected had occurred, but there was little time for speculation. With a desperate rally, in which, I believe, the drummer-boys shared, we carried the battery for the third time, and held it. The riflemen above had been driven off, and we began to feel a little comfortable, when the rear line of the enemy, attracted by our attack, appeared. They had countermarched, and, with their left near the river, came into full view of our situation. Wheeling to their right, with colors advanced, like a solid wall they marched straight upon us. There seemed nothing left but to set our backs to the mountain and die hard. At the instant, crashing through the underwood,

came Ewell, outriding staff and escort. He secured a reënforcement, and was welcomed with cheers. The line before us halted, and threw forward skirmishers. A moment later, a shell came shrieking along it. Loud Confederate shouts reached our delighted ears; and Jackson, freed from his toils, came like a whirlwind, the enemy in rapid retreat. We turned the captured guns on them as they passed, Ewell himself serving as a gunner. Though rapid, the retreat never became a rout. Fortune had refused her smiles, but Shields and his brave command preserved their organization, and were formidable to the last.

Whether the difference between his force and Fremont's was of men or commanders, I leave others to decide. Jackson came up with intense light in his eyes, grasped my hand, and said the brigade should have the captured battery. I thought the men would go mad with cheering, especially the Irishmen. A huge fellow, with one eye closed and half his whiskers burned by the explosion of powder, was riding "cock-horse," on a gun, and, catching my attention, yelled out, "Didn't we tell ye to bet on your boys?" Their success against brother Patlanders seemed doubly welcome. Strange people, these Irish! Fighting every one's battles, and cheerfully taking the hot end of the poker, they are only found wanting when engaged in what they believe to be their national cause. Excepting their defense of Limerick under the brilliant Sarsfield, I recall no domestic struggle in which they have shown their worth.

While Jackson pursued Shields—without much effect, as his cavalry, left in front of Fremont, could not get over till late—we attended to the wounded and performed the last offices to the dead—our own and the Federal. I have never seen so many dead and wounded in the same limited space. A large farmhouse on the plain, opposite the mouth of the gorge, was converted into a hospital. Ere long, my lost Seventh Regiment—sadly cut up—rejoined. This regiment was in rear of the column when we left Jackson, to gain the path in the wood, and before it filed out of the road, his thin line was so pressed that Jackson ordered Hays to stop the enemy's rush. This was done, for the Seventh would have stopped a herd of elephants, but at a fearful cost. Colonel Harry Hays was severely wounded among many others. Many hours passed in discharge of our sad duties to

wounded and dead, during which Fremont appeared on the opposite bank of the river, and opened his guns, but observing, doubtless, our occupation, ceased his fire, and after a time withdrew. It may be added here that Jackson had caused such alarm to Washington as to start Milroy, Fremont, Banks, and Shields, toward that capital, and the great Valley was cleared of the enemy. We passed the night high up the mountain, where we moved to reach our commissary-wagons. A cold rain was falling before we found them. Every one was tired and famished, and I rather took it out of the train-master for pushing so far up, although I had lunched comfortably from the haversack of a dead Federal. It is not pleasant to think of now, but war *is* a little hardening. On the 12th of June the army moved down to the river, above Port Republic, where the Valley was wide, with many trees—no enemy to worry or make us afraid. Here closed Jackson's wonderful Valley campaign in 1862. My brigade marched from its camp near Conrad's Store to join Jackson at New Market on the 21st of May. In twenty days it marched two hundred miles, fought in five actions, of which three were severe, and several skirmishes, and, though it had suffered heavy loss in officers and men, was yet strong, hard as nails, and "fit" like a game-cock.

I have felt it a duty to set forth the achievements of the "Louisiana Brigade," than which no man ever led braver into action, in their proper light, because such reputation as I gained in the war is to be ascribed to its excellence, not to my own merit.

On the second day in this camp, General Winder came to me and said he had asked leave to go to Richmond, been refused, and had resigned. He commanded Jackson's old brigade, and was aggrieved by some unjust interference. Holding Winder in high esteem, I hoped to save him to the army, and went to Jackson, to whose magnanimity I appealed. To arouse this, I dwelt on the rich harvest of glory he had reaped in his brilliant campaign, and, observing him closely, caught a glimpse of the man's inner nature. It was but a glimpse. The curtain closed, and he was absorbed in prayer. Yet, in that moment, I saw an ambition, boundless as Cromwell's, and as merciless. No reply was made to my effort for Winder, and I rose to take my leave. Jackson said he would ride with me, and we passed,

silently, along the way to my camp, where he left me. That night, I received a few lines from Winder, in which it was stated Jackson had called on him, and his resignation was withdrawn.

A few days later we marched to Cold Harbor, where we were absorbed in the larger army operating against McClellan, and I saw but little of Jackson. I have written that he was ambitious; and his ambition was vast, all-absorbing. As the unhappy wretch from whose shoulders sprang the foul serpent, he loathed it, perhaps feared it, but he could not escape it—it was himself; nor rend it—it was his own flesh. He fought it with prayer, constant and earnest—Apollyon and Christian in ceaseless combat. What limit to set to his ability I know not, for he was ever superior to occasion. Under ordinary circumstances it was difficult to estimate him because of his peculiarities—peculiarities that would have made a lesser man absurd, but that served to enhance his martial fame, as those of Samuel Johnson his literary eminence.

He once observed, in reply to an allusion to his severe marching, that it was better to lose one man in marching than five in fighting; and, acting on this, he invariably surprised the enemy—Milroy at McDowell, Banks, Fremont, and Shields, in the Valley, McClellan's right at Cold Harbor, Pope at second Manassas.

Fortunate in his death, he fell at the summit of glory, before the sun of the Confederacy had set; ere defeat, and suffering, and selfishness, could turn their fangs upon him. As one man, the South wept for him; foreign nations shared the grief; even Federals praised him. With Wolfe, and Nelson, and Havelock, he took his place in the hearts of English-speaking peoples.

In the early years of this century, a great battle was fought on the plains of the Danube. A determined charge on the Austrian centre gained the victory for France. The courage and example of a private soldier who there fell, contributed much to the success of the charge. Ever after, at the parades of his battalion, the name of Latour d'Auvergne was first called, when the oldest sergeant stepped to the front and answered, "Died on the field of honor." In Valhalla, beyond the grave, where spirits of warriors assemble, when, on the roll of heroes, the name of Jackson is reached, it will be for the majestic shade of Lee to pronounce the highest eulogy known to our race—*died on the field of duty.*

RICHARD TAYLOR.

IV.

THE DEATH-STRUGGLE OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

The origin and growth of parties in countries possessing popular governments and controlled by public opinion follow the laws of development attending tropical forests. A seed, too small to excite attention, but containing within itself a healthy, vigorous germ, filled with all the vast possibilities inherent in its vitalism, falls unheard on the soil. At once a struggle for existence ensues. Every inch of surrounding earth is already occupied by rival plants, each fiercely striving to appropriate nutritive elements. By long-continued, stubborn effort, seeking healthy food and rejecting all else, our plant fixes its roots to push upward to the sun and secure the objects of its being—the completion of a wholesome, God-given existence. No sooner have its branches reached the upper air, overtopping rivals, and attaining a recognized place in creation, than the world of parasites, previously inattentive, fastens upon it. Healthy, vigorous growth is arrested. The sap, elaborated by roots deeply plunged into the bosom of earth, is diverted from its natural purpose, and made to cherish the existence of devouring excrescences. So with the Republican party. Chilled by want of sympathy, denounced as violators of the Constitution, derided as visionary enthusiasts, persecuted as disturbers of the public peace, the founders of this party were faithful to their mission—the defense of human liberty. Amid contempt, misrepresentation, threatenings, like the Earl of Oxford, they kept alive the bird in their bosom, and were steadfast to the end. Unkind was the soil in which they deposited their little seed. Long and cruel were the years before germination really began. But in time the tender rootlets reached the rich, warm sympathies of human hearts, and the plant grew apace. Verdant leaf and spreading branch followed,

and beneath the protecting shade gathered the hopes of the world's oppressed. The faithful hearts of the first planters rejoiced in the work, and their strong hands could pluck some fragrant flowers that gave promise of early fruit—the only reward they sought. But that which had long been seen only by the eye of faith became at length visible to the eye of flesh, and birds of prey winged their way to the stately tree, befouling its purity, and creeping parasites of every kind fastened upon trunk and limb, exhausting their substance, and converting the fair fruit of sincerity into apples of Sodom. The faithful planters, who had watched and waited, as the shepherds in the East the guiding-star, have been driven from the garden, and, to secure their exclusion, self-seeking demons, with sword of corruption, keep watch at the gates. Like the Communists of Paris, they forbid the entrance to the temple of liberty to the builders of the edifice and the sincere worshipers at its altar, and stand ready to destroy it unless permitted to control. Let us glance at the history of the Republican party, and indicate some of the methods by which the deforming hand of ambition has been able to gain the command of its fortunes, and is now lashing it to death.

If we would rightly estimate the character and career of the party, we must analyze the peculiar elements which entered into its formation. The old Free-Soil party, naturally evolved from preceding antislavery agitations, and favoring political conditions, was organized in 1848. It demanded cheap postage for the people, the freedom of the public lands to actual settlers, the legislative prohibition of slavery in the national Territories, the divorce of the Federal Government from the institution as the creature and exclusive concern of the States in which it existed, and the welcome of emigrants and exiles from the Old World to homes of comfort and fields of enterprise in the New. This was the substance of the creed which it announced, the chief articles of which afterward became the platform of the Republicans; but it was well understood to entertain some pretty decided opinions upon other questions. By far the larger proportion of its members sympathized with the policy of free trade. They believed in local self-government, as their doctrine of political non-intervention with slavery in the States bore strong witness.

They so feared the dangers of centralization that they frequently embodied the resolutions of 1798 in their platforms. They were opposed to every form of monopoly and privilege. In the best sense of the word they were democrats, and they had the courage of their opinions. Their leaders were Chase, Sumner, Hale, Adams, Giddings, and their well-known political associates; and although, in their first national struggle, they were formidably reënforced by transient recruits from the Democratic party of New York, who were devoted to the fortunes of Mr. Van Buren, and took this occasion to revenge themselves upon General Cass, yet we believe no purer party ever existed than that which was composed of the permanent adherents of the organization, and heroically braved the frowns of public opinion, and the proscription and hate of the Whig and Democratic parties in 1852. It was right, as the world is now quite ready to confess; and to the moral vision, unfaltering courage, and unquenchable zeal of its members, who subsequently took their place in the van of the Republican movement, the country is chiefly indebted for its salvation. When our civil conflict came they scouted the idea of "a war on peace principles," and pleaded for the vigorous employment of all the powers of war as the only sure means of subduing revolutionary violence. They denounced the border-State policy, which so fearfully threatened the cause of the Union with irretrievable defeat and disaster. They demanded the arming of negroes as soldiers, and in the beginning of the struggle insisted upon the necessity of striking at slavery as the cause of the war and the obstacle to peace; and the Government, at last, was obliged to espouse their policy. They led the way in the enfranchisement of the colored race, and, if their ideas respecting the work of reconstruction had been more completely carried out, we believe the country to-day would be in a better condition than we find it. They often disagreed with the party of which they were the centre and soul; but this was because they espoused its vital doctrines and policy before it was ready to accept them.

The old Whig party believed in the gospel of expediency and compromise. Its principles (if we may so apply the term) were radically vicious. It sustained a national bank. Through its leaders, it branded our pioneer settlers as "squatters," and sought

to derive a revenue from the public domain through the sale of it to speculators and monopolists, instead of making it a source of productive wealth by parceling it out in small homesteads among the landless poor. It espoused the system of spoliation and robbery which has so long been called a protective tariff. It favored a great system of internal improvements by the General Government, and a latitudinarian construction of the Constitution. It leaned constantly toward Federal usurpation, and always responded sympathetically to the demands of capital. It turned an averted face upon our emigrants from the Old World, and it was, in principle, the old Federal party under another name. It perished, at last, in the vain effort to outdo its rival in the work of abasing itself at the feet of the slave oligarchy; and its members, after a weary and anxious sojourn in the political wilderness, finally found their way through the lodges of Know-Nothingism into the Republican party in 1856. They were regularly harnessed to the car of antislavery progress, and, in so novel and trying a service, it was not strange that they worked with exceeding and often painful reluctance. It was not strange that they often recoiled from the distasteful leadership of the men they had so lately denounced as fanatics and incendiaries. It was not strange that many of them strove earnestly to ingraft their effete ideas upon the new movement. It was not strange that they were able, in no small degree, to debauch it, and, when the war came, to cripple and prolong the contest, and thus seriously to magnify its cost in money and life. When we remember that they constituted an overwhelming numerical majority of the new party, the wonder rather is that they did not more fatally balk its grand mission, and that its positive antislavery element was so successful in the prosecution of its righteous purpose.

The third factor in the political formation which was to become so famous was composed of deserters from the Democratic party. Like the old Whigs, we believe, they generally made their exodus from their former political masters under cover of Know-Nothingism, which served them as a sort of "underground railroad;" but very large accessions were added in the Democratic hegira at the outbreak of the rebellion. These recruits were a somewhat miscellaneous assortment, but the rank and file of them were probably a healthier political element than that which we

have just described. They exerted a wholesome and invigorating influence in the new dispensation. Their leaders, however, were by no means altogether saintly in their character. The names of such men as Oliver P. Morton and Simon Cameron are remarkably suggestive. While the Democratic party furnished the new movement with a number of very able and pure men, who afterward distinguished themselves both in civil and military positions, it also supplied a very unsavory installment of meretricious politicians and unclean statesmen, who strengthened their party by leaving it, and had a large share in thwarting and dishonoring the cause they professed to have espoused. Such were the political forces which finally mustered under a common banner in 1856, as the result of efforts inspired by the repeal of the Missouri restriction in 1854, the disruption of the Whig party, and the signal rout of the organized crusade against foreigners and the Pope.

This brief account of the parentage of the Republican party bears directly upon our subject, and necessarily enters into its discussion. In the light of the facts we have presented, the movement, when launched, was not a party at all. It was merely a political combination. Its action was not inspired by a creed, but an *object*. Aside from this object the members of the combination were hopelessly divided. They were tariff men and free-traders, conservative Whigs and radical Democrats, Know-Nothings and anti-Know-Nothings, strict constructionists and Federalists. On one point only were they agreed, and that was that the virgin soil of our Territories should be unpolluted by slavery, and that this crime against humanity, and plague of our politics, should be denationalized. If any man had then uttered the prediction that this combination would insist upon holding the field, as a permanent party, after the settlement of the transient question, which called it into existence, he would probably have been laughed at. It was simply absurd to suppose that a temporary association of men, for the accomplishment of a particular end, could obliterate the radical differences of opinion which existed among them upon questions of current politics, which had gone into abeyance, but would certainly reappear at no distant time. Political parties, in any just sense or strictness of definition, are based upon certain ideas and policies affecting the

regular and orderly administration of the Government. They are normally divided into radical and conservative, though their lines of division are not always well defined, and the parties themselves sometimes change places entirely. A movement, summoned into existence by some commanding exigency, and involving the life of the Government, and not its methods of governing, is an epoch, and is to be judged by its own laws. The machinery it employs in accomplishing its purpose is not a political party, but a political makeshift. The union of forces in 1856 was simply a contrivance which its members laid hold of to aid them in the grand task to which they were called. It was created to deal with the single question of slavery, and would not have existed without it; and the overmastering energy and zeal which inspired it naturally unfitted it for the solution of other problems after its work was done. It was then a spent political force, although it had received a momentum which threatened to outlast its mission; and it was morally certain, therefore, that the movement would degenerate into a faction, led by base men, and held together by artful appeals to the memories of common struggles, or else fall to pieces through reviving antagonisms in the absence of the old bond of union. In either event, the limitations of its life and usefulness were fixed.

But after the freedom and enfranchisement of the negro had been established by constitutional amendments in which all parties acquiesced, the men who then assumed the leadership of the Republican party could not or would not accept the new situation. Slavery was dead, and the bondman made a citizen, but they seemed incapable of realizing the fact. The war was ended, and its results accepted, but the old animosities of the conflict were to be nursed and coddled as the appointed means of party unity. The work which had brought it together had been accomplished, but its discipline was not to be relaxed for a moment. On the contrary, the leaders were not only in favor of perpetuating the organization, but they treated it as an institution. It was an enduring establishment, corresponding to the old-fashioned idea of a church, outside of which no good thing can exist, and inside of which all good things must originate. It was a master to be served, if not a deity to be worshiped. Its continued existence was indispensable, not only to the welfare but the life of the

republic, against which the "rebels" were still plotting; and whoever denied this was to be counted an enemy of his country. The nation, it is true, had not perished with the Federal party. It had survived the Whig party. It was not damaged in the slightest degree, when the Free-Soil party, loving the country better than it loved itself, was translated into a larger movement, first committed to the essential articles of its faith. But the logic of these facts was unheeded by the latter-day chieftains of Republicanism. They were ready to condone the vices and profligacies which began to assume its name after the war, on the plea that the Democrats, who had been the champions of slavery and opposed the original adoption of the great amendments which the status of the negro made necessary, could not be trusted. This, however, was a two-edged sword. The Democratic party undoubtedly accepted its new position because the unmanageable logic of facts compelled it. It resisted, with all its might, the course of events which culminated in the results it was powerless to escape. But if these results are not safe in their hands, how shall we trust the Republican party? It favored the abolition of slavery upon compulsion. It labored, with might and main, to prevent the grand work of which it now so constantly boasts. Many thousands of lives and many millions of money were sacrificed in the mad effort to save the Union *and* slavery. At the beginning of the war, Mr. Lincoln was in favor of enforcing the fugitive-slave law, and abiding by the Dred Scott decision. He recommended a constitutional amendment which proposed to tie up the hands of the people forever against the right to interfere with slavery in the States of the South; and this proposition to incorporate the Lecompton constitution into the Constitution of the United States was adopted by both Houses of Congress, and submitted by them to the Peace Congress which had been inaugurated under Republican auspices. In the early years of the war the party frowned upon the idea of arming the negroes, or of making slavery a point of attack. It opposed the repeal of the fugitive-slave law, while our commanding generals were sending fugitives back to their masters. Senator Morton, then Governor of Indiana, who became the foremost leader of the party in the days of its corruption and decline, as late as the fall of 1865, denounced the enfranchisement of the negro and the whole

policy of Republican reconstruction, as subsequently carried out; and when, very soon afterward, he completely reversed his position, he referred the explanation to "the logic of events." Undoubtedly that logic is a formidable schoolmaster; but if the Republican party, in obedience to its teaching, was able to cover itself with glory, and can be trusted as the champion of ideas and policies which it accepted against its will, why should we distrust the Democrats, who have had the same schooling, and have followed in the same path only a few years later? If the party which prides itself upon the abolition of slavery was gradually but thoroughly revolutionized by "events," so that except in name it became, in fact, a new party, with new purposes, and animated by a new spirit, why should the Democratic party be treated as if we were still living in the days of Pierce and Buchanan, when slavery sat like a crowned king on the Supreme Bench, while the army and navy were employed in the recapture of fugitive slaves, and the harboring of a runaway was made constructive treason?

It must be remembered, moreover, that the philosophy which regards a particular party as of divine appointment and "necessary to salvation," would place the administration of the Government in its hands forever. While the corrupt and venal elements of society would certainly gravitate into it through its prolonged hold on power, the good men in its ranks, instead of joining the other side, or becoming the nucleus of a new party, would be obliged to keep their places, and quietly submit to the unhindered rule of roguery and plunder, lest the opposite party should gain power and ruin the country. Free government would become a farce, and end in a tragedy. It fortunately happens that so monstrous a theory of politics receives no countenance whatever from the experience of the most enlightened countries of modern times. In England, especially, all the great measures of policy and reform which mark her political progress were espoused and established by one party, and afterward intrusted to the party which at first opposed them. They were not overthrown, but often matured and perfected by the change. It has been aptly said that the Conservative party, under Mr. Disraeli's leadership, was capable of making as rapid strides as the Liberals under Mr. Gladstone, and that when so acting of late years they have been more suc-

cessful, since they could utilize all the arduous preparatory labors of their opponents to help their eleventh-hour efforts. It would be easy to multiply facts and illustrations demonstrating the mischievous sophistry and nonsense of the policy which has regarded the restoration of the Democrats to power as a calamity so insufferable as to demand the continued rule of the Republican party at all hazards, and as a providential necessity.

The practical results of this party idolatry make up one of the most startling chapters in the history of political corruption and misrule. In dealing with this branch of our subject we shall begin with the first Administration of General Grant, though the mischiefs to which we shall refer began to appear soon after the close of the war. Grant and Colfax were elected, in 1868, on a platform pledging the party to reform the corruptions of Andrew Johnson's Administration; but the pledge was shamefully belied. While the old political issues were retreating into the past, the mercenary and trading element of the party gradually secured the ascendency, and completely appropriated the President. The spirit of reform was naturally evoked, and the rallying-cry of Sumner, Trumbull, and the men who subsequently became conspicuous as leaders of the Liberal-Republican movement, was "Reform within the party." They did not dream of separating themselves from the organization in the founding of which they had had so large a share, and under whose banner they had fought during the nation's great peril. Their attachment to it was not a matter of conviction merely, but a passion. They had no desire to pluck a single laurel from the brow of the party in the days of its glory, when its great hosts were led by its founders. They had been with it, and of it, in all its grand achievements; and no men could have been prouder than they of its glorious record. All that they asked was the expulsion of political corruption, and the restoration of the party to the purity which had signalized its early life. They demanded the reform of abuses in the New York and New Orleans Custom-Houses; in the War and Navy Departments; in the management of the civil service generally. To this end they proposed that a thorough and impartial investigation should be made; but the men who had become the recognized leaders of the party stoutly denied that any reform was needed. Morton, Conkling, and the men since so well known

to the country as the "senatorial group," declared that the proposition to investigate implied party guilt, and could only give aid to the Democrats. They branded as enemies of the Republican party the distinguished members of it who simply proposed to purify and save it. When the popular pressure and the fear of party detriment threatened by this opposition at last drove them from their indecent position, the committees appointed were packed in the interest of the Administration, and in contempt of parliamentary usage, while the reports finally submitted, as a matter of course, were shamefully spoiled by whitewash. The men who had hoisted the flag of reform were thus obliged to do one of two things: they must cower like slaves under the party lash, in the hands of men who treated their honest demands with contempt, and who undoubtedly represented the spirit and policy of the Administration, or they must take counsel of their own manhood and self-respect, and openly rebel against a party despotism which threatened to become a national curse.

Let us look at the situation more particularly. The mischiefs of war had crept into the civil administration after the war was ended. The Government had been compelled to deal with a strong hand, and a thorough schooling of the President and his party in the use of power had familiarized them with military ideas and habits, and drawn them toward loose and indefensible opinions respecting the powers of the General and State governments and the prerogatives of the Executive. The Constitution expressly declares that the "powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people;" but the theory upon which the President conducted his Administration was, that all powers not conferred on the States by the Constitution are reserved to the United States, thus completely overturning the doctrines of the fathers, and setting at defiance the very words of the Constitution itself. The President not only trampled down the right of local self-government in repeated instances, but he set up his own will as law, even against the authority of Congress. In the San Domingo affair he deliberately usurped the war-making power which is vested in Congress by the Constitution. On the pretense of helping the farmers in

"moving their crops," he assumed powers which no despot on earth would dare exercise, in issuing millions of currency without warrant of law, and on his own individual caprice. He appointed to civil places about him men in the military service, in violation of an express statute which he was sworn to execute. In disregard of law and of his oath of office, he quartered Federal soldiers on the Cherokee neutral lands in Kansas, to protect a railroad corporation in driving from their homes hundreds of settlers who claimed the land occupied by them in good faith under the preëmption law. Through a subordinate officer in New Orleans he seized a Federal vessel, and attempted by force to overawe the people of Louisiana in the interest of his renomination. These are a few examples only, selected from many, showing how the President carried the military and imperial spirit into his office, and set aside the laws which were as binding upon him as any other citizen, while the example of his disobedience was preëminently mischievous. In these measures he had the sympathy and support of a Republican Congress, as he had in the act to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus* and the legislation known as the Enforcement Acts, which embody provisions at war with every principle of municipal government, and can only be defended on the tyrant's plea that the central power can administer the affairs of a locality better than the people can do it themselves.

But the Republican management of our civil service invites the special attention of the reader. In the canvass of 1872, the supporters of General Grant insisted that he was the sincere friend, if not the champion, of civil-service reform. With airs of triumph they pointed to the fact that he had already appointed an able Civil-Service Commission, with George William Curtis at its head, for the purpose of dealing with this vital question. This commission had made its report, showing that about $100,000,000 of the public revenues are annually lost in the collection through the incompetence or corruption of Government officials. The strong language of the President was quoted, in which he told the country that "honesty and efficiency, not political activity, shall be the tenure of office." The Philadelphia platform of the party was as pronounced as it could be in favor of lifting the whole machinery of the government out of

the ruts of party, and placing it in the hands of honest and competent men, irrespective of politics. And yet, in the face of all these brave manifestoes, the President was seeking his own reëlection through his well-organized army of eighty thousand office-holders, not a man of whom was safe if known to be opposed to his reëlection. The fact was perfectly notorious and undeniable that the tenure of office was not "honesty and efficiency" at all, but "political activity" for Grant. It is true that the Civil Service Commission had framed a set of rules for the protection of honest officials from political interference, but these rules were suspended by the President just as often as it suited the convenience of the party leaders who had him in their keeping, and who treated the whole subject with contempt.

When Senator Conkling, for example, wanted a faithful public servant turned out in New York, to make room for a political minion, the rules were suspended for the purpose. When General Butler wanted a political tool in the place of an honest incumbent in Massachusetts, or Senator Morton wanted a similar favor in Indiana, the rules were suspended for their accommodation. When General Logan wanted a collector at Chicago turned adrift because he would not join Orville Grant in his whiskey frauds, and in order to make room for one of his political henchmen, the President was his humble servant. The postmaster in the city of Galveston, who, we believe, was a faithful officer, was dismissed to make room for a man who had been driven out of the House of Representatives for fraud. Tom Murphy, one of the partners in the Tammany ring of thieves, covered all over with his political vices as with a garment, and with neither capacity nor knowledge to fit him for the duties of any civil office, was appointed collector of the port of the city of New York, one of the most lucrative and politically potential positions under the Government, and Moses H. Grinnell, an honest and capable man, was sent into retirement as a further illustration of civil-service reform. And, when the popular pressure became so potent as to compel Murphy to resign, the President "vindicated" him in a letter, complimenting him on the ability and faithfulness with which he had discharged the duties of his high office; while Leet and Stocking, who had notoriously been cheating public justice, were still plundering the merchants of New York, in spite of their pro-

tests, and in defiance of public opinion. In 1872 the office of collector at New Orleans was held, as it has continued to be till quite recently, by Colonel Casey, the President's brother-in-law, who had brought out his "Gatling guns" to aid him in packing a political convention of his party, and who was convicted of bribery and corruption by a congressional committee of his own political friends, who subsequently reported the facts to the President, and demanded his removal, which demand was never complied with. Civil-service reform found an apt illustration in the performances of Powel Clayton, of Arkansas. As we remember the facts, he packed the Legislature of that State by corrupt means with his tools, who in turn elected him to the United States Senate; but when the grand jury of that district indicted him for his political offenses, and thus invited his attention to the hospitalities of the penitentiary, the President, wishing to "vindicate" his friend, removed the marshal and district attorney through whose agency the indictments were supposed to have been secured, and filled their places with friends of Mr. Clayton, who *non-prossed* the indictments, by which the distinguished Senator was allowed to escape justice, and to devote his "political activity" to the re-election of his patron and chief. Secretary Robeson took $93,000 from the Treasury, and paid it on a false claim to one Secor, without authority of law, and was excused on the score of his "good intentions;" while Secretary Cox had been driven from the cabinet for refusing to prostitute his office to political purposes. Postmaster-General Cresswell did his best to take from the Treasury some $443,000, and pay it to Chorpenning on a fraudulent claim for carrying the mails in California, and the President approved his conduct, and his "political activity" on the stump for his reëlection.

In dealing with the question of civil-service reform, we must not fail to notice the President's espousal of the San Domingo job. He personally assisted General Babcock, the negotiator and ringleader of the project, in lobbying for it in the Senate, although the country, with singular unanimity, condemned it, and compelled its abondonment. Charles Sumner, for performing his simple duty in opposing it, was driven from his chairmanship of the Committee on Foreign Relations; and Simon Cameron, who was turned out of Mr. Lincoln's cabinet during

the war, on account of his corrupt complicity with army contracts, and disgraced by a vote of the House of Representatives, and who had had a national reputation as a political trader and charlatan for nearly a quarter of a century, was made his successor; while the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts, then the foremost public character in the nation, was still further insulted by the offer of a place at the tail of the Committee on Education and Labor, with Mr. Flannegan, of Texas, at its head.

These are illustrations of the working of our civil service under the first Administration of General Grant. They are the ripe fruit of theory that the Republican party could do no wrong, and that the Democratic party, at all events and at all hazards, must be kept out of power. Carl Schurz publicly stated, in 1872, that he had seen a foreign minister in Washington hunting the Government as a man hunts for a lost child, or a horse strayed or stolen. It was at Long Branch, looking after the business of horse-racing, or down in Carolina, stumping for Grant, or out West with Mr. Delano, in his fatherly concern for land-grants and Indian affairs. If we are not mistaken, all the cabinet ministers, except Belknap, were then on the stump, electioneering for their chief, while the President himself, spurning the example of Washington, Jefferson, and Adams, had been heaping honors and emoluments upon his relatives, and accepting presents of fine houses and tempting largesses in money from men unknown to fame, who subsequently received executive appointments. And when Liberal Republicans turned away from the picture we have outlined, in sorrow and disgust, they were everywhere denounced by the champions of the President as "apostates" and "rebels." Horace Greeley was branded as a traitor, in league with Confederate traitors of the South, and plotting his way into the White House, for the ulterior purpose of undoing the work of the war, reëstablishing slavery, and fastening upon the nation the rebel debt. Sumner, Trumbull, and their co-laborers, were pursued with the same hungry and unslumbering political venom and personal malice. In the many political conflicts of the past, whether in the early times of the abolitionists, or during the fierce passions excited by the civil war, we can recall nothing which exceeded the rancor and rage which inspired the Republican leaders in 1872, in their treatment of the men who rebelled

against the party-lash, in order to save their own honor and self-respect.

But the task upon which we have entered invites us to follow the fortunes of Republicanism through the second Administration of General Grant; and, in entering upon this work, let us remember Senator Morton's declaration that "ours is the best civil service on the planet;" and his assertion in 1876 that, "all things considered, the present is the purest and best Administration this country has ever had." Let us glance at some of the actual facts which supply the commentary upon these remarkable statements. It cannot be denied that soon after the second inauguration of the President civil-service reform became a more glaring political mockery than ever before. The enforcement of the rules framed by the commission was only an occasional event, while their suspension was the order of the day. Governor Holden, of North Carolina, who was impeached, convicted, and rendered incapable of holding any office, was made postmaster at the capital of that State. Sharpe, a brother-in-law of the President, was appointed Surveyor of the Port of New York, just as if no civil-service rules had ever been heard of. Cramer, another brother-in-law, who had disgraced our diplomatic service during the preceding Administration, was appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate as Naval Officer at New Orleans. Casey, the brother-in-law before mentioned, who had taken on board a Government vessel the Grant members of the Louisiana Legislature to protect them from arrest, and prevent a majority of the members from proceeding to business because the political interests of the President demanded this lawlessness, and who stood before the country thatched with political corruption, was reappointed and confirmed as Collector of the Port of New Orleans. Even George William Curtis, so long hoping against hope, and so faithfully clinging to the President through thick and thin, was at last obliged to resign his position in disgust, and to declare that the appointments of the President showed "an utter abandonment of both the letter and spirit of the civil-service regulations." About the same time Peter Cooper wrote a most earnest and friendly letter to the President, begging him to rescue the city and State of New York from the Custom-House rogues who had so long disgraced our civil service and defied the people; but the

President seemed entirely unconscious that anything was going amiss. When Congress abolished the government of the District of Columbia in order to get rid of Boss Shepherd, who stood revealed as a disgraced public swindler, the President immediately appointed him one of the commissioners of the new district government. When the safe-burglary criminals were on trial, the machinery of the District Attorney's office was employed to cheat public justice; and the President, pending the trial, made a most remarkable demonstration upon the jury by inviting one of the defendants to join a company of distinguished guests in a feast at the White House. What was called "Grantism" found a still fitter illustration in the case of Orville Grant. He asked the President, who is his brother, to let him know when anything under his control should transpire by which he (Orville) could make some money. The President thought it right to gratify him, and in due time proceeded to designate certain post-traderships which he might control, not, as it would seem, because the incumbents of the places were incompetent or unworthy, but that Orville should have a share of the profits by imposing exactions to that effect, or through the removal of the incumbents if they should object to the division. The department of justice was disgraced by continuing in office Attorney-General Williams a year and a half after it had been proved that he had appropriated the public revenue to the private use of himself and his family; and this same Attorney-General was afterward appointed Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. The real working of "the best civil service on the planet," and "the purest and best Administration this country has ever had," is made strikingly manifest in the conviction of the Secretary of War, on his own confession, of making merchandise of the post-traderships under his control, while the President, who had knowledge of his criminal acts four years before, accepted his resignation "with regret," and with such surprising promptness as to prevent his legal conviction of high crimes and misdemeanors by the Senate.

The President stood by Secretary Delano in his disgraceful performances involving the management of Indian affairs till forced by public opinion to give him up, and then "vindicated" him by his customary farewell letter of approval. By one of

those accidents that now and then checkered his Administration, he appointed Bristow as his Secretary of the Treasury; and after the work of hunting down and bringing to justice the whiskey thieves had been resolved upon by the new Secretary, and while the brave words "Let no guilty man escape" were winning the plaudits of the people, and finding their way into the party platforms as the watchwords of reform, the President himself was drawing from the Secretary and his subordinates whatever information his high and trusted position could command relative to the prosecution of his friend Babcock, and placing it in the hands of his attorneys, for no other apparent purpose than that of securing his acquittal, and defeating the execution of the laws he was sworn to enforce. According to the sworn testimony of men of high character, he had no sooner discovered that Bristow was the enemy of thieves than he resolved upon his removal; and, although his purpose was temporarily delayed, it was not defeated. He seems to have demanded the head of Bluford Wilson for kindred reasons. Pratt was decapitated because he spoke a friendly word in behalf of Yaryan, who was also sacrificed. Dyer was another victim, and for no reason known to the public, which naturally inferred that his sole offense was his refusal to prostitute his office to the use of the guilty. Henderson was stricken down for no other discoverable reason than that the courageous performance of his official duty threatened to involve the White House, or such idolized friends of the President as General Babcock. If Jewell was not dismissed from the cabinet because he was the friend of Bristow and his co-worker in reform, then the cause of his dismissal was inscrutable. The appointment of Tyner as Jewell's successor naturally enters into the warp and woof of the same civil-service fabric, he being the facile instrument of Senator Morton, the leader of the Indiana delegation in the Cincinnati Convention in opposition to Bristow, and claiming also the glory of having secured the nomination of Governor Hayes. When the nation was groaning under an enormous burden of debt and taxation, and the representatives of the people voted themselves salaries they had never earned, and doubled the pay of the President, he personally lobbied for the measure in both Houses of Congress, and promptly legalized the theft by his signature. He clung to his minister to England till public

opinion on both sides of the Atlantic compelled his withdrawal on account of his disgraceful connection with the Emma Mine fraud. He withdrew the custody of Government bonds from the house of Baring Brothers & Co., who had held it for generations, and intrusted them to Clews, Habich & Co., who afterward became bankrupt, as a reward for their partisan services, and in spite of warnings that this house was untrustworthy. He defended the moiety system by which the revenues of the country were farmed out to political scullions for the purpose of securing the fortunes of some of his favorites; while General Babcock, who had been justly branded by the press as a "sneak-thief," in the methods employed by him in securing his acquittal of a high crime, was allowed to hold on to his position as Chief of Engineers and Commissioner of Public Buildings and Grounds.

The management of public affairs in the South was equally shameful and revolting. What that section of our country needed above all things was deliverance from the horde of thieves and demagogues who had been fastened, like leeches, upon the welfare of the people, and backed in their misdeeds by the whole power of the Administration. In the State of Alabama the Federal patronage and the use of the United States Army were turned over to George E. Spencer, a thoroughly corrupt and unprincipled political adventurer, to enable him to retain his seat in the United States Senate. Thus equipped for his work, he and his friends bought legislators with Federal appointments, sent marshals and revenue officers, accompanied by regular troops, to run off voters from the counties where the opposition to him was the strongest, and used the machinery of the custom-house and revenue officers in breaking up the General Assembly and organizing two rival bodies, while the money to pay for these extraordinary performances was obtained by embezzlement from the post-office at Mobile. In Mississippi, a ring composed of carpet-bag adventurers and ignorant black men of the most corrupt character, controlled the executive offices and courts, and grew rich by forgery and fraud, while they were sustained by the Republican Administration at Washington. A state of things equally monstrous and shocking existed in South Carolina and Louisiana; and according to very high Republican authority the incurable anarchy which prevailed in the latter State, after a ten years' trial of Republican

reconstruction, foreshadowed the necessity of remanding it to a territorial government.

But it cannot be necessary to extend our arraignment of Grantism any further. We desire to say, however, that by the term Grantism we mean Republicanism under Grant, and in full coöperation with him. The party unanimously indorsed him in 1872, when all intelligent men knew him and his evil tendencies almost as well as at the close of his second term. In all the State Conventions of the party, North and South, East and West, through eight years of misrule and profligacy, his Administration was unceasingly indorsed and lauded. The Cincinnati Convention declared that "he deserves the continued and hearty gratitude of the American people for his patriotism and his immense services in war and in peace." Governor Hayes, a month later, said, "The resolutions are in accord with my views." The fact is undeniable that the President and his party were inseparable. Their union was unmistakably Siamese. The party clung to him as a dying man clings to life. The Cincinnati indorsement of Grant was after the exposure of the whiskey rings and the acceptance of Belknap's resignation. It was after the trial of Babcock, and the shameful interference in his behalf. It was after the disgraceful conduct of Robeson and Delano, and the disagreement of the President and Bristow. The party found nothing to condemn in the later misdeeds of the Administration, and remembered nothing amiss in its earlier record. It found no fault with the ostracism of Sumner, and the appointment of Cramer, and Casey, and Packard. It patiently and meekly submitted to the overthrow of the government of Louisiana through a drunken and corrupt Federal judge, and the dispersion of the Legislature of the State by the bayonet. It could cheerfully endure the Executive espousal of Kellogg and Spencer, and the appointment of Billings in the place of Durell. It was not offended by the operations of Jayne and Sanborn, or Orville Grant's traffic in appointments. It approved the action of the President in greedily taking the addition of one hundred per cent. to his salary, and his lobbying for the bill allowing him to do so, while making his Administration an asylum for his numerous and unsavory kindred. All this was meekly shouldered by the party at Cincinnati, which crouched like a spaniel at the feet of the master it had obsequiously served

through so many years. The melancholy truth was admirably stated by the *New York Tribune*, when it declared that "President Grant has dropped us by easy stages to these depths of shame. He has parenthesized in history eight years, which will be marked hereafter as the era of personal government and the period of greed; eight years of such official corruption and dishonesty, such selfishness and shamelessness, such low aims and base purposes, such grasping avarice and eager overreaching, such speculation in official information, such bribery and such barter and sale of office, and such degradation of all things which the nation has held to be high and holy, and worthy an honest pride, that to-day the country hangs its head and holds its nose, and waits for this Administration to pass."

This was the attitude of the Republican party at the opening of the national canvass of 1876. The strong will and marvelous energy it displayed during the war had been completely turned into the channels of plunder and pelf, with results which could not fail to awaken general alarm. Assuming its own existence to be absolutely necessary to save the country from rebel ascendency, and intrenching itself behind its early achievements and previous good character, it had pursued its malign purposes with "an appetite as keen as death, and a step as steady as time." The cry of reform, which had tried to voice itself in the platforms of 1868 and 1872, had been utterly defied. The honest men in the party, who had followed the old flag through all these dreary years, and still hoped to redeem it from dishonor, had been mocked and insulted by the leaders who were still in the unquestioned ascendant, and emboldened in their course by the unchecked and steadily-accumulating momentum of their evil deeds. Senator Morton, one of its three prominent candidates for the presidency, and its master-spirit and evil genius, denied that any reform was necessary, and declared that the men who asked for it were worse criminals than the thieves they sought to expose and punish. Senator Conkling was still the thick-and-thin defender and unflinching champion of Grantism, in all its revolting manifestations, and, with a zeal and devotion which were rarely intermitted, had dedicated his great talents to the outlawry of conscience from public life. Mr. Blaine, notwithstanding his remarkable record as an apostle of political purifica-

tion and reform, was the undoubted choice of his party for the presidency, and only lost the nomination through a blunder of his friends. Simon Cameron was still in the pride of his power as a party magnate; while his son, who led the way in the nomination of Governor Hayes, had been made Secretary of War, and would of course avail himself of all his resources as a Pennsylvania politician in perpetuating the existing political dispensation. Secretary Chandler, the unscrupulous and outspoken enemy of reform, was chairman of the Republican National Committee, and ready, of course, to prostitute all the powers of his position to the service of his party during the canvass. The nomination of Governor Hayes had no moral significance whatever, and perfectly accorded with the ugly facts we have stated. It was simply a peace-offering to the irreconcilable rivalries of the regular candidates. He belonged, as the New York *Evening Post* said, to the "illustrious obscure," and the belief was that "his neutrality of tint would harmonize the most pronounced colors." The utmost that could be said of him was that he was negatively honest, for the mention of his name could never have suggested to any man the idea of reform, since he had meekly submitted to the discipline of his party and its shameful maladministration in the past without a whisper of disapprobation. To talk about "reform within the party," in the light of these facts, was superlatively preposterous. The reformation of abuses could only be accomplished by throwing overboard the corrupt leaders who had brought the party into disgrace; for no political party was ever reformed by itself, acting through its regular machinery. A party, for all practical purposes, consists of its leaders, and it therefore has no power to regenerate itself. That the Republican masses, after their long and patient service under the party yoke, would have the courage and virtue to take their leaders by the throats, was not to be expected, and was, in fact, morally impossible; and to suppose that these leaders would themselves voluntarily enter upon the work of reform, and could be trusted to carry it out, was to suppose that devils are inclined to cast out devils, and can safely be intrusted with the business. If the men composing the party had become so disgusted with their leaders as to disown them, and install honest and incorruptible men in their stead, and if they had been able so far to dis-

possess their minds of long-cherished sectional animosities as to fix their attention upon the reformation of great and crying abuses in the civil service, reform would have been possible, but not "within the party." It would have come through the creation of a new party; and it would have been quite as absurd to confound it with that which inflicted its misdeeds upon the country under the Administrations of General Grant as to have treated the Republican party of 1856 as identical with the old Whig party which had gone down to its dishonored grave.

It was not strange, therefore, that the old leaders assumed the entire direction and management of the canvass for Governor Hayes. They were entitled to it by the logic of politics. Instead of advocating the reforms specified in the Cincinnati platform and his letter of acceptance, they studiously avoided all reference to them. The question of our civil service was not discussed, and, if mentioned at all, it was in the way of laudation. The whole management of the canvass assumed that the Administration of Governor Hayes, should he be elected, would be a continuation of that of General Grant. The canvass, in fact, was merely a renewal of the struggle between the policy of hate and the policy of reconciliation which had so long divided the people, and under cover of which political demoralization was rapidly reaching its climax. It was a new and enlarged edition of the conflicts of 1868 and 1872, in which the Republican leaders in every section of the Union labored incessantly to unite the party and energize its action by keeping at a white heat the animosities engendered by the war. Governor Hayes serenely looked on, and, if he did not expressly sanction this mode of conducting the canvass, he certainly could not have been ignorant of the issue on which the battle was being waged, and the methods employed to secure the victory. If it had been known that after reaching the presidency he would openly espouse the Democratic policy respecting the affairs of the South, and set his face against the corrupt use of the public patronage which had prevailed under his predecessor, we are confident he would not have received a single vote at Cincinnati, nor have been thought of as even a possible candidate. His election was the triumph of the "machine politicians," because they had a perfect right to claim it as legitimately redounding to their glory and advantage; and it should surprise no

one that they are now banded against him as his enemies, and determined to punish him for recreancy to party obligations by which he had fairly bound himself in the acceptance of his nomination and the attitude he maintained during the canvass.

But let us follow the fortunes of the party a little further, and note the efforts it put forth to prolong its unhallowed rule. Its career thus far had made it perfectly certain that it would not willingly resign its hold on power, and would scruple at no means of prolonging its life; but the memories of the war could not last forever. In peace or in strife the people of the lately-warring sections of the Union were destined to live together, and it was the clear interest of both that the past should be forgotten in the rivalries of a common brotherhood for the common weal. The grand achievements of the party during the war could not always form the basis and mainspring of its life, and hide from the people the frightful abuses which at last threatened the existence of our institutions. The death-struggle of the party was alarmingly foreshadowed by events; but its trained captains, girding themselves for the work, and relying upon the same party devil-worship which had served them so long, prepared for the final conflict. That they still acted upon the darling theory that the overthrow of the party would involve the certain ruin of the country, and that its continued ascendency was therefore to be maintained at all hazards, was abundantly demonstrated by unmistakable facts, to which we must now invite the attention of the reader.

On the morning of the day following the presidential election the opinion generally prevailed that Tilden and Hendricks had been chosen. The leading organs of Republicanism conceded the fact, and several of them indulged in melancholy moralizings over the event. Democrats, of course, rejoiced, but their joy was short-lived. A telegram from William E. Chandler was soon flashed over the wires, claiming the election of Hayes and Wheeler, by one majority of the electoral college, and by the votes of the very States which were finally counted in their favor, through the electoral commission. This claim was at once asserted by the Republican press and politicians throughout the country, and was never abandoned. Mr. Chandler was a very active and prominent Republican politician, a member of the National Ex-

ecutive Committee, and perfectly notorious as a most unscrupulous partisan. He is the same gentleman whose services in Florida afterward proved so valuable to his party, in securing the count of that State for the Republican candidates, in defiance of both fact and law, and who has since publicly defended the action of the Louisiana Returning Board, in throwing out Governor Tilden's majority of more than seven thousand votes, on the ground that "the national exigency demanded it."

The supporters of Tilden and Hendricks were surprised and alarmed by Mr. Chandler's telegram; and Mr. Hewitt, chairman of the National Democratic Committee, soon afterward invited several representative public men, of both political parties, to repair to New Orleans for the purpose of securing a fair count of the vote of Louisiana. The President, professing to have the cause of honesty and fair dealing at heart, extended a similar invitation to a number of prominent politicians, but all, be it noted, members of the Republican party, and the chief of them very decided partisans. He also ordered to Louisiana an imposing military force to preserve peace and good order, and see that the returning board was unmolested in the performance of its duty; but, as he had destroyed civil government in the State, by the bayonet, at the bidding of his party in 1872, it was not easy to see the necessity for this military order, unless some new outrage was contemplated. It should also be remembered that, according to his own declared opinion, the State was in such a condition of lawlessness that its vote should not be counted, which was an admission that Tilden and Hendricks had been elected. On their arrival in New Orleans, the men who had responded to Mr. Hewitt's request proposed to Senator Sherman, and the Republicans associated with him, a joint conference and friendly coöperation, with the view to a just and satisfactory settlement of the threatening political controversy. But this proposition was summarily rejected, on the pretext that these representative Republicans had no legal authority to interfere with the vote of the State, or the action of its officers in canvassing it; and when they were reminded that no such authority had been thought of, and that the proposed conference contemplated only such moral influence as it might be able to exert, these Republicans disavowed any authority or wish to interfere with the action of the returning board even to that extent,

and thereby left the public completely in the fog as to the meaning of their mission. It is very difficult to reconcile this conduct with the claims of honesty and patriotism, since a single earnest word on their part in the interest of peace and fair play would almost certainly have been heeded, while their refusal to act necessarily roused the suspicion that they sympathized with the determination of the returning board to count the State for Hayes and Wheeler at all events, and were present for the purpose of abetting that object.

The character of the returning board gives a still keener edge to these facts. It was the creature and instrument of a State government founded in flagrant usurpation and fraud. Although the law creating it required that its members should belong to different political parties, they were all Republicans, and two of them officers in the custom-house at New Orleans. The entire clerical force of the board was also composed of Republicans, who would, of course, be the ready instruments of their employers. Its members were the same men who sat upon it in 1874, and after the election, in that year, took the majority of votes from one side and gave it to the other by "unjust, arbitrary, and illegal acts," as admitted by a Republican congressional committee. The president of the board had branded himself as a perjurer in the testimony he had given respecting the State election of that year, and had disgraced himself by his political rascality and disregard of law while holding his gubernatorial office in 1867. The board had been characterized by Hon. William A. Wheeler as "a disgrace to civilization," and was covered with universal suspicion. And yet, John Sherman, Stanley Matthews, James A. Garfield, and their Republican associates, in rejecting the proposition for a joint political conference, declared that they had no reason to doubt that a perfectly honest and just declaration of the results of the election in Louisiana would be made by its members, while Mr. Sherman pronounced Mr. Wells "the peer of any man in the Senate!"

The belief that these Republican leaders had united with the returning board in its conspiracy to cheat the people of the United States received further confirmation in its action while canvassing the votes. The board persistently trampled upon the law under which it acted, by refusing to fill the vacancy in its

membership and supply the political element which was wanting. It wrapped itself in the mantle of darkness while pretending to discharge its duties, by excluding from its sessions the public, the general press reporters, the supervisors and registrars of elections, and the candidates for office and their attorneys. In a number of instances the sealed returns from distant parishes were clandestinely opened, and the papers tampered with, after they had been received by the board, as was shown by inspection on the canvass of the return. It was simply impossible to attend its daily sessions and scrutinize its action without realizing that forgery, perjury, and fraud, were liberally woven into their work. It flagrantly violated the law from which it derived its authority by throwing out the ballots of seven or eight thousand legally-qualified Democratic voters, in order to secure a Republican victory. There was no charge of repeating, ballot-stuffing, or fraudulent returns, and their action was founded solely on the complaint of intimidation; and with that they had nothing whatever to do, unless the commissioner of election or supervisors of registration had laid the foundation for it by their affidavits, setting forth the facts of any riot, tumult, acts of violence, intimidation, armed disturbance, or corrupt influences, which prevented or tended to prevent a fair, free, and peaceable election, and showing the number of qualified electors deterred by such proceedings from voting or registering. These statements must be made out within twenty-four hours after the receipt of all the returns for the different polling-places, and must be forwarded in duplicate to the supervisor of registration of the parish. If this foundation was not laid, the board had no jurisdiction whatever, except *to count the votes returned;* and, as the fact is undenied and undeniable that no such foundation was laid, the action of the board in counting the vote of the State for Hayes and Wheeler was an utter defiance of its laws, a flagrant outrage, and a hideous mockery of representative government.

But the line of argument we are pursuing does not end here. Tilden and Hendricks were counted out in Louisiana, but the nation was not yet cheated. The House of Representatives was in the hands of the Democrats, and, if the concurring action of both Houses of Congress was required in counting the electoral vote, the triumph of Hayes and Wheeler was not yet assured.

The grand conspiracy might fail after all; for the right of the Vice-President to count the vote and declare the result had been denied by nearly all the leading men of the country, of whatever party. Indeed, according to an unbroken chain of precedents beginning with the election of Washington, and reaching down to the year 1876, the counting of the electoral vote is rightfully done by Congress, or under its authority and direction; while the right of the Vice-President to count or canvass it has never been claimed by any presiding officer of the Senate, at any time or under any circumstances. The twenty-second joint rule, adopted in 1865 by a Republican Congress, was an express recognition of the right of the two Houses of Congress to determine the question. To this rule and the principle it recognized nearly all the leading Republicans in the Senate stood committed, and their decided opinions on the subject had been recorded in its debates within the preceding ten or twelve months. What was to be done? How could the Democrats be kept out of power, and the reign of Republicanism be prolonged, if these precedents were to be considered as binding? The difficulty was not insurmountable. "Where there is a will there is a way," and the case was a plain one in the eyes of the leaders, who regarded a new lease of Republican power as a foreordained necessity, and had never faltered in their pursuit of it since they had been summoned to their task by the telegram of William E. Chandler. The Republican party was stretched on its bed of death, and gasping out its prayer for deliverance from the judgment to come; and if any nostrums would save it they must be administered. The inauguration of Hayes and Wheeler was a foregone conclusion, and, as this could only be done through the canvass and count of the electoral vote by the Vice-President, precedents must be disregarded, and that officer must face the duty. Accordingly, Senator Morton, always ready to sacrifice either principle or consistency in the service of his party, announced that the President of the Senate would count the electoral vote and declare the result, and that, if necessary, it would be enforced by the army and navy. A decided majority of his party friends were ready to join him in this somersault, and the Vice-President avowed his readiness to play his part; while the President, who, as we have said, believed the vote of Louisiana should not be

counted, proceeded to mass his troops in the capital. Whether this revolutionary conspiracy would have been attempted, if the Democrats had been ready to stand by their constitutional rights, can never be certainly known; but the spirit and aim of the Republican leaders were perfectly developed, and worked out the desired result.

A single further illustration of the dominating idea and ruling passion of the Republican party remains to be noticed. The electoral commission, which was agreed to under the apprehension of civil war, contained a Republican majority of eight to seven. That that majority, itself the product of the party and representative of its ideas and policy, would suddenly call a halt in the march of events through which forty millions of people were to be deprived of the right to choose their chief functionaries was not to be believed for a moment by any man who would soberly ponder the question. That the Democratic leaders and masses were so ready to confide in the honor and patriotism of a commission so constituted seemed to us then, as it does to-day, a matter of profound amazement. The crime of the commission, it is true, was perfectly matchless and continental in its proportions, and it was followed by the trover and conversion of the very principles on which the battle for Tilden and Hendricks had been fought. But it was not an eccentric fact, suddenly making its apparition in our politics, in defiance of the law of cause and effect. It was the child of the foul ancestry which could not fail to give it birth. It was simply the leaf and flower of long years of political corruption and prosperous guilt. It was the achievement of trained mercenaries, who had so mastered the whole gamut of knavery and fraud that their marvelous skill naturally culminated in the theft of the presidency. This is the naked truth in its last analysis. The Republican judges and politicians on the commission simply acted after their kind. They were, themselves, parts of a long-used political machinery which had allowed no obstacles to stand in its path. We believe they felt their own helplessness as keenly as they deplored the ugly work it imposed. They must have been aware of the dishonesty and corruption of the Returning Board of Louisiana. They knew, of course, that Tilden and Hendricks had carried the State by not far from eight thousand majority. They knew that there was no pretext what-

ever on which that majority could be destroyed, except that of intimidation, and that the board totally disregarded those provisions of the State law, a compliance with which alone could give it any jurisdiction whatever over the question, or any authority except to count the votes cast. They knew that their refusal to look into the merits of the controversy was based upon technical grounds alone, and that, without going behind the returns at all, but only *to* the returns, it was perfectly competent for them to execute the known will of the nation. But they were Republicans, and had long breathed the unwholesome atmosphere of their party. They were thoroughly imbued with its spirit and traditions. They were working for their employers, and could not be expected to rid themselves of the feeling of party obligation, when the party itself was on trial for its life. Like other Republicans, they regarded the triumph of the Democrats as a national calamity, and esteemed the continuance of Republican rule as an impelling desideratum, and they sought their justification in the same reasoning which the party leaders had so long employed to cover up their misdeeds and justify the continued existence of their organization.

Such are the lengths to which the Republican party has been driven by its long-indulged greed of power and the spoils, and the devilish infatuation that its good behavior during the war could justify its career of lawlessness and crime. But its final card has been played. The cup of its transgressions is full, and its hoarded iniquities have at last brought it to judgment. The President of the United States is the incumbent of an office to which he was never elected, and was finally counted in upon the pledge of his most intimate and trusted friends that he would turn his back upon the very issue on which he had been supported in the canvass. While vainly striving to wipe out "the damnèd spot" in the record of his title, the villains of the Louisiana Returning Board, by whose crimes he mounted into power, are in the clutches of the law; and the Republican statesmen who abetted the foul plot by their presence and moral support are evidently troubled by a "fearful looking for of judgment to come." He has mortally offended the great leaders who directed and inspired his canvass, whom he is now striving to hold at bay, and has shamefully mocked the demand of the better element of his

party for the reform of administrative abuses. In view of the well-drilled cohorts of corruption which confront him, the thorough reform of our civil service would be an exceedingly difficult problem if he were a man of iron will, perfect courage, and absolute devotion to his task. Even then it might not be possible without a popular uprising akin to that which drove the Tammany thieves from their strongholds. It certainly cannot be hoped for through a weak, irresolute Executive, holding his office by fraud, anxious to conciliate the men who deserve no quarter, and afraid to look the situation bravely in the face. This has been demonstrated already by facts, which deserve a passing notice. Mr. Filley, a politician and intriguer of very bad repute, is reappointed postmaster at St. Louis. Mr. Stoughton has been made minister to Russia, as a reward, undoubtedly, for his services in carrying Louisiana for the President in defiance of "clerical errors."

The two chief criminals of the Louisiana Returning Board have at all times had free access to the White House as trusted friends, and are yet holding their important positions in the New Orleans Custom-House, while imprisoned as criminals, just as if Grant were still President. Babcock continues to bask in the sunshine of Executive approval. The removal of Mr. Arthur from the custom-house in New York, after great and inexcusable delay, was accompanied by the offer to him of the Paris consulate, being an evident manœuvre of the President to keep on both sides of the civil-service question. Mr. Simmons still holds his position in Boston; while Mr. Cornell is allowed to retain his surveyorship in New York, after his open defiance of the President's order. The former tools of the Union Pacific Railroad have been reappointed Government directors of that company. The President treats the office of consul-general at Frankfort-on-the-Main as a personal perquisite, by bestowing it upon his private secretary. The offer of the English mission to the Pennsylvania delegation in Congress was a palpable disregard of civil-service reform, as the President himself has defined it, and so was the offer of the German mission to the delegation from Illinois, and the nomination of Mr. Sanford as minister to Belgium. He allows his First-Assistant Postmaster-General to send out blanks through the mails to members of Congress, to be filled by them with the names of such persons as they may see fit to

recommend for office. Many of his appointments, like those of his predecessor, are bestowed as rewards for political services, while the public is left to believe that he is still dispensing his patronage for the purpose of breaking up the Democratic party. Some of the newspapers which have been foremost in his defense now declare that in the matter of reform he has been as unstable as water, and that, like the fabled frog in the well, he jumps three feet forward and falls back four. A man of his mingled obstinacy and irresolution, and so liberally dowered with feebleness, may aggravate existing political troubles, but cannot remove them. Should he surrender himself entirely to the old managers, he will be more irretrievably disgraced than he is already. Should he continue his game of fast and loose, he will fare no better. Should he now abandon his temporizing policy and inaugurate the fight against roguery which has been so criminally delayed, he will fail through the lack of that earnest, well-drilled, and united opinion in his own party which any President must have in a trying situation, and which results chiefly from the belief in his treachery on the Southern question. In any event the party itself is doomed. It lies wallowing in the mire of its apostacy, the helpless victim of its leaders and the spectacle of the nation. Its race is run, and our task fitly ends with its death-struggle. The men who have led it into dishonor and shame will take their place along with the recreant leaders of the past, whose political graves are eloquent with warnings against their example; while the honest but misguided men in its ranks, profiting by their mistakes, will find other tasks awaiting them in the political reconstruction which draws nigh.

GEORGE W. JULIAN.

V.

THE POSITION OF THE JEWS IN AMERICA.

FIRST ARTICLE.

"Perhaps the most remarkable fact, in the history of modern Judaism, is the extension of the Jews in the United States."—(Milman.)

It is wellnigh 2,500 years since the prophet Jeremiah sent an epistle to his captive brethren in Babylon, advising them concerning the course of life they should pursue. In that epistle he exhorts them to "build houses and dwell in them; plant gardens, and eat the fruit of them; take wives, and give their children in marriage, that they may be increased and not diminished; to seek the peace of the city, and pray unto the Lord for it; for in the peace thereof shall they have peace!" * No word better deserved to be called prophetic than this, for it anticipated the needs of dispersed Israel for thousands of years; nor do we know of any utterance which more strikingly reveals the freedom of prophetic thought. Hebrew patriotism had the power and depth of a religious passion. The possession of the land of promise was proof of the continuance, its loss of the forfeiture of Heaven's favor. To be separated from its hallowed associations was like banishment from the face of God.† In repentance lay the only hope of the captives of returning to their beloved home, and it appeared a necessary part of their penance, to refuse the proffered hospitality of the conqueror. The over-zealous among them fed that morbid feeling by predictions of a speedy termination of the captivity. Jeremiah read the signs of the times with greater accuracy, and saw that they did not warrant that expectation. But, whenever that longed-for event might happen, it was clear to him that it should not be allowed to interfere with any present duty, or the attainment of present happiness.

* Jeremiah xxix. 5–7. † Psalms xlii., xliii., lxiii.; 1 Samuel xxvi. 10.

It is worthy of note that the counsel of Jeremiah embodied the three chief elements of strength in the Hebrew race, industry, home-life, and prayer. Philipsohn does not perhaps overrate the importance of this message, when he characterizes it as the first attempt "to separate the religious from the civil interests of the people, foreshadowing a change which was to be accomplished in much later times, and after many national vicissitudes." *

What the priest-prophet did for his banished brethren during the first captivity, a rabbi, also of priestly stock, accomplished in a still bolder manner during the second, eight hundred years later. During these centuries, Palestine had risen to independence and power, but had also fallen again to the old ruin, and her children dwelt as before in the land of the stranger. The grave problem was once more presented, How far shall allegiance to the national cause extend? This time, however, it was not the land, but the law, in which the love of the Israelite centred. The law had become his true home, the consecrated ground on which he stood, as in the presence of the Most Holy. It overshadowed the golden gates and fretted domes of the temple. Its study more than compensated for the silenced songs of the Levites, and the lost sacrifices of the priests. The academies, both in Palestine and Babylonia, where the flower of Hebrew youths sat at the feet of renowned masters; the synagogues, thronged daily with devout worshipers, who "drank in with thirst" the words of those who "preached Moses and the prophets," threw into the background the vanished glories of Zion. Generations of learned men had expanded the demands of the Mosaic law to such vast proportions that they completely covered the life of the faithful from the cradle to the grave. Collisions with the civil institutions were inevitable the moment they stepped beyond the limits of Palestine. Many changes had also passed over the scene where the first exiles received Jeremiah's message; they had led up to the restoration of the Persian throne; and its occupant, from the year C. E. 238. Shabur I. was not less friendly toward the Jews than his predecessor Cyrus had been. But the jurisdiction claimed by the rabbis in civil and penal, as well as in purely religious matters, resulted in a self-imposed exclusion from the benefits of a just government, which could not fail to

* "Bibelwerk," *in loco.*

be in the end disastrous. Mar Samuel,* the most eminent civil jurist of a time rich in legal erudition, and renowned as a physician and astronomer, resembled Jeremiah in the clear perception of what the hour demanded. In the very teeth of all tradition he enunciated the guiding principle, that "in all civil matters what is law for the land of his sojourn shall also be, henceforth, law for the Jew. The authority of a Gentile government was thus formally recognized, and submission to its decrees invested with the sanction of religion. Samuel's example gave force to his teaching; his intercourse with learned Magians was intimate, and his influence at court so great that he was surnamed "the Jewish King Shabur."

Like all reforms, this one met with strenuous opposition. The hope of restoration was yet vivid in the minds of the Jews. An heroic race is not easily reconciled to permanent defeat, and Mar Samuel's concession seemed to admit it. With the glorious deeds of the unfortunate defenders of their country fresh on their memory, it is not surprising to find the Jews, during the first centuries after the Roman conquest, joining in insurrectionary movements that promised to restore their lost independence. As time wore on, however, the expectation waned; the veneration for the Holy Land assumed more and more the character of a religious hope, and became an article of creed, rather than an incentive to warlike action. Generations arose, in whom community of language, custom, and practical interests, produced an affinity with the nations among whom they lived, against which the old traditions were powerless. Time and circumstances thus paved the way for the general adoption of the principle of the Babylonian master. By it the Jews have ever since been governed in their relations with the Gentile world; and, wherever governments accepted it in good faith, the Jews proved a source of strength, wealth, and intellectual activity; at certain periods these "blind men" have been the torch-bearers of science and philosophy. The greatest rulers known in history, Cyrus, Alexander the Great, Cæsar, Charlemagne, Abdul-Rahman of Mohammedan and Alfonso of Christian Spain; Frederick II., the Ho-

* D. Hoffmann; Mar Samuel, "Lebensbild eines talmudischen Weisen." Leipsig, Leiner, 1873. Grätz, "Geschichte der Juden," vol. iv., p. 231.

henstaufen; Cromwell, Joseph II., and Napoleon I., have fully acknowledged their services.

These names are, however, but isolated stars in the long night through which the Jews have passed. Their offer to submit to the laws of the state was scorned, and the world's motto became, "What is law for everybody is none for the Jew." That which bore the name of law was but a contrivance for his destruction. Society declared war against him, and he had no alternative but to fight for his life as best he could. One by one the avenues to the learned professions, and even to the ordinary handicrafts, were closed against him. His favorite occupation, agriculture, certain branches of which he at one time monopolized, was forcibly taken from him, and he was thus driven to his last citadel —trade. From it the cruelest legislation could not drive him, for he could not be robbed of the superior skill which he gradually acquired. The trading proclivities have ceased to be a reproach to the Hebrew, and not only because they were the natural result of the treatment he received, but because the civilizing power of trade is better understood.

The Hebrew that followed the blood-stained footsteps of the Roman legions into Spain, through Gaul, and along the Rhine,* reclaimed the devastated fields, helped to establish colonies, and, by buying and selling the captive men and women, saved them from the sword to which, otherwise, they would have been put. In the middle ages, when the strength of Christendom was consumed in the crusades, and in hereditary feuds, the presence of a class devoted to the arts of peace was a benefit; it saved society from sinking deeper into the barbarism into which the vaunted age of chivalry threw the nations of Europe. † Historians express surprise that, despite the most stringent laws of exclusion, and the frequent spoliations, the Jews of the middle ages remained

* Jewish settlements in those regions of Europe date back to the pre-Christian period.

† "The loss of gold and silver which disappeared with the Jews from Spain would have been replaced before long by the influx of the precious metals from America; but the loss of industry was irreparable in a country where pride and indolence proscribed all such pursuits as base and sordid, and where the richest body, the Church, contributed nothing, either directly, or by the improvement of the land, to the support of the state. With the Moors and the Jews vanished all the rich cultivation of the soil, and all internal and external commerce" (Milman).

the masters of the marts, and the controllers of the finances of the world. There is, however, nothing wonderful in all this. If all the world was hostile to the Jew, Nature, at least, was not so. To his versatility, his experience, his knowledge of the languages and wants of the different countries, he was solely indebted for his dominion over the market and the exchange. His money could, of course, be taken from him by violence, but he knew the potent charm of luring it back. His crude and superstitious enemies ascribed it to the devil, but to us it is no more miraculous or wicked than the attraction of the magnet. All the laws which prohibited the Jews from holding fiscal offices were null and void practically, since he was the only financier that could fill the empty coffers of the state; in like manner the thunders of the Church were as nothing when they pretended to banish the Hebrew physician from the sick-chamber of the Christian. Life and health are dear to pope and king as well as to other mortals, and, if Hebrew skill can save the body, the Church must condone the sin of accepting the help of a heretic. Europe, in forcing the Jew into trade, created him, to a certain extent, master of the situation. He was compelled, it is true, to hide his weapon under the rags of apparent poverty, and to assume the air of humility; nor can it be wondered at that trading and money-lending, if practised among a population taught to look upon cheating the Jew as lawful before man, and meritorious before God, should produce certain demoralizing effects. What is remarkable, however, is this: that a race, whose life was one continuous struggle, who were chased from land to land, who bore a load of obloquy which might well unman the stoutest hearts, should have continued their intellectual and literary pursuits without an interruption. Is it not amazing that, among a people thus conditioned, should be found at all times men of commanding intellect, who gathered around them throngs of eager disciples: poets, who sung their sorrows and their hopes in the lofty strains of David and Isaiah, teachers of a morality, which needs shun no comparison with that of any religion; thinkers, who pondered over the last problems of metaphysics; mystics, who soared aloft on the wings of speculative imagination; jurists, who expounded and elaborated the legal codes of the Babylonian academies; historians, who chronicled the sufferings of their tribe, and the shame of their mur-

derers? This I hold to be the greatest achievement of Israel's genius and Israel's faith.

Disraeli speaks of the indomitable spirit of a people "that persists in celebrating their vintage, although they have no fruits to gather;" but it pales before the sublimer courage which clung to and cultivated the intellectual vineyards of Israel,* when death, in its most hideous forms, waited at the gate, when the only increase was—tears; and when, instead of the merry songs of the gleaners, were heard the groanings of the tortured and the sighs of the dying. The mere existence of the Jew to this day is admitted to be a miracle; then what shall we say in presence of the fact that he preserved his intellectual life, and continued its expression in a literature as abundant as that of any people? Of the mind of Israel it is more true than of his body: "When thou passeth through the waters, I will be with thee; and through the rivers, and they shall not overflow thee; when thou walkest through the fire, thou shalt not be burned; neither shall the flame kindle upon thee." †

Freedom alone can be just to the living and to the dead. Now that history has ceased to be the handmaid of Church or state, and has, if I may say so, gained a conscience of her own, the veil is lifted, behind which the contributions of the Jews to science in the middle ages lay hidden. When eminent scientists like Draper ‡ and Schleiden, § yielding simply to the force of facts, offer this generous tribute of recognition to the long-despised race; when high dignitaries of the Church, as Milman, all his strongly-marked Christain leanings notwithstanding, have learned to tell the tale of Israel's wanderings and workings with such a strong desire for fairness and impartiality; and when Hebrew literature has found her own spokesmen, whose marvelous labors within this century have conquered for her, at last, that place in the world of letters which is her due—we can no longer doubt that the day of justice has dawned, and that, by its light, the past will be fully vindicated.

* Kerem (vineyard), and Eshkol (grape), the latter an alliteration to *schola*, were favorite terms of the rabbis for the assemblies of the learned.

† Isaiah xliii. 2.

‡ "History of the Intellectual Development of Europe," vol. i., p. 381, *et seq.*

§ In his paper on the "Contributions of the Jews to Science."

But what of the present? This nineteenth century has wrought great changes throughout the civilized world, and has materially affected the social position and the religious life of the Jews, and the question arises, whether, under the influence of these changes, they have lost any of those qualities which were the immediate causes of their preservation. Their more recent settlement in this country affords, probably, the most instructive phase in the modern development of Jewish history. It fell within the memory of the living generation, was rapid in its progress, and is full of promise of much larger results in the future. Here the greatest measure of individual liberty he has ever enjoyed awaited the Hebrew immigrant, who, in not a few instances, came right from under the yoke of oppression. Many were strangers to the language, the habits, the peculiar forms, and the conditions of the trade and the industries of the country. They had, therefore, to build up their position from the very foundation. It is the object of this paper to give an account of their labors, and the use they made of their opportunities.

There is great difference of opinion with regard to the number of Israelites in the United States. Estimates have been formed ranging all the way from 250,000 to 1,600,000: that the latter is an enormous exaggeration is evident from the religious statistics of the official census of 1870; its figures make it hardly safe to go beyond 200,000. But means have recently been devised that promise to put an end to all mere conjecture. At the Convention of the Board of Delegates of American Israelites, in 1876, a committee was appointed for the purpose of collecting statistics, in conjunction with the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the latter being chiefly a Western organization. This was to be accomplished by direct inquiries at all places where Jews were known or supposed to have settled. At last year's convention, held in this city, the chairman of the committee, Mr. Hackenburg, of Philadelphia, submitted his first report. It comprised returns from 174 congregations and 157 benevolent institutions and societies. This, however, does not cover the whole ground, the committee having sent out blanks to 300 congregations. With some exceptions, however, the most important bodies have responded, and it is safe to take the figures of the report as a basis for calculation. From the data thus obtained, and after making ample al-

lowance for the places yet to be heard from, the committee reached the conclusion that the number of Jews in the United States cannot exceed 250,000. The reason for the extravagant numbers usually mentioned is to be found in the fact that the Israelites, being principally engaged in trade and manufactures, are brought more prominently before the public than their actual numbers would seem to warrant. They collect, moreover, at the larger centres of commerce; and, because there are some 50,000 in this city, people jump at the conclusion that they are equally numerous in all parts of the Union. This is so far from being the fact that many cities have no Jewish population, and many others but a very insignificant one. But, in order to avoid under-estimation, let us make a further addition of 50,000 to the figures obtained by the board, and thus safely accept 300,000 as the number of Israelites in the United States.

The census of 1850 placed the number of Jews in the United States at 15,000. This, however, was but approximate. The difficulties with which we have to contend even nowadays, in the attempt to obtain exact figures, must have been much greater at that time; for then the immigrants were not in a position to organize themselves into communities and societies. Admitting, then, the estimate to have been too low, it proves that their number cannot have been very large. The strong tide of immigration, therefore, set in from the year 1850, an assumption corroborated by the oldest Hebrew settlers. If we further take into account the fact that immigration in general, and consequently that of Jews also, has materially decreased during the last three years, and that the losses caused by the protracted depression of business, and depreciation of real estate and other investments, fell with particular severity upon that part of the community, whose prosperity depends so largely on commerce, and that, therefore, the creation of new institutions became all but impossible, it may safely be said that the by far largest portion of what has been achieved by the Israelites of this country is the work of *one-quarter of a century*.

The extent of that work will appear from the following:

The census returns of 1870 show the increase of associated efforts for religious and charitable ends in this table:

YEARS.	Churches.	Accommodation.	Property.
1850.....	36	18,371	$418,600
1860.....	77	34,412	1,135,300
1870.....	Edifices. 152	73,265	5,155,234

These numbers cannot, however, be accepted as wholly correct; for the committee of the Board of Delegates found the number of congregations to be 300, and that of institutions and societies 157, in all 457 organizations, an augmentation which the seven years that have elapsed since the census was taken are insufficient to account for. The total membership, taken from the committee's returns, so far as received, is 11,507, and the value of church and other property amounts to $5,897,400. The completed returns will probably show the membership to be about 16,000, and the value of property not far from $8,000,000.

"There are under the exclusive control of Jews fourteen public institutions, some of which are not sectarian in their benefits. They are: the Mount Sinai Hospital, New York; Jewish Hospital, Philadelphia; Hebrew Hospital, Baltimore; Jewish Hospital, Cincinnati; Touro Infirmary, New Orleans; Hebrew Orphan Asylum, New York; Jewish Foster Home and Orphan Asylum, Philadelphia; Benai Berith Orphan Asylum, Cleveland; Orphan Asylum, Baltimore; Orphan Asylum, San Francisco; Widows' Home and Orphan Asylum, New Orleans; Home for Aged and Infirm Hebrews, New York; Jewish Home for the Aged and Infirm, connected with Jewish Hospital, Philadelphia.*

All these institutions are entirely disconnected from the congregations, and are supported by Jews of all shades of opinion, including many who are outside of all congregational connections. But the hospitals by no means represent the care taken of the poor sick. There are numerous societies devoted to that object all over the land, based on the principle of mutual helpfulness. Those who are lean in purse find help through benevolent associations of all sorts; and there is not a place in the Union, where even a handful of Israelites dwell, that has not its charita-

* From the report.

ble society. The united Hebrew charities of New York, admirably organized, expend $40,000 annually for the support of the poor. There are special societies for clothing them, for providing fuel, for attending to women in confinement, for the free burial of the dead, etc., besides numerous others of larger or smaller dimensions.

On a recent occasion Mayor Ely made the following statement:

"I recently read the following item in the *Irish-American*, a Catholic paper published in this city: 'The Jews form ten per cent. of our population, and contribute less than one per cent. to the criminal classes.' I took upon myself the trouble to investigate this matter, and called on the Commissioners of Charities and Correction, and there found some startling statistics, which I am happy to read to you.

"In the Bellevue Hospital there are 895 patients, and only 1 Jew; Charity Hospital, 945 patients, 5 Jews; Homœopathic Hospital, 601 patients, no Jews; Nursery, 1,017 inmates, no Jews; Hart's Island Hospital, 383 patients, no Jews; City Prison, 485 prisoners, 8 Jews; Workhouse, 1,178 inmates, 7 Jews; Penitentiary, 1,110 prisoners, 12 Jews; Almshouse, 1,437 paupers, and no Jews. So you see by these statistics that out of over 8,000 persons there are only 33 Jews. This is very creditable both to yourselves and your organizations, and I hope your charity and generosity are not exhausted."

Beyond the support which the law secures to the larger benevolent organizations, such as hospitals, asylums, etc., they receive no assistance in that great work beyond some free-will gifts of individuals. These are considerable when contingencies arise which necessitate an appeal to the public at large, such as fairs; but, as a general rule, the burdens are cheerfully borne by the Israelites themselves.

Provident societies, too, abound. We must mention here the Jewish orders, of which we shall have to speak more in detail in another connection. They are:

1. Independent Order of Benai Berith (Sons of the Covenant), with 7 grand lodges, 271 lodges, and 20,000 members; $160,500 was paid by this order, in 1875, for sick and endowment benefits, and it held in January, 1876, $535,700 in cash or investments.

2. Independent Order of Free Sons of Israel, with 2 grand

lodges, 86 lodges, 8,604 members. It paid, in 1875, $59,500 for sick and endowment benefits, and had, January, 1876, $58,350 on hand.

3. Order Kesher shel Barzel (Bond of Iron) has 5 grand lodges, 152 lodges, and 10,000 members.

4. Improved Order of Free Sons of Israel has 1 grand lodge, 34 lodges, and 2,632 members. It paid, in 1875, $19,500, and holds $23,500 on hand.

These organizations presuppose, of course, considerable prosperity among their supporters; for, without the command of the means, the best intentions would have remained barren of results. A prosperous class the Israelites of this country, no doubt, are; but we deem it right to remind the reader of two things in reference to that part of our subject: first, the proportion of the middle class and of the actually poor is much larger than is generally supposed. The expenditure of capital and labor for their relief abundantly proves this. By far the largest numbers of families and individuals, who are daily struggling for the necessities of life, come from the dominions of the czar; happy those who escape from that grinding tyranny! But their chances for competing here with the more favored laboring-classes are of the slenderest. The cruel oppression which the "paternal" government of the Muscovite exercises on the two millions of its Hebrew subjects burdens the acquirement of a handicraft with almost insuperable difficulties, and makes its practice precarious and unremunerative; it has, besides, perpetuated a form of orthodox Judaism happily unknown anywhere else. Even in Oriental countries, where the Jew has lapsed into the same state of mental stagnation that prevails around him, such rigid proscription of secular knowledge, such fanatical opposition to any, even the slightest, departure from established usage, is unknown. Religion is paramount; she dictates every step of the Jew of Poland and Russia, and holds exclusive possession of his mind. Gifted beyond the common measure of a gifted race, acute and subtile in intellect, vivid in imagination, and intensely Oriental in fervor and enthusiasm, he has raised rabbinical Judaism to a position of command such as it never before possessed, and one which is probably unsurpassed by any church or creed. To it alone are devoted the days and nights of the scholar, the ambi-

tion of those eager for renown, the homage of wealth, and the devotion of every pious heart. This is not unnatural either, for it is the only domain in which the Jew can save his manhood, assert his freedom, employ his faculties, escape the iron grasp of the minions of oppression, and satisfy the aspirations of his soul. The tale of the woes of these millions of sufferers deserves to be told to the American people more fully than this article allows, and pondered by them, before they hail the victories of the Russian arms, and rejoice in the threatened extinction of Turkey, a land which in the matter of liberty and toleration is now, and always has been, far in advance of her northern foe.

From those regions of Cimmerian darkness come most of the poorest immigrants. The difficulties they encounter in their way here are, we venture to say, formidable beyond those of any other class they have to contend with. With no education, in the adopted sense of the word, often unbred to any handicraft, and almost always accompanied by wife and children; hampered in so many ways by his scrupulous attention to religious ceremonials; without means to push his way in this New World, it is a marvel that he should be able to subsist at all. Yet, he does live, never yields to drunkenness or sinks to pauperism, and preserves his domestic virtues. Not a few of this class rise to comfortable circumstances, and even to affluence. The "Polish Jew" may be a welcome object of sport to the penny-a-liner; he must appear something very different to the eye of the thoughtful, candid, and sympathetic observer. That he is no burden to the community in which he lives, is due to the sterling qualities he possesses, to the thoroughly practical and domestic character of his religion, and to the sympathy he finds here, as everywhere, at the hand of his brethren.

Another popular superstition with regard to the prosperity of the Jews ought to be mentioned. The impression prevails that they obtain riches with the facility of a genius—that they need only appear on the scene to attract to themselves, as if by magic, the wealth of nations. Because of his proverbial thriftiness, and because of the prominence, in the exchanges and marts of the world, of some Jewish firms, it is supposed that he needs only to will it, and treasures will flow into his coffers, without any equivalent in toil, self-denial, and risks of life or capital. Nothing can be fur-

ther from the truth. If there be any genius in his success, it is the genius for patience, courage, diligence, economy, and consecration of earnings to the comfort and elevation of his family. Prosperity does not come to the Jew any more than it comes to other people, as Dogberry says reading and writing come, "by nature." If the Jews indeed possess superior mercantile and economical qualities, they have paid dearly enough for them. It is true that some were borne to the front ranks by the tidal-wave of lucky speculation. Quite as many, however, have been swept away and out of sight by the retreating tide. Those whose fortunes rest on a solid basis have secured it in the sweat of their brows, with downright hard work, rigid economy, severe self-denial, and resistance to the spirit of wild speculation that seized America after the war. The fact is, the Jew has no talent for what the Germans call *Leichtlebigkeit;* he seldom understands the art of taking things easily.* Seriousness is, in our day, as Matthew Arnold found it to be in ancient times, the ground-note of his temperament. Hence the fervor of his language, the liveliness of his gestures, the warmth of his partisanship, and his stubbornness. Joy and sorrow, hope and fear, success and defeat, touch him to the quick. His laughter and his lament are loud and demonstrative, because his heart leaps with joy or sinks with grief. He is still the man of the Psalms, of the book of Job, and of Jeremiah's Lamentations; and, as in former days, so also at the present time, he is, on that account, an enigma to his observers.

When, thirty or forty years ago, the current of Hebrew immigration set in strongly, what encouragement did it find? Beyond freedom to use his brains and his arms (and we have no desire to underrate these primary conditions of success), very little indeed. Only in some of the larger cities of the Union had Hebrew families resided long enough to secure for themselves a recognized position, both social and commercial. Prejudice, if it existed, was silent in the presence of families who were favorably known to their surroundings, and who bore themselves in their social intercourse after the manner of polite American society.

* The poet Heine tried the experiment: how miserably he failed, everybody knows. He did not quit this life before he had repented of his "Hellenic proclivities," and restored in himself as much of the old "Hebrew seriousness" as he was capable of toward the end of a shattered life.

They had grown up with the republic, shared her fortunes, fought in her ranks, and contributed, after the measure of their power, to the consolidation of her institutions. It was different with the later settlers, who were unused to their surroundings, and too scantily provided with the means that command respect in mercantile circles. They encountered distrust, and not seldom humiliating treatment. They soon quitted the centres of trade, and were scattered over the inhabited parts of the union. There the Jew had not been known before, except by name, and through the medium of Christian theology; and the picture drawn of him by ecclesiastical hands has never been such as to inspire confidence, or even to secure humane, not to say polite, treatment.

Suspicion and contempt met him at every step, and forced him not seldom, to hide his origin and to bury his faith in his bosom. Unless he did that, he could not ply his trade, nay, would be refused shelter and food. On this free soil he was often obliged to perform the rites of his religion and offer his prayers behind locked doors. It was not until personal contact had proved him to be a man, that he could safely avow himself a Jew. Nor had he, in his wide wanderings, the support which his competitors found everywhere in their organized churches; as no such as yet existed for him. He was thrown upon his own resources in every respect, and in sickness and death, which he faced often enough in traveling over the prairies, or camping in the swamps, or venturing into the neighborhood of pioneer settlers. The consolations of religion must have failed him, unless he could draw them from his own heart.

He had, however, been nerved and equipped for the battle by the severe school through which his fathers and himself had passed. He had not been spoiled by the world, expected no favors, and was, therefore, not liable to be much disappointed when he found the old prejudice still confronting him. Hard work and self-denial were his wont. Besides, his family affections, deep, holy, permanent, were his guardian angels, to save his feet from falling. The father, who sought here relief from the vexations of oppressive rule, kept the remembrance of wife and children constantly in mind, and deep down in his bosom. The prospect of being reunited with them was the vision of his hope, which nerved his arm and sustained his courage; the young man

who came here in search of a better future than his home offered him, knew of no higher ambition than to become the benefactor of his kindred. The more he learned to love his new home, the more intense grew his yearning for his dear ones to share his happiness.

But it would be wrong, indeed, to ignore the large share which the peculiar character of his religion had in the successful career of the Israelite. It had become the religion of a wandering tribe, symbolized in the word of the rabbi. The Shechina* says: "I went with you into Egypt; I came with you into the promised land; and I shall go with you into the new captivity." Community of worship, of study, and of charitable work are, indeed, highly valued; but they are by no means indispensable to Hebrew piety. Over-abundant as is the Jewish ceremonial, it needs nowhere the consecrating power of the priest, or the hallowed atmosphere of the church. A prayer, a ritual, if only performed in accordance with the ordinances, carries its sanctity in itself. The devotional intention and knowledge of its requirements—these form, in Pharisaic doctrine, the sole conditions of acceptance on high. Nothing more is needed. This emancipation of Judaism from the dominion of the priesthood and local preëminence is the great achievement of Phariseeism, a system as yet little understood by the Christian, although the chief apostle avowed himself to have been reared under its influence.

The two features of the system which deserve consideration here are, what I will call activeness in religious practices, and soundness of ethical teachings. The main question with the Jew, of all times, has been the same that the rich young man of the New Testament proposed. "What more must I *do?*" The huge tomes into which rabbinical Judaism culminated are all directions for what is to be done or avoided. Mawkish sentimentalism and rapturous contemplativeness, that disdain common duties, find no nourishment or support in rabbinical theology. No indolent man can be pious after the heart of the rabbis; and divines have gravely defended the onerous exactions of the traditional law on the score of their being a corrective against the corruptions of

* The Divine presence.

idleness. No further argument is needed to show the effects of such a system on the general disposition of its followers.

Equally favorable to the actual wants of the race was the rabbinical system of ethics. It sanctions and encourages all endeavors of man to better his condition, to acquire wealth, and to heartily enjoy all earthly blessings; and it elevates labor of all kind, manual and intellectual, to the dignity of a divine worship. Its precepts may give little satisfaction to those who are accustomed to look contemptuously on the ordinary pursuits of man; but they are eminently fit for every-day use, and serviceable for the building up of a happy, contented, and benevolent life.* So indispensable, indeed, did the rabbis esteem them, that the oldest collection, commonly called "The Ethics of the Fathers," was embodied in the common prayer-book, and their recital, at stated periods, enjoined as a portion of the service. By this means the pithiest rules had become the possession even of the unlettered, a partial substitute for the preacher's exhortations, when these had become inaccessible to the Jew in his wanderings or in his seclusion. Thus equipped, he entered upon the new field which the United States opened up before him; with what success we have already seen. It remains for us to narrate the efforts he made to fit himself for his new sphere; then to glance at his social condition, and finally to describe the present aspect of his religious life.

GUSTAV GOTTHEIL.

* Copious extracts from ethical writings are given in Zunz, "Zur Geschichte und Literatur," Berlin, 1845, and translated in a volume published by the American Jewish Publication Society, entitled "Hebrew Characteristics."

VI.

THE POLITICAL ALLIANCE OF THE SOUTH WITH THE WEST.

A POLITICAL alliance seems to be forming under the inducement, or, more properly, the pressure, of material causes between the Southern and Western people.

That it will take place, or already exists, seems to be a recognized fact. The problem is, whether the alliance is to be under the control or influence of any other or higher consideration than the mere advancement of the material prosperity and political power of the geographical sections concerned. It will be an unfortunate alliance, and in time become disreputable, if it is formed upon the basis of a selfish mutual support in efforts to seize and hold the power of the Government for the mere aggrandizement of the South and West. In the prospect of the power that such an alliance would give, the South has presented to it a terrible temptation, and it will require sober thought and a firm reliance on principle to enable us wisely to lay our course in its presence, and to follow the line of duty with steadiness.

Recent experiences have certainly more than confirmed the forebodings of our earlier statesmen with results which they in vain attempted to forecast—illustrating the dangers of sectional combinations for political purposes.

It is not yet one year since we have emerged from a state of social and political antagonism, in which sections of the Union were arrayed against each other in violent political strife, supported by the Government with actual hostilities. For a long period the dominant party, united solely upon sectional questions, abandoned all reliance on civil authority, except as an agency subordinate to the military power, and ruled States that were in alliance with the minority party with force and arms. We of the South mistrust such combinations. We have not yet been long

enough in the condition of restored constitutional rule to feel safe against a relapse into the unhappy state from which we have just escaped. Our fears are the natural consequence of a profound conviction that those who have once wielded the sceptre of arbitrary and irresponsible rule, and have grown rich with spoliation and powerful by conquest, will be slow to acquire the self-denial that will enable them to return to just and constitutional methods of government.

Those departures from the true spirit of our system of government had their origin in sectional controversies relating to social and political questions, exciting the strongest feelings of which the human heart is capable. Strong as were these feelings, however, these controversies would never have resulted in a great public war, nor in any serious disturbance, if the material interests involved had been general and not local. If slavery, for instance, had existed in all the States under the protection of their local laws, although the number of slaves may have been small, its being so diffused would have prevented the concentration of opinion and influence against it to the degree of intensity that would have produced any serious collisions between the disputants as to the morality or policy of the system. No party in any State would have been strong enough to have attempted its suppression by force. It was the sectionalism of the question that alone made it dangerous to the peace of the country. It was this that caused many States, as separate governments, to array themselves for its protection, and to form a confederacy so as to unite their power in its defense.

It may be safely assumed that no question, however exciting or important, can ever endanger the peace of the country beyond a temporary interruption, unless it should bring one section of the Union, in which States are acting aggressively in concert, into array against another section, in which States are engaged in a common purpose of defense. In the absence of this feature of sectional division which remained as a result of the war, and which gave popular support to the coercive measures of Congress, the military rule, which displaced free constitutional government in the Southern States during a period of nine years, could not have been sustained.

Any single Northern State could have successfully resisted

such wrongs if directed against its government. If New York or Delaware had been treated in like manner with Louisiana or South Carolina, or any other of the Southern States, because they refused to give the sanction of their power in Congress to those measures, the mere effort to include those States in this category would have utterly broken the power of the movement.

There was still enough of popular power in the majority of the Northern States, growing out of the fierce passions aroused by the war, that could be directed against the South as a section, to enable Congress and the Executive to continue this oppressive course, so long as it was applied to the outlawed States; but this power would have been broken in the first effort to apply this terrible regimen to the smallest State of the North.

Without the coöperation of the States as governments, the United States would have but little ability to make war even against a foreign power. Its power would be less when engaged in war upon a State of our Union. Its small army of enlisted men would soon be exhausted, and it would have to look to the States for their contingents. If these contingent troops should refuse to cross their State lines, as once happened, there would be an end of the matter. To illustrate, if the Senate and the President had resolved to inaugurate Mr. Hayes, while the House of Representatives had declared Mr. Tilden elected, and had determined to inaugurate him, the question as to which of them should accede to the presidency would have been necessarily settled by the final determination of the States as to the party to which they would furnish men, money, and material of war. The people would not have gone pell-mell into the struggle, nor would long have continued in such a lawless mob. They would have taken counsel, every man of his own State, to know what was the lawful course of duty. And so the States would have speedily settled the matter, or else the Union would have been utterly destroyed. The States would have survived the Union. New York would not have fought Pennsylvania; Connecticut would not have made war upon Massachusetts; Kentucky would not have invaded Ohio; Alabama would not have fought any State, but would have placed an army of observation upon her border, and would have warned all malcontents that she was engaged in keeping the peace within her own territory,

and that none should molest her. Alabama would have said to those who were contending for the possession of the Federal power: "We can live without your assistance, and can protect and provide for every right, liberty, and advantage, that our people need; and we have no such interest in the question as to which of two men should be inducted into office as President, as to justify us in shedding a drop of the blood of our sons in the quarrel." As the vote was not merely sectional in the presidential election, such a policy as it is believed Alabama would have adopted, would not have provoked against her the hostilities of her sister States. They would have respected her neutrality.

This glance at the possibilities of such a conflict as appeared to be imminent during the winter of 1876–'77, and the difficulties that would have obstructed Congress, or either House, in conducting such a war, serves to illustrate the truth of the suggestion that we are in no danger of ever engaging in a general warfare except upon questions that are wholly sectional; and the further fact that war cannot exist between the States of this Union, until the States themselves so decree.

The Federal Government cannot embroil the States in war with each other without their consent, nor can it embroil the people of different sections of the country in war with each other against the objections and the prohibitory power of the State governments, so strong and powerful and wisely great is the just influence and the authority of the States in their capacity to preserve the peace of the country and the rights and liberties of the people.

In view of these matters, and aside from our lessons of experience, whose bitter teachings will long remain to counsel us to moderation and prudence, it seems that the one great danger to be avoided in our policies for the future, next in degree to that policy which contemplates the degradation of the rights and powers of the States themselves, is the arraying the States or their people, the one against the other, upon questions that divide them sectionally, and relate to the social and personal rights and liberties of the people.

Secure against these dangers, we can exercise the full powers of government, State and Federal, in all the nice adjustment of their delicate relations, with as much freedom and safety, and

with more power for good, and with a more energizing stimulus to progress, than can be done by the most absolute governments.

Outside this line of dangerous shoals we can feel secure against shipwreck, whatever violent gusts of passion or powerful currents of interest may drift us into apparently perilous courses. It is very important to the whole country that we should, at this moment, realize that our government, State and Federal (for while they are distinct they are one), is safe from destruction through political or social agitations; to the end that entire freedom of thought and speech, and of action, shall be indulged in and encouraged in reference to the next great matter of dispute—our financial system.

This question is not altogether sectional (yet, unhappily, it is too much so), and does not belong, therefore, to the category of dangerous questions, such as those relating to the stability of our Government. State does not stand against State, nor section against section, in solid array, in respect of any phase of this question. In every State, opinion is divided upon the questions relating to finance, and the opposing interests which create or shape these opinions are the interests of men who live in the same communities. It is called the conflict of labor and capital—a correct designation of the issue, when the laws of the land arbitrarily divorce the interests of these classes; but it is a sad misnomer for the competition of labor and capital, which is properly developed when the laws forbear to antagonize interests and classes which naturally unite in their efforts for the general welfare.

Indeed, there are but two subjects, so far as now appears, upon which there is any apparent ground to apprehend danger of sectional disagreement. One of these presents the problem of the social and political future of the colored races, including the Negroes, Chinese, and Indians, in this country; and the other, a socialistic feature of the white family, now presenting itself, in the Northern States, in politics, in the form of agrarian and communistic organizations. A common danger, or danger quite similar in each section, arising from causes that have a close economic affinity, if not a natural relation to each other, will be apt to develop a strong conservatism in all of the endangered sections that will unite the people to repress rather than encourage the evil.

The most certain and effectual means of avoiding this evil will be found in relegating every trouble, as it may arise, to the State where it is found, for settlement, and in resisting its being drawn into controversy in Congress, or in national politics. The States of the South will never exert their power to subject the Northern States to the terrible rule of the Commune, nor to impose Chinese citizenship and suffrage upon the Pacific States. With some valued assistance from States in the North, which they gratefully acknowledge, they have, through these agencies, established for themselves the fact that is now irreversible, that they will not be subjected to negro supremacy.

Clouds there are in some quarters of the horizon which darken the country with threats of social strife; but at the zenith all is clear and reassuring. The conservatism of the entire country will hereafter prove to be stronger than the radicalism of any section.

To return to the question now so prominently before the country—the money question: Will the people of the South and the West, including the Pacific States, unite in a general political alliance against the people of the Northeast, because they differ from them on questions of finance? Or have they so united against us? We must answer, not for this cause alone. The fact that the States east of Pennsylvania and north of Delaware may be "solid" for a mono-metallic currency, with gold for its standard, or unit of value, or that they may be solid in Congress on any phase of this subject, only argues that their largest interest and the greater number of their electors require their representatives to unite on a given policy. A minority of the people there (perhaps a large one) are not enthusiasts for high-priced money, or a narrow basis of commercial credit, or for a small volume of circulating coins. And the people in all sections of the country would equally condemn any measure or line of action, in Congress or elsewhere, that might be classed as extraordinary, in attempting to force upon the Government, or upon the people or States of any section of the country, a policy which they deem injurious to their interests, and are endeavoring to prevent by constitutional means. The great majority of those who are striving to reverse the policy that destroyed our silver currency are those who are and have been unwavering friends of the Constitution.

The solidarity of the people of a State, or of several States,

on a question that is confessedly one of mere policy, is not dangerous, even if it is sectional. With a change of their local interests, their views would be likely to change, or, if adhered to with the utmost obstinacy, they would never become dangerous to the country, because they relate to a subject that no other combination of States, as such, could be formed to control. If silver is remonetized, for instance, no number of States could nullify the law; and if it remained demonetized, no number of States could restore it as Federal money.* If in one entire section of the country it is found that its local and peculiar interests draw every State and every man into a solid union for common protection against a mere policy which they consider injurious to their welfare, it is not, in any serious sense, dangerous, or even reprehensible, that they should stand together. Such sectionalism is only the strongest proof that it must be based on an honest and reasonable conviction of the necessity for such unity. This was illustrated in the proposed nullification of the tariff laws by South Carolina. No people ever acted with more honesty, or under a more bitter sense of wrong, than they did, but other States having the same grievance could not be induced to attempt such action to break down laws that were not directed exclusively against a certain section. The strife was great, but the danger was more apparent than real. It was wild agitation, but the substructure of popular allegiance to the Constitution resisted it successfully. It is quite otherwise when the policy which draws a section of the country into solid union is aggressive, and is directed against institutions that are peculiar to another section. In that case, the States of the section which is assailed will take up the quarrel, and there is then serious danger of collision between States, or with the Federal Government.

It would be a hazardous experiment, even so recently after the severe admonitions of the great civil war, to attempt to smother Christian civilization in the Pacific States by giving additional encouragement to Chinese immigration. Those States would resist such action of Congress, because the civilization of

* What the States could do with silver as a legal tender for State taxes, and debts payable within their jurisdictions contracted between persons, is not germane to the subject in hand, but it is a question that must arrest the attention of those who claim the power for Congress to destroy its legal-tender quality.

China is in every sense hostile to their civilization. Such legislation would be sectional, and would excite all the madness of an aggressive social and religious warfare.

In the arbitrary, needless, and oppressive policy of adding to the public debt, without any new consideration, the burden of an agreement to pay it in coin as it matured, when it stood on no higher ground, certainly, than the debt to the army and navy, and to the pensioners of the war, who were paid in depreciated paper currency, there was no sectional aggression. And so, in the rapid contraction of the currency to increase the power of capital, while, with continually decreasing means of payment, the public debt is being anticipated, there was no sectional aggression. And so, in the destruction of silver money as a legal tender for the debts of the rich, while it was retained as the only coin the poor could use to pay their small debts, which are generally less than five dollars, and the only thing they could demand or get at nightfall for a day's work, with which they could buy bread for the morrow, there was no sectional aggression. These were party policies, not measures of sectional aggrandizement. The party in possession of the government when these measures were adopted is the responsible party.

Now, more than two-thirds of the country, united by a pressure which disregards party ties, demands a reversal of this policy, and less than one-third of the country is united almost solidly and sectionally to oppose the restoration of silver money to its former estate, and to demand that the iron grasp of contraction shall not be relaxed. In this "solid" section they say that a change of this hard policy will lessen their profits, or the value of their investments. In the remaining country, if more than two-thirds may be called a remnant of the whole, they say that to continue this policy is to destroy them, and to sweep the fruits of many years of toil into the hands of their creditors.

As between the sections thus divided, and upon this question of justice and policy, the South acts with the West—not so much for the reason that the people of the South are suffering under heavy burdens of indebtedness, for in this respect they are less embarrassed than any other part of the country engaged in agricultural pursuits, nor for the reason that an exclusive gold basis of currency would injure the land-owners, who are the real capitalists of the South;

since the increase of the power of money over labor would only add to their power individually, while their cotton-crops are the most certain reliance for gold returns to be found in the world. But a contracted currency, and one that migrates to the money centres every spring, and makes only a short business tour to the South every winter, at the command of bankers and speculators, is not a stable means of wealth to the great body of the people. It will not stay at home to stimulate industry there, and to increase property, or sustain the value of property. It is tempted to the East to gather interest every summer, in the work of moving crops of wheat from the West, when it should be employed at home to build up the elementary sources and springs of prosperity. In these respects silver money is to them the great desideratum. The South can live without it, but it cannot prosper in that highest form of prosperity which consists in a well-fed, well-clothed, thrifty, vigorous, and contented laboring population. This is our greatest and most pressing necessity, and we must consult it.

The increase of a specie basis of currency, which for seventy years answered all the purposes of our civilization, commends itself to the feeling of conservatism in the South, which clings to the Constitution as the true exponent and measure of every power and duty of the Government, and to established theories, as the safest reliance of statesmanship. The Southern people believe that the Constitution has united gold and silver in bonds that are indissoluble in their quality of lawful tender in the payment of all debts, public and private, and that seventy years of experience have established the wisdom of that union.

These considerations, and others even more permanent in their influence on the future of the country, draw the South and the West together with powerful cohesion. Their chief business is agriculture, and the difference in climate and productions enables each section to interchange with the other a vast amount of the fruits of their toil. Nature has not merely facilitated, but has almost compelled, this immense traffic, by the peculiarities of our physical geography. The great rivers of the West, almost without exception, empty into Southern seas, indicating a law of Nature for the control of our commercial intercourse that has been violated heretofore only to the serious injury of the South and West.

A wide door is opened between the Cumberland and the Ozark Mountains, through which rivers run to the South and rivers run toward the North, and from the East and from the West, bringing together, by rapid and cheap communication, the productions of the widest and most fruitful fields in the whole world; and uniting, through these channels, the vital powers of the country, almost as the veins and arteries pour the tide of life back and forth through the human heart. The great Southern circle of iron-ores, sweeping from Missouri through Tennessee, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and the Carolinas, to Virginia, like a girdle about the loins of the Union, studded at short intervals with great fields of coal, will, in the near future, become an additional inducement to more intimate commercial union between the South and the West. There is no competition in the wide world with this treasury of accumulated wealth; and the great valleys of the Tennessee, the Ohio, the Missouri, and the Mississippi, and the plains sloping to the South Atlantic and to the Gulf of Mexico, add this infinite treasure to their monopolies of grain, sugar, and cotton.

A community and intimate dependence of interests in the whole length and breadth and depth of these vast and varied resources of wealth and power will draw the South and West together into social, commercial, and political unity, on questions of policy, beyond the power of resistance or of future disseverance.

Compelled by such irresistible influences, it is not to be expected of the South that it will decline political affiliation with the West, especially on all subjects that affect injuriously and wrongfully their common interests. Democrats and Republicans in the Eastern States unite in support of measures which benefit that section, and do not stop to consider the wishes of their political associates in other sections. The South makes no affectation of a disinterested spirit of self-sacrifice, which would beggar her people to enrich others, where the measures presented for consideration do not involve matters of right or social security, or do not endanger the constitution of the country. But the Southern people cannot be counted upon to enter on a crusade against the rights of the people of any section of the country, that rise to the dignity of rights protected by the Constitution.

The money question, after silver is restored to the currency as a legal-tender coin, is only a question of policy, and not of constitutional right. In every respect it is a question easy of adjustment, through the admitted powers of Congress. It is a sectional question alone for the reason that the great and frugal people of the Northeastern States are rich in money and public credits, while we of the South and West are embarrassed with lands that produce the true wealth of the country, but are almost worthless as compared with money. They are concerned in the higher price of money, and we in the lower value of money and the higher value of property.

While the evils complained of are grievous and destructive, the cause is temporary; and, if relief is furnished, the question will soon vanish from public attention, and opinions will be reformed by the experiences of the next few years. The South, in uniting with the West on the money question, will not combine against the States of the East, or of the Pacific coast, in a mere effort to gain political power for the aggrandizement of one section of the country at the expense of another section.

A party organized in the interest of agriculture merely, or to advance the interests of a section of country, is no more entitled to respect or confidence than a party organized to foster railroads or manufactories. When special interests control any party, it is unfit to be trusted with the great and general interests of the country. The principles of government which are asserted and maintained by a party are the only tests of its claims to public confidence. The money question, or the sectional combination of that question with the tariff, with the navigation laws, or the partial distribution of the national banks through the country, or other causes that have provoked complaint against the Northeastern States, would not be considered by the South as affording sufficient cause for political combination with the West; but Nature has decreed this union, and no sufficient reason exists for opposing it. But there are conditions connected with the alliance. The South believes in the doctrines of government that have so long formed the basis of the Democratic organization, of which the chief canons are, the right of the States to local self-government, and their complete autonomy in all matters that they have not conceded to the Federal Government; and the security of the per-

sonal liberties of the people, provided for and protected in the organic law.

In the political tenets of the Democratic party the South has found its safety in those recent and dreadful trials which put to the most extreme and dangerous test the existence of the States and the preservation of their civilization. If that party, its leaders and its masses, had no other claim on the gratitude, confidence, and fidelity of the South, this would be enough to draw us "with hooks of steel" close up to its heart. But there is not a principle and scarcely a policy of that party developed during its long and splendid history that is not accepted by the South as the safest and wisest guide for the country in the many troubles already met and overcome; and the best reliance for the future, in all the emergencies which our Government, so peculiar, and in many things yet so untried, may experience.

The theories of our American system of government are not yet tested by experience in every particular, and we still need the guidance of fixed principles. Last summer we had a new and remarkable revelation of difficult questions in the labor-strikes which, in a few hours, involved whole communities and even States in the dangers and horrors of civil commotion. What the Federal Government could do or should do, and what the States ought to do, were questions of serious moment, and they are not ended. Any day may bring forth troubles quite as appalling as those were. A great national party, to make its power available in such emergencies, must have principles of action which its members agree upon for its guidance.

The Democratic constructions of the Constitution are those upon which the South anchors its most abiding faith. They form a system in which every power of Government is limited to its designated sphere, and every right of the citizen is protected in its full scope and significance. In being drawn to the West as a plumb-line is drawn to the great wall-rock of the precipice over which it hangs, while the opposing wall is only a little less powerful in its attractions, the South will never yield its purpose to preserve its rectitude, and to measure the rights of other sections, as it desires its own rights should be adjusted, by the unvarying tests of the Constitution. Her friends everywhere are the friends of the Constitution, and she will never desert such men to form

alliances with those who ignore the Constitution, or who spurn its injunctions and deride its authority. Even "liberty, polluted with corruption, is not acceptable to the South;" and political power gained at the sacrifice of honor, duty, and gratitude, would be repugnant to the hearts of the people.

The "solid East," on the questions of finance, is not to the people of the South a subject of heart-burning. It does not excite resentment, as the idea of a "solid South" does in other sections. Our consolidation has been wrought by furnace and hammer, as steel is compacted and tempered on the anvil. The "solid East" has only congealed through a cold indifference to the sufferings of the West and South.

Our solidity is eternal, if the enemies of self-government in the States should so long survive; while the "solid East" will thaw and melt asunder under the influence of the warm sunshine and soft breezes of a bright day of prosperity near at hand. If the South and West unite to claim a Democratic candidate from the great agricultural regions for the presidency, it will be more by the compulsion of destiny than through the yearnings of desire; but, in any event, such union will not be formed at the expense of justice to any section, or by the sacrifice of any principle of the Democratic party.

The South will never unite in a sectional party movement merely to secure sectional aggrandizement. When the powerful union of kindred interests is formed in the heart of the country, the States around the borders will be anxious to know whether it is inspired with the love of justice and a sacred regard for all constitutional rights. The South, as a member of that Union, will answer with a cordial response to the honest assurance that has so often lifted her sinking heart, that her power will never be used to injure the weakest of her sister States, nor will its utmost authority be wanting to sustain and vindicate the rights of the humblest citizen.

Events which have been beyond the control of this generation have kept the South and West asunder for many years. These have been removed by a great revolution in popular sentiment. The last ripple of its waves has died on the shore, and peace is established forever between the estranged sections. If the West had possessed no deeper interest in the South than the

great body of the people of the New England States had, it is likely that the "erring sisters" would have gone in peace, and would have remained out of the Union until the influences now operating had recalled them. But the pressure of interest which is now removing all barriers to their political reunion forbade the separation, and to go in peace was impossible.

We are bound to "dwell together in unity." We of the South will accept the affiliation without reluctance, but without any abatement of our confidence in the National Democracy, or of our zeal for the great principles of government which form the enduring basis of its organization.

And, whatever differences in respect to matters of policy may now or hereafter exist between us and the "solid East," we shall not forget that they are evanescent, while the principles of Democratic unity are abiding; neither can we forget that to the Democrats of the Eastern States we owe debts of gratitude that will ever remain as a joyful burden upon our hearts, and a bond of perpetual confidence, regard, and fraternity, between us.

JOHN T. MORGAN.

VII.

THE DOCTRINE OF ETERNAL PUNISHMENT.

I. The Rev. Noah Porter, D. D., LL. D.
II. The Rev. O. B. Frothingham.
III. The Very Rev. Thomas S. Preston, V. G.
IV. The Rev. Henry W. Bellows, D. D.
V. The Rev. William R. Williams, D. D.
VI. The Rev. Thomas J. Sawyer, D. D.
VII. Conclusion—The Rev. Noah Porter, D. D., LL. D.

I.

The Christian doctrine of eternal punishment is proposed as a theme for friendly discussion by a few gentlemen who are supposed to hold different opinions in respect to its import and its truth. The duty has been assigned to me of opening and closing this discussion, after such a method as may promise the most satisfactory issue.

There are two aspects in which this doctrine must be viewed by every thoughtful person, each of which occasions difficulties which cannot easily be set aside. These are its ethical and exegetical aspects, or its import and its truth. The ethical side has to do with its relations to the moral nature of man, and the moral administration of God; the exegetical, with a satisfactory interpretation of the teachings of the Scriptures. Neither of these aspects can be considered apart from the other. As between the two the ethical should first be discussed. It seems necessary, therefore, that in opening I should state briefly, but clearly, a few general positions which should be distinctly recognized and carefully considered before proceeding to the examination of the evidence for and against the truth of the doctrine in question.

We shall agree in this: that man is a moral being, and as such possesses all the endowments which are requisite for responsible activity. He is personal and free. He assents to the excellence of duty, and he imposes duty upon himself as the supreme law of his inner and outward activity. The inner activities, whether they are called choices, volitions, affections, or purposes, are the springs of conduct. They are more or less permanent and con-

trolling, and hence character, as the source of conduct, is itself morally good or evil; and is that alone which makes actions to be good or bad. If man is responsible for what he does, he is preëminently responsible for what he intends; i. e., for what he is. The saying of the Great Teacher is at once true and fundamental: "A good man out of the good treasure of the heart bringeth forth good things;" and similarly, "Every tree is known by its fruit."

We assume also that God is a person in a more eminent sense than man possibly can be. If the crown and glory of the finite and dependent universe is man, with his free personality, then surely the infinite and absolute, who upholds and supplements the finite, is himself a person who is intelligent and free. He has an intellect to devise, a heart to love, and a will to choose, and these several activities are coördinated into that harmony of perfect moral goodness which is called indifferently unspotted holiness and perfect love. As a being who is perfectly good he imposes on himself the law of moral perfection, and as completely complies with this self-imposed law. But he does not confine it to himself alone. As personal, he must use his personal influence with his creatures, who are like him in nature and capable of interpreting his thoughts and emulating his character. As a being who is loving and yet good, he cannot but use this personal force for the moral perfection of others. This influence, when employed, makes God a *moral ruler;* when asserted, it becomes God's moral law.

It is questioned of late whether law and government have any significance as between God and man; whether they are not outworn fictions which formerly incased a precious kernel of ethical and spiritual truth, but which has long ago outgrown and burst the shell that is now withered and ready to fall. To guard against any misconception, I repeat what has been already implied, that no law even from God can have any moral force unless it requires such perfection as man exacts from himself. Were we to suppose that God should command anything of man which either in kind or degree man does not impose upon himself, his command would have no binding force. A conflict would at once arise between the personal influence or behest of the Creator and the moral law which the creature finds written

on his own heart. In such a conflict the creature, like Antigone, is bound to obey the law of goodness, which he dares not offend, however much he may tremble before the wrath of the Sovereign who has power to kill and make alive.

But if no such conflict exists or can be supposed; if the law is such as the man approves and imposes on himself, he will also accept and obey it as the personal will of his Creator and heavenly Father. The law gains in this way a double enforcement, the moral and the personal. It is obeyed because it is right, and also because a person who is the personification of rectitude enforces it as his personal will by the grandeur and loveliness of his uncreated majesty. Man, the creature and child of God, is therefore morally bound to accept God as his personal king and to own his government. He finds in himself the impulse to loyalty and worship as truly as the law of conscience; nay, it is the law of conscience itself which enforces the impulses of personal allegiance to the living God.

These principles prepare us to understand the nature and place of reward and punishment in the personal government of God. This is the more necessary for the reason that many object to the use of reward and punishment altogether as mercenary and demoralizing. They explain the presence of these terms and conceptions in the Scriptures as necessary figures of speech, adapted to the crude and undeveloped notions of ruder times, or as proper to a lower stage of moral culture. Even those who would accept the active personal influence of the Supreme in his moral rule, are offended at the thought of being moved to holiness by the hope of reward or the fear of punishment. As against a defective conception of both, these objections hold good, but they fail altogether when confronted by a truly ethical definition of either. If by reward or punishment is intended only a good or evil which God may effect for our sentient or selfish sensibility, the motive is unworthy and the influence immoral, or, at least, it fails to be moral. But if the force of either lies in what this good or evil expresses of the personal feeling of God, then it takes rank with the influence of conscience itself, moving in the same plane, only employing an additional force for good and against evil. It should never be forgotten, however, that the moral effectiveness of reward or punishment is not in

the medium which expresses the feelings of God, whether it be a "pavement of gold" or of "burning marl," but wholly in what these symbols effectively express, viz., the favor or the displeasure of the Being whose smile and frown are the reflex of our own for ourselves, forasmuch as man is made in God's image.

It follows that it is most reasonable to believe that reward and punishment, in this high moral import, are used in the personal government of a personal God. Every analogy forces us to infer that he, in fact, employs them. Every right-hearted man will rejoice in their use, and will accept them for himself. To assert, or infer, that the only reward or punishment which is worthy of God is the good or evil which is the natural consequence of sin and holiness in the soul of man to the exclusion of any feelings of God which these may express, is to overlook the most potent of all influences of which man is susceptible from his fellow-men and from Him who, though the highest of beings, is yet the nearest to man. The position is atheistic in its affinities and its theory of the moral universe.

On the other hand, it is equally important to insist that punishment is impossible to one who is not conscious of ill-desert, and does not accept it as just. The sky which is brightened by the sunlight of self-approval can never be wholly darkened even by the supposed frown of God. It is only so long as I am displeased with myself, and know that God is displeased with me and *for cause*, that punishment is possible. Moreover, we can suffer the keenest form of punishment only so long as we retain and reassert the wicked purpose or the wicked act. So soon as we repent and renounce both, even though God should continue to feel and express his displeasure for what we had been, we should find some taste of heaven in our present renunciation of our wicked past.

It may be questioned, however, whether the sinner, left to himself, will ever seek or find repentance and self-recovery. So far as we know anything of sin, it is self-perpetuating. It may be a law of man's being which, though not of fate, is yet as uniform as fate, that every free agent, who sins against the restraints imposed by his own moral sense and the will of God, overleaps a barrier along the pathway of goodness and of life which he will never effectually desire to recross. Every purpose

which we call sinful may, in its very nature, be permanent or eternal. It certainly shows itself to be persistent, as it gathers strength by repetition in outward act. So far as experience teaches any lesson, it teaches that moral recovery must be inspired or furthered from without. All forms of religion assume as their starting-point that man needs some such intervention, which grows out of his real or fancied exposure to punishment, and his moral weakness. It is on this assumption that Christianity rests its claim to be received as supernatural and divine. It finds and declares, but it does not make man to be a sinner, and, as such, helpless and in danger. It provides and offers a remedy, which is so completely adapted to his needs that it is impossible that it should have been devised by man, and at the same time should presume to declare that it comes from God. The remedy which Christianity furnishes, it offers for man's acceptance—it presses it upon him, but it does not compel him to take it. It offers it upon conditions, and plainly tells him that he cannot fail to comply with these conditions without loss and penalty.

What this penalty and loss may be in their nature and effect are the questions presented for our discussion. As a preliminary, I have stated the several axioms or principles which the Christian Scriptures presuppose, reaffirm, or supplement. Unless these axioms are true, a revelation of mercy and blessing is either meaningless, or useless, or impossible. We do not say that the Scriptures reaffirm these truths in form, but that they imply their authority by declarations, examples, and actions, which take them for granted. These truths are the overhanging firmament of azure out of which one star after another emerges to meet man's longing gaze for light from above and beyond. Against this background they are all projected. The background itself only ceases to be discerned or noticed when the sun arises and floods the heavens with its excess of light.

If we must assume these ethical truths to assure ourselves that the Christian revelation is from God, we must also use these truths in interpreting the import and application of its declarations. Against this same background of eternal love, which is but another name for eternal justice, must we read all the sayings in the revealed word that are dark or enigmatical concerning man's future, whether by reason of the shadowy or figurative import of

words, the significance of images, or the historic surroundings under which they were uttered: all these we interpret by what we know to be true of man as moral and free, of God as his loving Father and just ruler, of the needs of man as under bondage to a wicked will and habits of evil, and of his capacities for suffering from the inherent nature of evil and the deserved and manifested displeasure of God.

Whatever representations we find of man's weakness or depravity and danger, whatever high-wrought pictures of God's anger, or its continuance, we must hold fast to the primal truths which make God dear to our affections as our pitying Father or venerable as our holy Judge. It is because we believe that God is morally perfect, that we assert that he would delight to receive honor and love from all his creatures, that he uses all the means for the triumph of goodness and the deliverance of all that he wisely can do; that he will never cast off a soul that truly loves him in any part of his dominions, or in any period of his administration; and that he cannot possibly be displeased with, or effectively punish, any being who loves him in the present, or who repents of not having loved and obeyed him in the past.

Whether he will bring the whole human race, in this life or another, to moral harmony with himself, by the redemptive discipline of this life or another; or, whether he will sooner or later terminate the existence of those who are not reclaimed; or, whether he will doom such to conscious and continued suffering, during an immortal existence—are the questions in respect to which we are invited to give our opinions, with the reasons for holding them. These reasons are to be found in the testimony of the Scriptures as interpreted by the grammatical and historical methods which are accepted by all Protestant theologians, in connection with those ethical truths which shine by their own light, and by the light of which all communications from God to man must be interpreted, if, by their manifested truth, they are to be commended to every man's conscience in the sight of God.

NOAH PORTER.

II.

President Porter's calm and candid statement reveals the extent to which the doctrine of eternal punishment has, in the course of time, become attenuated. How revolting to him, as a theologian, must be the ferocious declamations of Tertullian! How irrational the words of Aquinas, the "angelic doctor" and saint, "Beati in regno cœlesti videbunt pœnas damnatorum, ut beatitudo illis magis complaceat!" It is only about a hundred years since Jonathan Edwards dropped his bituminous rhetoric upon the tender sensibilities of the unconverted; and to-day a great theologian consults the sensibilities of mankind, and does not so much as suggest the awful doom of which Edwards and his hearers were certain.

The concessions of modern theology are fatal to the vulgar doctrine. That doctrine requires the active suffering, intense, and for an indefinite period, of all who do not accept the regenerating offices of the Holy Spirit, through Christ. The condemnation is the inevitable result of depravity. Utter depravity involves utter destruction. Annihilation would logically meet the conditions of the case; but annihilation carries no terrors to careless minds. To multitudes it would be welcomed as a boon. The doctrine of annihilation, therefore, was never popular in the Church. The curse pronounced on Cain, that he should *not* die, that no man should kill him, that he should live to suffer, was pronounced against recusant humanity. The dogma of hell became the accepted belief. To admit that "punishment is impossible to one who is not conscious of ill-desert, and does not accept it as just;" that punishment is possible only so long as one is displeased with himself, and knows that God is displeased with him and *for cause;* that "we can suffer the keenest form of punishment only so long as we retain and reassert the wicked purpose or the wicked act"—is to introduce purely rational conceptions which destroy the very soul of the theological scheme, assuming, as that does, the *un*moral, if not the *im*moral, nature of man. To start from such premises is to make rapidly toward Unitarianism and enter on the high-road out of Christianity. The *irrationality* of the doctrine of endless punishment is its strong-

hold in the ordinary "Evangelical" mind; so that the introduction of moral ideas overthrows or, rather, undermines it.

The doctrine in question can be argued only on *theological* grounds. That is to say, the reasoning must be by a species of algebraic sign, certain unknown, abstract quantities being assumed as points of departure; the contention being wholly in the air. The theologian posits God as a personal being, intelligent and free; with an intellect to devise, a heart to love, and a will to choose; a being of perfect moral goodness, unspotted holiness, and perfect love. He posits man as a moral being, personal and free, possessing all the endowments which are requisite for responsible activity; a being who assents to the excellence of duty, and imposes duty on himself as the supreme law of his inner and outward activity. The theologian next assumes the existence of a moral relation between these beings, and proceeds to reason on the basis of such relation. To one who hesitates to admit either one of the three cardinal propositions above stated, the reasoning is inconclusive and even impertinent; and none but theologians do admit them. The doctrine of the future damnation of the unconverted and unregenerate belongs to the ecclesiastical system of Christendom. Its practical application has been in the hands of priests; its speculative justification has been in the charge of theologians, whose sphere of thought is limited by the exactions of dogma. The practical application of the doctrine becomes impossible the moment the ethics of the clergy give place to the ethics of social life; the speculative justification of it becomes impossible the moment the abstractions of the scholastic give place to the facts of the observer. The human conscience abolishes the practice; the human intelligence abolishes the theory. Another set of "axioms" is laid down, and the process of demonstration moves in an opposite direction; not toward Universalism, which adopts the theological method diluted by sentimental considerations; not toward atheism, which in these latter days describes the anti-theological method, with a dogmatic prejudice against positive beliefs; but toward rationalism, which endeavors to understand what the moral order of the world actually is.

The scientific mind (using the term "scientific" in its large, genuine sense, as describing love of *knowledge* as distinguished from love of *theory*, and by "knowledge" understanding *all* knowl-

edge, not the knowledge of material things alone)—the scientific mind entertains no conception of future punishment whatever. To its apprehension, "Satan" is an empty figure of speech; "hell" a rhetorical flourish; "retribution," "satisfaction," "punishment," picture-language, which, perhaps, contains no meaning—which, at all events, must be subjected to honest examination before being allowed to pass for anything of value. The mythology of Christianity must take its chance with every other mythology, and give an account of itself to the rational thinker, whose respect for truth resents the imposition upon him of fictions, however dignified or venerable they may be, and who consigns to the limbo of "spoiled phraseology" all dogmas and terms that have not solid substances beneath them. Matthew Arnold goes so far as to put the words "God" and "immortality" in this dilemma; it is certainly not going very far to put "hell" and "damnation" there.

An orthodox preacher of New York was lately understood to say that, apart from the Scriptures, the Christian doctrine of future punishment was indefensible; which is an abandonment of the theological and ethical ground for the exegetical. What clear mind can fail to see that this is virtually an abandonment of the doctrine? For the authority of Scripture, by the admission of President Porter, stands "in connection with those ethical truths which shine by their own light, and by the light of which all communications from God to man must be interpreted."

The Bible is simply a book, or a collection of books—a literary phenomenon, to be read critically, judiciously, intelligently, as other writings are read. Its texts are not facts of Nature, but statements of opinion, collocations of ordinary words. The value of them as statements cannot be taken in advance of investigation, but must be discovered by the application of rational principles. A sentence like this, "Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels," derives no authority from its position in a New Testament writing, or from its being put into the mouth of Jesus. It is like a bowlder on the surface of a meadow, which the geologist explains by tracing its history and origin to some remote formation of rock. If the text just quoted, or any text of like tenor, can be traced to Babylon, and ultimately to the Persian dualism which was im-

ported into Palestine by the returning captives, then it deserves as much consideration as the Persian theory of dualism deserves —as much, and no more. It is of the same stuff with the original formation, from which it is a fragment. The believers in dualism will treat it with respect, not on account of its incidental location, but on account of its organic texture. The disbeliever in dualism may regard it as a curiosity, but will not permit pious prejudices to convert the mass of porphyry into an idol. Whatever, in Scripture, conforms to reason, will be received as true so long as the conformity lasts; whatever, in Scripture, falls out with reason, will be discarded as erroneous so long as the discrepancy exists. To assume the authority of Scripture, and then torture its statements till they gasp out an agonized acquiescence in the inquisitor's creed, is a practice which the uniform custom of universal Christendom cannot make respectable. Thus, neither in its ethical nor its exegetical aspects is the dogma of eternal punishment tenable.

O. B. FROTHINGHAM.

III.

THE Catholic Church teaches that there is a hell, and that therein reprobate angels and lost men are eternally punished. The Church has made no positive definition as to the locality of hell, nor as to the exact nature, quality, and intensity, of the pains inflicted by the justice of God. Two things are certainly to be believed by every Catholic: first, that there is a hell, and, secondly, that the spirits and souls condemned are in eternal suffering. Such has been the constant teaching of the Church from the beginning.

Symbolic declarations are found in the Athanasian Creed, which every one must believe in order to salvation. "They that have done good works shall go into eternal life, but they that have done evil into everlasting fire." The doctrine of Origen and others, who held that "the punishments of the demons and the wicked were temporary," was condemned by the Fifth General Council, A. D. 553.

The Fourth Lateran Council declares: "All shall rise with their bodies, that they may receive according to their works.

Those who have done evil shall with the devil receive eternal pain, and those who have done good shall with Christ obtain perpetual glory."

Benedict XII., in his "Constitutions," defines "that, according to the ordinance of God, the souls of those who depart in deadly sin descend immediately after death into hell, where they are tormented with infernal pains."

The tradition of the Church and the constant expression of her faith have been conveyed in the very language of the sacred Scriptures. We allude to certain texts which have ever been interpreted by her according to their plain and literal meaning. It is a significant fact that our blessed Lord himself has seen fit to speak of the terrible punishments of the lost in terms which can hardly be misunderstood. He who is mercy incarnate has used the strongest language upon this fearful subject: "Depart from me, ye cursed, into *everlasting fire*, which was prepared for the devil and his angels." In these words the eternal joy of the just is placed in parallel with the unending sorrow of the lost. As the one is eternal, so of necessity is the other. "These shall go into everlasting punishment, but the just into life everlasting" (St. Matthew xxv. 41, 46). Nothing can be plainer than the words of this exhortation of our Lord: "It is better for thee to enter into life maimed, than having two hands to go into hell, into *unquenchable* fire; where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not extinguished. For every one shall be salted with fire" (St. Mark ix. 42–47).

The Church also teaches that there are deadly sins, for which there can be no forgiveness after this life; and, if there be no place for pardon, then the punishment for such sins must be without end. "He that shall speak against the Holy Ghost it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this world nor in the world to come" (St. Matthew xii. 32). "He that baptizeth with the Holy Ghost shall bear his fan in his hand; he shall gather his wheat into the barn, but the chaff he will burn with unquenchable fire" (St. Matthew iii. 12).

The voice of the Christian fathers is unanimous in the expression of this teaching of Jesus Christ. It is to be found in their strong condemnation of the error of Origen and others, who taught that at some future time the pains of the devils and the

wicked might have an end. Such an error was condemned as heretical by the universal Church.

According to the Catholic doctrine, the pain of hell is twofold. There is a pain of loss and a pain of sense, answering to the twofold evil of sin. As in sin there is the aversion of the soul from God and the turning to creatures, so in the final punishment of the wicked the will of the reprobate is carried to its fearful end. God is withdrawn, and all that is left of created things becomes the source of torment.

The pain of loss consists in the privation of eternal beatitude, of the beatific vision and all the consequent bliss which God has prepared for his elect. This deprivation is eternal and final, and is a torture which only the lost can comprehend. The pain of sense proceeds from the direct inflictions of the Divine justice which bear upon the souls and bodies of the damned. There is the prison of hell from which there is no escape. There is the undying worm of remorse. There is the society of the impious and the demons. And there is, as the principal torment, the eternal fire to which power is given to act upon spirit and matter, and to burn and not consume. Although there is no solemn definition of the Church determining the fire of hell to be real and material, nevertheless such is the common opinion, from which no Catholic can safely depart. Thus Suarez says: "The certain and catholic opinion is that the fire of hell, which is prepared for the devil and his angels, is a true and proper corporeal fire." And Estius uses these words: "It is sufficiently evident that the doctrine which teaches that the fire is corporeal by which the demons and the damned, either before the judgment without their bodies, or afterward with them, are punished, is so common and universal in the Church that it cannot be denied without temerity." "That the fire of hell," says Petavius, "is corporeal and material, all theologians, yea all Christians, believe, though this be not as yet defined by any decree of the Church."

This belief is in accordance with the words of our Lord, who certainly did not use the word *fire* in a figurative sense, nor employ language likely to deceive.

In the flames of hell all shall be punished according to their deserts, and, as far as the *essential* pain of the reprobate is con-

cerned, there can be no mitigation nor cessation. "The smoke of their torments shall ascend up forever and ever."

Catholic theologians find this doctrine to be in full accord with right reason, though the revelation of God can never be opposed by any true logical argument.

There ought to be some proportion between the fault and its punishment. Sin has an infinite malice, and an eternal punishment alone is adequate to it.

Again, the reprobate who dies in deadly transgression sins for eternity, and as far as he can turns from God forever. He ought, therefore, to be punished forever. Thus St. Gregory says, "It belongs to the great justice of the Judge, that they should never be without punishment, who in this life were never willing to be without sin."

And, lastly, it is necessary that God should establish a sufficient sanction for the observation of his laws. Eternal pain is the only sanction which either justifies his own attributes or operates as a warning to the wayward wills of men.

THOMAS S. PRESTON.

IV.

PRESIDENT PORTER, in his admirable and irenic opening of this discussion, makes it very difficult, for one who follows him upon the so-called "liberal" side, to take up an antagonistic or even a different position. I must frankly and gratefully confess that I could not ask a better summary of my own views than is presented in the last paragraph but one of his paper. If orthodoxy accepts the general positions laid down in Dr. Porter's statement of the case, and admits the conclusions he draws from them, there can no longer be any serious dispute, among spiritual and Christian men of any school of theology, upon the subject of eternal punishment. Wishing to promote agreement, and to advance and encourage the benignant influence of such views as Dr. Porter represents and advocates, I could almost wish that those who have hitherto represented the milder or more liberal view of the Divine government in its penal aspects would content themselves with indorsing and enforcing Dr. Porter's statement, and avoid

prejudicing its general acceptance, by adding to it doubtful speculations or pushing it to needless extremes.

If I may be permitted to speak for Unitarians (and I would do so with a full sense of having no right to express any but my own opinions as a life-long minister of that branch of the Christian Church), I say that we believe in eternal punishment, in the only sense in which President Porter seems to believe in it, i. e., in punishment limited by no definite boundary in *time* or eternity, beyond which it cannot extend; in punishment that will last as long as sin lasts, and will be eternal if sin is eternal; and that we believe, as he seems to believe, that the mere event of death and a change in our spirit's vesture will not alter our moral and spiritual conditions, or change the personal dispositions of a holy moral Sovereign and kind Father toward his subjects and children. In our opinion, God is love; but infinite love is love equally compounded of justice and mercy, holiness and benevolence, if rather they do not each imply the other in their perfect form. Honoring moral, intellectual, and spiritual freedom, as we specially have done, we ought to be the last to expect, *at any stage of human existence*, any interference with them by the Divine Omnipotence, in order to force an unmoral happiness upon any of his spiritual offspring. We confess that our philosophy of man's perfect moral freedom casts very solemn and threatening shadows upon the future of willful and impenitent transgressors. We do not see how men can be made holy against their wills, or be less than miserable, so long as they will not be holy; and our observation and experience of human willfulness in this world does not encourage us to hope that it may not continue for indefinite and practically dateless periods in new states of being. Fools alone make a mock at sin.

What we have hitherto objected to in the creed of orthodoxy, on the subject of eternal punishment, was the alleged finality of human fate, as determined by the state of the soul at the moment of death. It is needless to state what has been the general view of the Church, or what continues to be the popular view. This life has been considered to be mainly a state of probation, and the only state. Unitarians reject both ideas. With them life is not, here or anywhere, mainly a state of probation, but a state of education and discipline; and, still more, a state of *being for its*

own sake. We can conceive no state of human existence, that is, of finite spiritual existence, which shall be different in these respects from the present. We have entered on immortal life already, in sharing the nature of our Creator, and are already under the operation and sway of the eternal laws that govern spirits in all conceivable worlds. There is much to awe and oppress us in the operation of eternal moral and spiritual laws, as we observe their working here; much in the government of the Divine Being, in spite of its general benignity, that is stern and uncompromising, judged by his providence over human souls in their earthly lot; and surely we cannot, with our reverence for the freedom of the will and the free play of spiritual laws, be among those who think moral evil, with its suffering and its penalties, will be forcibly terminated by a fiat of Divine benevolence at any future date.

We object to the old orthodox view of the finality of human probation at death, as lacking probability, as disregarding our present experience of God's government and the constitution of man's spirit. Moreover, while it seems awfully threatening to those who are inclined to evil and are likely to be lost, it seems relaxing of moral and spiritual obligations toward those who expect to be saved. It is a doctrine too cruel for the worst, too flattering for the best!

President Porter has stated the relations of the moral to the exegetical side of the question with great fairness. The moral, dating from our nature, has precedence and superior jurisdiction, if any seeming or real conflict arises between conscience and Scripture. We accept this as exactly our own view. If we are to continue to claim the name of Christians we must continue to believe that the testimony of the records of our faith is not contradictory of the evidence of the moral reason. If it were proved such, we should be compelled to abandon Christianity, so far as it claims to be founded on the New Testament. We believe the general testimony of the New Testament to be in full accord with the testimony of man's moral nature, in regard to the issues of the Divine government. It is not to be denied that pictorial phrases, parables, and special texts, are to be found there, which, taken by themselves, seem to favor not only the doctrine of endless punishment in the popular sense, but, just as plainly, the ex-

istence of a material hell, and a personal devil. But as the literal force of these statments obliges us to accept the conclusion that this earth is the *seat* of the final judgment, and that Christ is coming in person, to judge the nations, we must leave it to those who are willing to accept the responsibility of maintaining these now generally discarded notions, to complain of *our* departure from the letter, in putting only a spiritual meaning upon any portion of these pictorial passages.

Again, we are not among those who wish to eliminate a personal God, in the exercise of a holy will, from the question of eternal punishment. If the free, conscious personality of God is to be used in support of the doctrine of *punishment*, considered as distinct from the natural retributive consequences of moral evil or sin, it is still more important to be insisted on as the ground of hope or even confidence that God's personal freedom, as it projected humanity into existence, did not launch it upon a voyage of wreck and ruin for the majority, or for even the least minority, of its representatives. Is it consistent with our notions of justice and goodness, that Omniscience should voluntarily bring into an existence, which he foresaw would be infinitely miserable, a single spiritual being, made in his image and called his child? It is because I believe in a personal God, who is responsible to his creatures for exercising his power justly and benignantly, even more than they are responsible to him for their sins, that I trust and believe that he will ultimately redeem the whole race and their future, in a manner that will not violate human freedom, or injure any moral law, or reproach Divine holiness—perhaps, by the experience of suffering; perhaps, by the influence of redeemed souls; perhaps, by the release of spirits from physical bonds and the corresponding increase of their susceptibility to moral influences; perhaps, by an improved social, moral atmosphere, and more favorable conditions, which enter into our conceptions of a future life: and not only the earth and its future inhabitants from the dominion of selfishness and sin, but all the worlds and all the souls in them, from the moral and spiritual ruin which it seems to me a God who wishes to be known as a Father, and who has been represented by such a Son as Jesus, must have for his ultimate purpose, and needs for his justification as a Creator.

The immediate salvation, at death, of all souls, by a Divine

fiat, irrespective of moral and spiritual state or character, seems to me equally unscriptural, immoral, and improbable. I cannot say that anybody now holds this view whose opinion is entitled to respect. The absolute and final condemnation of any to hopeless and everlasting misery, at the close of mortal life, from either never having heard or from not having accepted the alleged conditions of mercy offered by Jesus Christ, I think is not the faith of instructed theologians, acquainted with psychological and ethical truths—which shine by their own light—in any branch of the Church. The notion is now confined either to the last survivors of an effete or dying theological system, that was not exercised with ethical distinctions, however it may have been with dialectical subtilties; or else to the popular mind, still in the bondage of the letter, and treated by its friends and ministers, often with entire sincerity, with the melodramatic dogmas that are ecclesiastically effective without being spiritually efficacious. Hell and heaven, in their old objective forms, equally coarse in their appeal to selfish hope and fear, are not going to give up their hold on the popular mind, at any challenge of reason or a higher spirituality. But they will slowly die of the steady increase of moral and spiritual light, as phantoms fly before the rising sun that would resist all arguments in the dark. It would, for reasons of present policy, be a misfortune to have even the crude and coarse dogmas of Christendom pass away under any influences less than those which leave more truly impressive, restrictive, and inspiring notions of the Divine government, and of human fortunes, in their place.

I sum up my opinions on the subject by adopting the language of President Porter, near the close of his opening:

"Whatever representations we find of man's weakness or depravity, or danger, whatever high-wrought pictures of God's anger, or its continuance, we must hold fast to the primal truths which make God dear to our affections as our pitying Father, or venerable as our holy Judge. It is because we believe that God is morally perfect, that we assert that he would delight to receive honor and love from all his creatures, that he uses all the means for the triumph of goodness and the deliverance of all, that he wisely can do; that he will never cast off a soul that truly loves him, in any part of his dominions, or in any period of his admin-

istration; and that he cannot possibly be displeased with, or effectively punish, any being who loves him in the present, or who repents of not having loved and obeyed him in the past."

If this statement be accepted as the general summing up of learned and candid as well as profoundly Christian men, in the modern orthodox party, it will advance the question far above the cavils and protests of liberals, who mean to be Christians, and soon take the debate out of all circles, where it can be followed by sober or enlightened argument.

HENRY W. BELLOWS.

V.

GOD'S revelation indicates great remedial processes to restore, enlighten, and guide the conscience. As Thomas Carlyle has somewhere said, "The old world knew nothing of conversion." The gospel of Christ brought in this, as the foundation of true hope and of life everlasting. Except men were converted, Christ pronounced their admission into his heavenly kingdon impossible. Reason in man, and providence around his daily steps, enlighten and develop the conscience. But the Scripture of God is the great standard of right and duty; to cherish, enlarge, and inform that conscience. The Spirit of God is proffered, in its plenitude of energies, to unfold and enforce those Scriptures. The manifest God, in Christ, is, in the highest, justest sense, the Word; the central theme of Scripture, and the embodiment and terrene manifestation of the Godhead. His atoning sacrifice is the availing oblation to cancel sin, and the basis of a free, sovereign, world-winning, and world-quelling grace.

The channel, through which this grace is accepted and becomes the basis and food of a new life, is faith. Just as the life of industry and traffic in the commercial world is credit, the faith of mortals in their neighbors—just as the animating principle of true patriotism, that makes a people great, is their trust in their fathers, and in their own present liberties, and in the high destinies of their children—so the grand bond, the sacred ligature, that binds the prodigal back again to the forfeited heritage, and to the wronged, deserted Father, is faith in the redeeming Brother, in the virtue of his availing sacrifice as the atoning Lamb that

taketh away the sin of the world, and in the certainty of his coming again as the inevitable judge of quick and dead. Faith is, thus regarded, the great moral gravitation that holds the spiritual world together, and binds it to the throne and heart of God. Unseen, as is gravitation in the material world, and yet, in its invisibility, mighty, pervasive, and indispensable; so faith, true trust in the true and trustworthy Jehovah, makes all real history, and all just science, and all genuine duty, and all real felicity, but a moral gravitation of the finite toward the Infinite, a loyal and loving reliance of man upon the Author, Upholder, and Arbiter of all being—in the Bible, his revelation—in the Christ, his embodiment—in the redemption he most graciously proffers—and in the judgment he most solemnly predicts.

Now, this Christ assured his hearers that, though heaven and earth might pass away, not one jot or tittle of the divine word should pass into oblivion and failure. Of the minute comprehensiveness of the last judgment, he bore testimony, when he said, that for "every idle word" should men give account in that day. And, under circumstances which by their contrast gave to the claim an awful impressiveness, he, when arraigned before the earthly judges who condemned him to death, warned them and each hearer in the throng, and each reader of the record in after-times, that they and we should all "see the Son of Man sitting on the right hand of power, and coming in the clouds of heaven with great power and glory." With that insight into the heart which was proof of his divinity, Christ predicted the treason and fate of Judas, and called him "the son of perdition." It was the title afterward given by Paul in the Epistle to the Thessalonians to that Man of Sin who is to be destroyed with the brightness of Christ's coming. If some would interpret it as meaning in the case of Judas but "the lost son," must they not impart the same hope from the Holy One to the malign potentate "the Man of Sin" also? Christ said, too, of the false apostle that it were for him better had he never been born. If, after misery, however protracted, there should come to him a final restoration, could it be said of Judas, in this endless life supplementing long woe, that it was not a boon to have been born? And if Christ used words thus elastic and delusive, yet actually foreseeing and purposing the final bestowal of paradise upon his

betrayer, how could the Judge himself be absolved from the accusation of having employed nugatory and "vain words," though for every such word he had said men must expect to meet a reckoning? In one of the great penitential Psalms it is said of God that he will be justified when he *judgeth* (Psalm li. 4). The Epistle to the Romans (iii. 4) presents the same dread scene and sovereign under another but kindred aspect: that he shall overcome when *he is judged.* The Divine Ruler, gathering men and angels to the bar of his judgment, every culprit cited and left free to his defense, and every witness from the heights and the depths summoned, is himself to be judged; as the fullness of his knowledge and the equity of his dealings come into review and are made patent, alike to all who adore and to all who would fain impeach him. There have been earthly governors who would have been held universally to be competent, had not their actual tenure of office revealed their unsuspected weakness and defects.

Now, in his earthly ministry, our Lord used one word to describe the term of glory for the righteous, and the duration of woe for the ungodly. He represented the future abode of the holy with holy angels, and of the wicked with the revolted and fallen angels. If evil men are but, after the judgment, probationers for a final release, it seems a necessary inference that the fallen angels, their tempters and accomplices in wrong-doing, and their fellows in imprisonment, should also become partakers in their discharge from Tophet and their ultimate ascent to Paradise. Satan, of whom Christ saw only the fall, as hurled from heaven, must clamber and soar, at the last, back to the glory from which he had plunged, and an ascension, of which the Bible has no hint, must await the first revolter. But, in the case of fiends, where is the Divine incarnation and redemption in their behoof provided for; and inveterate and malignant as has been their impenitence, by what scheme of renovation and rescue is their pardon to be bought? Are a new Calvary and a new Pentecost in reserve for these coheritors of the doom to become coheritors of the blessedness reserved for the human "sons of perdition?" But the New Testament explicitly excepts this portion of apostate spirits from the benefits of Christ's assumption of a lower nature. "He took not on him the nature of angels."

Reference is had to the infinite benignity and compassion of our Lord for his murderers. But as he wept in beholding the city whence was to come the cry for his crucifixion, he deplored that his willingness to gather them into shelter had been limited by their unwillingness to be thus gathered and sheltered. They preferred the house to the Messiah, "the glory of that house"—the lifeless type to the life-giving antitype—and now that house was left to them "*desolate.*" When risen from the grave, he declared that "all power in heaven and earth was now given to his hands." The terrible scenes of the overthrow and desolation of that fane and city and land, as Titus wrought them and as Josephus paints them, were, then, if the "true and faithful witness" spoke truly and trustworthily, a just vengeance, permitted and overruled in his administration of that "*power*" which grasped "*heaven and earth*" into the nail-pierced hand of the Crucified. The tears did not avert the wasting and the blasting by that Avenger, when pitilessly repelled as the Healer.

The word "damnation" has been so associated with profane misuse, that to some it seems harsh. Like its kindred term "condemnation," it is but the final utterance, as against guilt, of that "judgment" which is entwined with the whole structure of Divine revelation. In the banishment from Eden, in the scenes of the deluge, in the trials and deliverances of the patriarch of Uz, in the plagues visiting Egypt, Babylon, Nineveh, and Tyre, in the captivity and the return of the Jews, God's supervision and judicial character are kept prominent. Abraham, the father of the faithful, interceding for the plain, appeals to the God he served as "the judge of all the earth." Calamities, personal and national, are but his interlocutory judgments. In the sense of his appointment of the hour and scene of death to each one of us, he is spoken of as "the Judge at the door."

But the minor, preliminary exhibitions of the Divine justice do not exhaust, they merely foretoken the fuller revelation of that sovereign equity upon a race risen in their entirety. And one of the apostolical epistles, found upon the later pages of the New Testament, cites prophecies, going as far back as the days of Enoch, a patriarch who preceded the deluge. As to the scope and scrutiny of the last judgment, Enoch describes it as taking in all ungodly deeds, and all the hard speeches of all

sinners. The words group the entire annals of humanity, as indexed in the revelations of the doomsday. The keys of hell and death are grasped by this potentate. When it is said of him that "he openeth and no man shutteth," the Church may exult in the way thus opened to the Father's house and heart. But, when it is followed by the words, "He shutteth and no man openeth," we may well bethink us of his own parables of the master of the house risen, and shutting-to the door against applicants who knock vainly, for they come too late, and of the great gulf or chasm that parted Dives and Abraham, and which was not to be traversed; the season of probation past irrevocably, and the season of retribution inaugurated unalterably.

When, too, our Lord speaks of sin against the Holy Ghost, never to be forgiven, the assertion sweeps away much speculation as to openings of mercy and hope, beyond the last judgment. When he warns his disciples to fear not the earthly persecutors, who can only kill the body, and then, their powers exhausted, they can do nothing further, he appends the terrible words, but "fear him who is able to destroy both soul and body in hell" (Matthew x. 28). Now, the word here used is the very term "Gehenna," which, because coined by the Jews from the valley of the son of Hinnom, the place for flinging out the litter of Jerusalem, it is contended can mean only a local and material destruction, where crawling vermin and smouldering fires offended every sense, as they consumed the offscourings of a great city. But it is a patent fact in the history of every tongue having a rich literature, that words, referring to tangible and local objects, in their first use, become, by their after-application, informed and surcharged with spiritual and comprehensive ideas, that far surpass the original root. The etymology of a word is but a treacherous guide as to its present sense and scope. The Parliament of Britain is the body in which their valued national constitution has garnered vast powers. It can make and shatter cabinets, acknowledge or overthrow a royal dynasty, equip armies, levies taxes, launches fleets, and dictates laws and policy for a wide and varied population, colonizing isles and shores all around the globe. Should one insist, however, on fixing Parliament's prerogatives, by tracing it to its etymology, it is found, in the Norman-French of the island's old lawyers, to mean merely a scene of speaking;

and, like the word *palaver*, which Portuguese discoverers lent to the dusky natives of Western Africa, its sole, legitimate sense is, long and large discussion. If a reformer arise claiming that, for himself and his fellow-Britons, the powers of Parliament should be cut down to bootless, limitless, and unpractical talk —as the etymology demands—would he be patiently heard? When our blessed Lord spoke of "*souls*" cast into Gehenna by the Divine vengeance, and one thinks of the elder Herod slaughtering the babes of Bethlehem, and then going to the audit beyond with this blood and his other crimes upon him, are we to construe the Saviour as declaring that the old Edomite's soul, ruthless and guilt-sodden, was in some strange way to be put with his body, the kingly corpse and the immaterial soul, down amid the rotting, flaring piles in the valley of Hinnom—a cheap and light punishment for guilt so dire?

It was the last evidence our Lord adduced to the disciples of John, in proof of his own Messianic character, that "the poor had the gospel preached to them." And the hold which Christ's word takes upon these remains still one grand argument for the divinity of its origin; and so, too, the interpretation put upon the Bible by the plainer and less erudite membership of Churches affords often significant illustration as to the erroneousness or validity of certain opinions. Men and women, winning hardly a scant livelihood, with little leisure for wide reading, are yet often devout students of the Bible. Lord Bacon, in commenting upon the exposition of Scripture, prefers the sense which easily presents itself—like the wine crushed from the lighter touch of the wine-press—superior, as he thinks, to the later runnings, into which the flavor of grape-seeds and grape-skins penetrated. Now, such natural interpretations of Scripture are likely to be found in this class of unprejudiced students. From the earliest ages of the Church they have been loath to welcome the suggestions from time to time made, often by men of piety and genius, that hell was, perchance, transitory and paradise only permanent.

When the late John Stuart Mill declared of a God failing to meet certain of his requirements, that he, Mill, would challenge that God to send him, the recusant, to hell, the Christian readers of the defiance might well, with an old apostle, ask, "Nay but,

O man, who art thou that repliest against God?" God has not immediately smitten down those who thus "talked back" against the Infinitely True, the Infinitely Wise, and the Infinitely Good. The verdict of the ages has been more and more with the Holy One. His muteness against railing was not weakness or apathy, but a long-suffering mercy that delayed to strike, because it knew the full terrors of the retribution that must ultimately smite the abuse of a long-protracted and loving probation.

WILLIAM R. WILLIAMS.

VI.

UNDER the gospel, there is no dispute about the destiny of the righteous, that is, the truly penitent and believing; but the question that is more and more agitating the religious world relates exclusively to the wicked, that large, heterogeneous class of ignorant, vicious, ungodly people, in their innumerable grades of depravity—heathen, Mohammedan, nominally Christian, infidel, or atheist—who live in rebellion against God, or in alienation from him, and die as they have lived. What is to become of them?

I hardly need say how this question is answered. A few have accorded to them the "sad cure" of annihilation; a larger number has confidently remanded them to the mercy of God; while the great mass of the Church has delivered them over—some in sorrow of heart, some with cold indifference, and others with apparent satisfaction—to the endless torments of hell! But in the progress of our Christian civilization, through better thinking and broader sympathies, this last opinion has, within the past century, undergone great modifications. The doctrine of infant damnation has utterly disappeared from Protestant Christendom, though we recognize its traces in some existing creeds. The relative numbers of the lost and saved have been reversed, and, instead of the great majority of our race being damned, the severest school of orthodoxy now assures us that the number of the finally lost will be "very inconsiderable." Even hell and its horrors have not escaped this modifying process. An abyss of literal fire and brimstone, in which the wicked are burned, soul and body, without intermission and without end, is now seldom preached, and intelligent and candid men agree that "whatever high-wrought

pictures we find of God's anger, or its continuance, we must hold fast to the primal truths which make God dear to our affections as our pitying Father, or venerable as our holy Judge." So the old grounds of reason, on which the doctrine of endless punishment was formerly made to rest, have all been laid aside, and new, though not better ones, invented. Gradually, too, the proof-texts of the doctrine, with which the Bible was once thought to be studded, have become fewer and fewer, and generally with an ever-lessening force, till now learned men fail entirely to find it in the Old Testament, and many orthodox clergymen of scholarship and talents begin to doubt whether "everlasting punishment," in the New, is absolutely without end!

All this shows beyond question what are the tendencies of modern religious thought; and no one can fail to observe that the whole movement is in one direction. In nothing but its eternity is the doctrine of endless punishment to-day what it was a century ago, and even this is no longer held with the same undoubting confidence. The heart and the head of all the better portions of the Christian world accept it only under an avowed or tacit protest. Such is the result of a hundred years of controversy upon this subject!

This discussion, in the oldest and most influential periodical of its class in the country, will bring before the public two quite different schools of theology. Strangely enough, they both start professedly from common principles. Both believe in the one living and true God; both acknowledge the divine mission and infallible teachings of Christ; both accept the Holy Scriptures as containing a revelation of the Divine will and the character of the Divine government; and yet, in their interpretation of these fundamental facts and the issues of this government, they come to conclusions widely different, and, in some respects, antagonistic. I shall call one of these schools the Universalist, and the other, by courtesy, the Orthodox. The point of difference and antagonism between them, now under discussion, is simply the *eternity of sin*. The Universalist theology, which it is the design of this paper to exhibit and recommend, recognizes sin as a very evil and bitter thing, terrible in its character and consequences—the only evil, we may almost say, that we know. It is an evil, however, incidental to the development of free moral powers, and rela-

tively transient in its nature, and is ultimately to be overcome and wholly eliminated from the universe of God, by those retributive and redemptive processes, revealed in Scripture and manifested in providence, which the Infinite Wisdom and Love hold in their hand, and know so well how to employ, and which they will employ in a way perfectly suited to man as a free moral being, without destroying his personality or violating his freedom.

The Orthodox theology, on the contrary, holds, if I understand it, that sin is, in its very nature, or is to become, by some divine appointment, absolutely endless, and in a portion of God's moral creation, and perhaps with ever-increasing malignity and force, is to exist and reign through all eternity, followed by a train of woes and horrors which the human mind labors in vain to conceive.

The Universalist theology has the advantage, it will be seen, of ending in a general harmony, while the Orthodox ends in an eternal discord; the former in unity, the latter in actual dualism; two empires, as Augustine taught, standing side by side; one, that of Christ, the other, that of Satan, both equally indestructible and equally enduring! To be self-consistent, this system should begin with dualism, as it ends. Then moral evil would have an eternal ground, and be self-existent, as goodness is, and be enthroned in Satan, as goodness is in God. But such a theory of the moral universe, common as it was in the ancient world, breaks down, under the light of reason, from the very necessities of the case, and is refuted and overthrown completely by revelation. There is, there can be, but one God, and he is good. Sin is not "from everlasting," as God is. It had a beginning, and may therefore have an end—nay, must have an end—unless we are willing to adopt the absurdity that unspotted holiness and perfect love can will its infinite perpetuation!

Sin, so far as we know, is purely our own work. God could never ordain it, and never establish any laws to promote it, without denying himself. When he made man in his own image, he made him a personal being, and in that, rational and moral. But, to be moral, man must be free; and in a finite being freedom is inconceivable only as it involves the *possibility* of sin. Side by side with these transcendent gifts stands forever this unavoidable peril. For this possibility let God, if you please, be held accountable: that sin has become actual is solely our fault. Here

is at once our dignity and danger. But, in contemplating the danger, let us not forget that it is the sole condition of virtue, and all the moral goodness and greatness, the love, the self-sacrifice, that have thrown their glory over our race, and all the happiness, past, present, or future, that deserves the name. In making such creatures as we are, with all our liability to sin, God was wanting in neither wisdom nor goodness. Hypothetically, it is true, a being morally free *may* continue to sin on and on forever; and it is the constant effort of our modern orthodoxy, as it is its urgent necessity, to show that it will actually do so. Rev. Mr. Cook delighted a Boston audience of this school with a series of propositions claiming to prove that, under irreversible natural law, there may exist in the universe *eternal sin;* and even President Porter suggests that it may be a law of our being that, when once we sin, we overleap a barrier along the path of goodness and life, which we shall never effectually desire to recross, and that every underlying purpose which we call sinful may, in its very nature, be permanent and eternal. Has God, then, so carefully provided in the laws of our nature for the eternity of sin, and thus for our final damnation? Let us hope, for the honor of his name, that the moral economy of the universe has not been ordained by Infinite Wisdom and Holiness, chiefly in the interest of evil, to multiply and perpetuate it, and finally to crown it with immortality. If, as we are assured by reason and revelation, God sees the end from the beginning, and if, as Dr. Dwight said, and as the Bible said long before him, "the whole moral character of God is love, an intense and eternal flame of uncompounded good-will," is it to be believed that he ever has created, or ever can create, a single human soul, whose existence shall prove, even through its own fault, an endless and infinite curse? Nor does it avail to say that the sinner, "if left to himself," would never return to truth and goodness. The very supposition is inadmissible. God never intended to leave the sinner to himself, and could not do so without renouncing the moral responsibilities he willingly assumed in his creation. If he foresaw that he could not govern and would not save the sinning soul, that was reason enough that he should not create it. Men habitually speak of God's *permitting* sin. He respects the powers which he himself has conferred, but he permits no sin with approval, concession, or indifference. He protests

against it; he arms against it the sinner's own conscience, and menaces it with righteous punishment.

"The chief end of man is to glorify God, and to enjoy him forever." So says a half-forgotten catechism, which in this taught better than it knew. This is what man was made for, the final cause of his creation. Nor has God through all the ages ever relinquished this original purpose, or for a moment lost sight of it. Slowly it may seem, but surely, he is carrying forward his work toward its completion, and in the end an admiring and grateful universe will acknowledge that he has done all things well. To this grand result is tending the whole government of God. Justice and mercy, law and gospel, have but one object, and are alike overarched by infinite love.

The final victory of good over evil is not only the dictate of right reason, but is also the doctrine of revelation. Sin had no sooner entered the world, than there came, as Hengstenberg says, "the consolatory promise that the dominion of sin, and of the evil arising from sin, shall not last forever." That promise was repeated in various forms and with increasing light till the Messiah, to whom it pointed, finally appeared, and no candid reader can fail to recognize the tone of universality running through the whole Bible. The seed of the woman was to bruise the serpent's head, and so destroy his power; in the seed of Abraham all the families of the earth were to be blessed; all nations whom God has made were to come and worship before him; all souls are God's. In the New Testament this is still more striking. "God so loved the world;" "Behold the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world!" "The Son of Man is come to seek and to save that which was lost"; "He gave himself a ransom for all;" "He tasted death for every man;" "He is the propitiation for the sins of the whole world." Under the very shadow of the cross, Christ said: "Now is the judgment of this world; now shall the prince of this world be cast out. And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto myself;" a declaration of wonderful scope and power, and as wonderfully slurred over by the commentators. St. John testified that "the Father sent the Son to be the Saviour of the world;" and St. Paul that he has "highly exalted him and given him a name that is above every name; that at the name of Jesus every knee should

bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth, and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord to the glory of God the Father."

Through repentance toward God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, souls are being gathered into his kingdom; and the apostle assures us that he must continue his redemptive work till he has subdued all things to himself, when, sin having been abolished and death destroyed, the kingdom shall be delivered up to the Father, that GOD MAY BE ALL IN ALL.

THOMAS J. SAWYER.

VII.

IN closing this discussion, I shall give my reasons for holding that the doctrine of eternal punishment is not offensive to the moral reason, so as to require us to deny that Christ has taught it, or to affirm that, if he has, Christianity cannot be from God.

I must assume the fact of sin. The participants in this discussion, with perhaps one exception, all assume this. Mr. Frothingham uses words in a very strange fashion, or else in a sense from which I must earnestly dissent, when he asserts that "none but *theologians* admit" that God is personal and good; that man is personal and responsible, and that a moral relation exists between them. I assure him that it is not as a *theologian* that I "posit" these truths, but that, when I assert them, "I speak as a man," and with the majority of men as they utter their convictions in language, and enshrine them in literature, and recognize them in society, and imply them in law, and embody them in institutions. There may be a scanty few whose wishes, borrowing wings of their imaginations, fly so high above realities as to fail to discern them as they are, or whose factitious or abnormal culture "consigns to" the limbo of "spoiled phraseology" the most sacred relations of human nature. Mr. Frothingham must speak as a theologian, and not as a man, when he would have us believe that "the moral order of the world" to "the rational thinkers" involves neither freedom, nor responsibility, nor retribution.

A sinful will is the most dangerous and destructive of all evil forces. It is self-relying, self-justifying, and self-perpetuating. It gathers new force if let alone. It rises in sturdy re-

sistance if opposed—its one or many passions cruel, debasing, and malignant. Now and then a human being exemplifies what this evil is in its nature and tendencies. The houses in which such men dwell, and the places in which they congregate, are in common parlance known as hells, in sober truth and with horrid significance.

And yet sin exists by the permission of God. In Dr. Sawyer's language, "he respects the powers which himself has conferred," at the same time that he is most opposed to the abuse of them in sin, and desires most earnestly that men should abandon it. Why, then, does he suffer sin to be? The only answer that can be given is found in the freedom which is essential to personality. God cannot exercise personal influences except with persons, and personality involves the possibility of perversion. "For this possibility let God, if you please, be responsible," says Dr. Sawyer; "that sin has become actual is our fault." But if sin is a fact, and God is good in permitting it, and in punishing it, who shall say that he may not be good should he permit a person to continue to exist, and to continue to sin and to suffer? Dr. Bellows asserts that God would dishonor his own personality, should he "voluntarily bring into an existence, which he foresaw would be infinitely miserable, a single spiritual being made in his image." Dr. Sawyer says that God could not leave the sinner finally to himself, "without renouncing the moral responsibilities he willingly assumed in his creation." I would submit that those who concede that God can permit the sin which he hates, and the sinner whom he must punish, to exist at all, cannot assert that God is morally bound not to create a being who he foreknows will sin forever. We may not know why God creates such a being, but we have no such moral insight as warrants us in saying that no reasons are possible which justify him in doing it. The existence of sin in any being and for any time is the one comprehensive mystery. This is expressed in the problem, How could God create a being, and suffer him to sin at all? When this has been conceded to be consistent with the Creator's goodness, we cannot assert, on ethical grounds, that he might not create a being who he foresees would sin and suffer forever. All of which we are ethically sure is, that he detests the sin, and that he has made the creature capable of sinning for some other

reason than because he desires that he should sin. Had Drs. Bellows and Sawyer been asked, before sin existed, whether a perfect God could make a being in his own image who would dishonor that image by sin, they would have said "No—a thousand times no!"—by the logic which they use against the possibility of continued sin in the kingdom of God.

I cannot resist the impression that, when Drs. Sawyer and Bellows are confronted with sin as a fact, they explain it by a theory of freedom; but, when they face the possibility of sin, they resolve it by a theory of development or fate, which makes the fact of sin a blessing.

But, leaving these *a priori* considerations, let us take a nearer view of the Christian doctrine of the present life, and its relations to another. Dr. Bellows objects to viewing this life as "a state of probation," which is brought to a "finality" by the act of God. I agree with him that this life is "a state of education and of discipline," if I may add, "for a race which needs to be recovered or redeemed," and provided I may emphasize the truth that Christ in his life and death is the central force, who disciplines sinful men to a perfected character in a perfect life. This theory of human life is taught by Christ himself in his conversation with Nicodemus: "God so loved the world that he gave his only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but might have everlasting life." This solves the enigma of human life, with its sorrows and joys, its smiles and tears. This is the key to human history, whether of the observant human being, or of the great evolutions of national and race life, that are directed by Christ's agency, toward the redemption of the earth.

But education, if it trains and disciplines, may also test and divide; indeed, it must, if the education is moral and its subjects are free, and are capable of resisting its benign influences. A time may properly come when such influences may end, because they are proved to be useless. Christ declares this will be true of some. In the conversation referred to, which says that our human life is warmed and cheered by light and love from himself, he says there are those who reject him, and are judged, and "this is the condemnation, that light is come into the world, and men have loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds are evil."

But might not this education be resumed in another life? It is certainly conceivable that it should, and under circumstances such as Dr. Bellows describes, which would seem to be far more favorable than those which fall to the lot of many in the present life. It is certain that it would be furnished were there promise of better results. Christian influences reach farther than many men conceive of. Christian civilization and redemption can win hearts in strange ways to the germ and promise of a better life. He that gives a cup of cold water, with any Christian aspiration, will not lose his reward. We can judge very imperfectly of the results that actually come to many on whom the recovering influences of the present life may seem to have been worse than lost. Of this we are certain, that not a seedcorn, that has under genial influences been warmed into the first movings of germinant life, shall be overlooked by the loving Redeemer, who is also the scrutinizing Judge, but every such germ shall sprout and grow under the favoring climate of the better land.

Nor can it be urged that faith, as the condition of life, is too narrow to satisfy our ethical judgment, inasmuch as the possibility of faith in Christ is necessarily very restricted. I do not undertake to defend the narrow dogmatism on this point of many so-called Christian theologians, or the practical uncharities of any ecclesiastical bigots. But I may assume that the only possible condition of entrance into Christ's happy future life is the possession of the elements of a character in sympathy with its atmosphere. This sympathy is, for practical purposes, properly and adequately described as tested by faith, either actual or implicit, in Christ as a person, conspicuously in the relations in which he is prominently known. Hence the test, "He that believeth is saved, and he that rejects is condemned." It is obvious that this test can in form be applied only to those who know of him. The Master himself taught most clearly that many who have never heard of him should be gathered into his kingdom. It is safe to concede that many, who have heard him so badly represented as to reject the caricature of his person, in the spirit of the faith in his real character are in heart true believers.

Then, too, when the future life begins, every man will see Christ as he is, and the sight of him may of itself bring a *finality* to his character and destiny as it discovers each man fully to him-

self. They that pierced him shall mourn, but not if, when they see him, they mourn that they pierced him. The next life may be another probation, in that, by its first revelations, it shall make everything clear which was dark, and bring out in vivid lines that moral and spiritual truth which the soul shall accept with sympathizing joy, or reject with sinful perverseness; and, as it accepts or rejects, shall know its own character and its just award. It is certain that, unless this conviction of justice is produced, there is no hell worthy to be feared, and no heaven worthy to be sought for. The opening scenes of the next life may be at once the soul's second probation and its final judgment. Christ may be manifested to every awakening spirit in the same indivisible instant as the accepted or rejected Saviour, and as the rewarding or condemning Judge. Whether the wakening be gradual or abrupt, whether the manifestations be as sudden as lightning at noonday or as gentle as the insensible approaches of the dawn, the soul may as unerringly and as justly find its own place in the spiritual world as after ages of purgatorial discipline.

"The Dream of Gerontius," by John Henry Newman, is an attempt to elevate the doctrine of purification by literal fire into the dignity of a spiritual operation, wrought by the manifestation of Christ as a person to the disembodied spirit. In the words of his guiding angel, who conducts him to Christ—

> "The eager spirit has darted from my hold,
> And, with the intemperate energy of love,
> Flies to the dear feet of Emmanuel;
> But, ere it reach them, the keen sanctity,
> Which, with its effluence, like a glory, clothes
> And circles round the Crucified, has seized
> And scorched, and shriveled it; and now it lies
> Passive and still before the awful throne.
> Oh, happy, suffering soul! for it is safe—
> Consumed, yet quickened by the glance of God."

The scene was, doubtless, suggested by the words in the vision of John, "And when I saw him, I fell at his feet as dead." These words may be no more than literal truth to those who bring out of the present life a character that in its aims and spirit is antagonistic to the King and Judge of the life that is to be. The effect of his manifested presence on those who love and honor him prevailingly, however feebly and inconsistently, is

more nobly conceived than by Newman in those other words of John: "It doth not appear what we shall be, but we know that when he shall appear we shall be like him, for we shall see him as he is." Whatever there is of earthly soil, or that is inconsistent with the perfect life—whatever of wood, or hay, or stubble—shall be consumed by the brightness of Christ's spotless purity, "but the man himself shall be saved, yet so as by fire."

But we are using figurative language. Doubtless we are. Every man must use figurative language who thinks or writes of the future life. This brings up the ethical objections which are urged against the terrific sensuous imagery that abounds in the New Testament. These delineations, we know, have been very generally interpreted in their literal sense; and out of them painters and poets and preachers have wrought fearful and even horrible pictures, which have either stupefied or bewildered the young and the sensitive, and have not infrequently weakened or destroyed the spiritual comfort and effect which they were designed to symbolize. Jeremy Taylor and Jonathan Edwards are examples of those whose genius and piety have not preserved them from grossly erring in this fashion. Against the imagery which we find in the Scriptures, when taken as imagery, no man who has a moderate share of the historic sense or of historic candor can make any show of objection. Many of these images are taken from those agents of terror which are familiar to the race: fire, tempest, darkness, chains of darkness, weeping, wailing, etc. Not a few are peculiar to the Hebrew theocracy, its history and its prophetic symbolism. They did not offend the ethical sense of the men to whom, nor the times when, they were used. They enforce spiritual truth which is important for all times concerning the issues of another life. The great teacher and his apostles who used them are no more responsible for misconceptions of their import in this particular than for the countless other errors and misconceptions under which Christianity itself has been well-nigh materialized and destroyed. That eternal punishment has been enforced by symbols and words which have been unwisely and untruly used is no reason for rejecting the doctrine to which every man's conscience assents as possibly true. *It is not the eternity but the severity of the punishment which these images illustrate and enforce.*

Now and then a purgatorial restorationist, or even a preacher of annihilation, is especially offensive for his use of these literal pictures of horror. Not a few ill-instructed and exciting preachers content themselves with the use of sensational imagery to excite alarm, and overlook the fearful spiritual possibilities of sin, and the certain horrors of which even the present life furnishes such terrible foreshowings.

Mr. W. R. Greg, in his "Enigmas of Life," chapter vii., "Elsewhere," has entered a passionate protest against Christian theologians for their material delineations of heaven and hell. And yet, after concluding this protest, he gives a theory of possible, nay, of certain, retribution, which, in its horrors and joys, excites far more serious terror and hope than any of those pictures by theologians which so shock and repel him. He says: "Surely, surely, it is not impossible to imagine a future world in such force and coloring as shall be easy and natural to realize, as shall be not only *possible* to believe, but *impossible* to disbelieve. If the soul is destined for an existence after death, then (unless a miracle is worked to prevent it) that existence MUST be one of retribution to the sinful, and of purgatorial suffering to the frail and feeble soul." And he justifies his thesis by the powerful ethical portraitures that follow of the hell and the heaven which the wicked and the good cannot but create for themselves, under the revelations and influences of their future spiritual existence. He overlooks one element only, which Christianity and Christ can supply, that of help and hope from a loving person, who awakens gratitude and love to himself, and thus secures victory over sin, and consequently over every form of death. This is the moral "miracle" which proves Christianity to be needed and to be divine.

I have confined myself to the ethical aspects of this doctrine, as the necessary preliminary to an unbiased interpretation of the declarations of Christ and the apostles. While it is important that Christian believers and preachers should be agreed in their interpretation upon this point, it is still more important that they should maintain those ethical views of the relation of character to salvation, which can make Christianity a hope of anything worth caring for, or "the endless life" which it promises a "power" for man's real redemption.

NOAH PORTER.

VIII.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

1.—*Democracy in Europe: a History.* By Sir Thomas Erskine May, K. C. B., D. C. L., author of "The Constitutional History of England since the Accession of George III., 1760–1871." In Two Volumes. New York: W. J. Widdleton. 1878. 8vo, pp. lxxiv.–421, xvi.–552.

Sir Thomas May is so well known as the author of a valuable work on the constitutional history of England, that he needs no introduction to students of constitutional law or politics either in England or those countries which derive their law from England.

His present book is chiefly historical. In it he aims rather at giving an historical review of the progress which democracy has made from the earliest times, than at examining philosophically the causes which explain its rise and growth, or its decline and disappearance. In his introduction, indeed, he gives a valuable *résumé* of what we may call the generally accepted view of the philosophy of liberal institutions, but the main drift of the work is historical. Beginning with India and China, he traces the rise and development of democratic institutions, and, pursuing them through the history of the Grecian and Roman republics, he carries us, in his first volume, through the dark ages, the period of the Italian republics, down to the more modern development of free government in Switzerland. In his second volume, beginning with the Netherlands, he gives us a valuable historical account of French affairs down to the most modern times, and of England down to the present epoch. Most of the matter which is to be found in the account of the progress of liberty in England, is given at greater length and with more minuteness of detail in the author's "Constitutional History."

It can hardly be said that Sir Thomas May has added to his reputation by the production of the present volumes, valuable as they no doubt are as a compendium. The study of the question of democracy has not made, during the past generation, much prog-

ress. Buckle, in his "History of Civilization," made an attempt at generalizing the development of institutions which, it has since turned out, was on too grand a scale and too ambitious in character to leave behind it much lasting result in the progress of political thought. Tracing, as he did, all progress to physical causes, paying no attention to those more important causes of an intellectual and moral nature which so largely determine political movements, regarding politics altogether as a physical science, he added very much to our appreciation of the impossibility of separating human from physical phenomena; but the causes which he studied were so remote and so general, that the effects deduced from them generally agreed with the actual historical facts in any particular country, mainly because those facts were known before the causes from which they were supposed to spring were analyzed. In other words, the effects being known, causes were found which were amply capable of producing them. But it was necessary, in the process, to eliminate from all consideration other causes which, had their effects been studied, would have been found to tend in a direction little likely to produce the historical results known to exist.

Sir Thomas May has adopted whatever was valuable in the researches of Buckle, and it is curious to find how very general and vague this value is. It amounts, on the whole, to a demonstration that there is some relation between climate and institutions; that this relation appears to indicate the improbability of the development of free institutions in tropical or sub-tropical latitudes. Whether this law is of universal application we may well doubt, although the historical facts seem to justify it. Applied to any particular country, it is of little value, as it is not based on abstract reasoning, but is merely a general statement of a fact observed in widely different countries. Practically it may make us skeptical as to the possibility of establishing republics or democratic institutions in some countries where the experiment has recently been tried; but, should the experiment succeed under new conditions in countries where it has already failed, or in countries where no experiment has as yet been made, the law will cease to have any importance, and we shall be thrown back upon entirely new considerations to explain the unexpected phenomena.

As we recently endeavored to show in the pages of this Review, we conceive that little can be done in the science of politics by means of studies such as Buckle pursued. To our minds the true direction for an advance in the science will lie in applying to human

affairs the method which has been productive of such valuable results in political economy, in which government will be studied and the facts of politics observed for the purpose of deriving the laws governing man as a political animal, abstracting from consideration all the facts which relate to him in his other capacities.

The chapters devoted by Sir Thomas May to the history of France will be read with considerable interest in connection with those devoted to the history of England. Between no two countries is such a curious parallel to be drawn, for between no two countries is there so much similarity in the nature of their early institutions, or so much diversity in the end to which the development of those institutions has brought their people. In both we have at the beginning closely similar feudal systems—a king, nobles, feudal tenures, serfs, a church; in both the rudiments of free institutions. In one we see an harmonious and constant development of these from their primitive germs into a system admirably adapted for the government and development of an enormous and at the same time homogeneous empire. In the other we see a constant struggle between the different parts of the system, ending in the apparent annihilation of liberty; the consolidation of diverse functions; a crippled growth and dismembered empire, and intestine wars leading for a century to the alternate triumph of one or the other faction at the expense of the entire community. Why are the French to-day ignorant of the privilege of *habeas corpus?* Why is trial by jury with them an exotic? Why is the responsibility of civil functionaries unknown? Why is the judiciary dependent upon patronage? Why is the legislative body shackled in its action? Why is the reverse of all this true in England? These are questions to which history affords, as yet, no adequate reply. The pages of Sir Thomas May may be searched in vain for anything more than a superficial answer. We are thrown back, in the absence of any other explanation, upon the very general cause of race. But this explanation, if it be the correct one, leaves much to be explained. What the particular qualities of race are which tend to the development of free institutions; what those are which tend to the opposite; why the Greeks, pure democrats as they were, should have failed to make a progress which it was left for England, with less democracy, to secure; why the qualities of the French people, which at one time seemed to be directing the nation on a road to wide empire and dominion, seemed later to have stopped that progress and brought to ruin her fairest hopes—are questions which we are no nearer solv-

ing than we were before we discovered that race is at the bottom of much of all this mystery.

The difference between modern free institutions and ancient, which has within the past twenty-four years attracted most general notice, is the invention of representative government. This was unknown in Greece or Rome. It is to this, certainly, that the extraordinary possibility of territorial extension which we have witnessed in England and in America in the last one hundred years has been due. It does not seem to us that the author of these volumes has paid sufficient attention to it. He may be excused from having done so by the fact that Mr. Mill has devoted a volume to the subject, which contains probably all that, in the present state of political science, can be said. What the ultimate effects of representation are to be, it is as yet too early to say. And while the matter is in this state, it is, perhaps, well to defer positive estimates of the advantages and disadvantages of this purely Anglo-Saxon contribution to the art of government.

2.—*The Beginnings of Christianity, with a View of the State of the Roman World at the Birth of Christ.* By GEORGE P. FISHER, D. D., Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Yale College; author of "Essays on the Supernatural Origin of Christianity," "The Reformation," etc. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co. 1877. 8vo, pp. 411, 591.

THIS important and elaborate work undertakes, in the first place, to describe the ancient Roman world, including both heathen and Jewish society, in which Christianity took root and had its growth; and, in the second place, it critically considers the documents that record the beginnings of this religion; and, thirdly, it illustrates the headway which the movement made by the influence of Jesus and his associates. This is surely a task great enough to try the learning of any scholar and the sagacity of any thinker. It is no less a theme than the world of Cæsar and Herod, the Christ who came into it with his gospel, and the work done to give him and his gospel the victory. The first part, as the extent of the subject requires, is most fully and, perhaps, most satisfactorily treated, and it takes nearly half of the entire volume. The remainder of the volume is about equally divided between the second and third parts, a division of the space which gives more adequate room to the results of New Testament criticism than to the momentous, difficult,

and fascinating topic of the struggle of the new religion for its very life in the hostile and magnificent world of that day.

Dr. Fisher's position is, of course, that of a Christian believer; yet he none the less claims to read history with a scholar's learning, and to interpret men and things with a philosopher's discrimination and comprehensiveness. He may seem to skeptics to be over-positive in his defense of Christian persons and principles, and critics may think that he passes too lightly over the difficulties in the way of the genuineness and authenticity of the New Testament records. But no fair-minded and enlightened reader will charge him with any narrowness of view, or any indisposition to study and interpret his subject in all the many and various lights of the best literature and the most pronounced schools of thought. No man can read his survey of the Roman Empire in its civil polity, its Greek and Roman and Jewish religions, its philosophy, its morals, and its whole social condition, without being instructed and impressed by the range of careful study and the result of patient, candid, and judicious thought. In his statement of the relation of Christianity to the Jewish and heathen religions, and its appeal to the best elements of Roman culture, as well as its rebuke to the dominant Roman vices, Dr. Fisher proves his fellowship with the most generous school of students, and, in comparison with his catholic and humane survey of the rise of the new religion, Gibbon's famous chapter on that subject is superficial and unsatisfactory, especially in its emphasis upon the circumstances and its neglect of the vital powers that went with these claimants to the supremacy over the conscience and the heart of mankind. Allow what force we may to the five causes assigned by Gibbon for the spread of Christianity—the zeal of the early Christians, which he represents to have been derived from the Jews; the doctrine of a future life of rewards and punishments; the power of working miracles ascribed to the primitive Church; the pure and austere morals of the Christians; and the union and discipline of the Christian republic, the ecclesiastical community—allow all these causes of power, and still, as Dr. Fisher asks, what was back of them all to save them from the utter defeat that attended other schemes as daring, and what enabled these causes to unite in a person so unworldly, so humane, and self-sacrificing, as Jesus? The author maintains that Gibbon leaves out what was the life and soul of the Christian religion and the secret of its power, the thought of Christ, the image of Christ, the great object of love and hope, and the source of inspiration. "The vic-

tory of Christianity in the Roman world was the victory of Christ, who was lifted up that he might draw all men with him."

The passages of the book that we would point out for the attention of scholars are those portions of the first part that treat of the influence of the Roman Empire upon Christianity, the yearnings for more light and better motive among the poets and philosophers of Greece, and the rise of a sense of justice and of universal humanity among the Romans, in spite of the hideous vices that prevailed; with the full and careful consideration of the systems of the Platonists and the Stoics. In the second part, Chapter X., on "The Water-Marks of Age in the New Testament Histories," cannot but interest and impress students who have been attracted by the sweeping denials of Baur and Strauss, or by Renan's easy method of doing away with the authority of these documents; while the closing chapter, on "The Characteristics of Christianity in the First Century," may stir the desire for a further handling of the subject by the same candid and accomplished pen.

Some nicer and more critical treatment of the relations of Jewish and Greek thought to Christian faith might be desired by philosophic scholars; and, perhaps, men of affairs and also followers of the dynamic school of science and of society would like a more adequate interpretation of the vital forces, the will and the muscle, perhaps the passion and the policy, that went into the new religion, and gave it the upper hand. But the book does excellently what it undertakes, and it is a substantial contribution to our literature. Is it not in the wholesome direction of what may be called our rising American Renaissance—the movement, not to supplant faith and devotion by mere taste and culture, but rather to nurture within religious sanctions the generous humanity and the enlightened philosophy, that shall remove the offense of the hard old theocracy, and make our art and science and letters a part of our heritage from the source of all good? Certainly Yale College, that began with a stern defense of the Puritan theocracy against the Harvard latitude then, has an ecclesiastical professor who is not behind Harvard in the humanities.

3.—*Prose and Verse. Humorous, Satirical, and Sentimental.* By Thomas Moore, with Suppressed Passages from the "Memoirs of Lord Byron," chiefly from the Author's Manuscript, with notes edited by Richard Herne Shepherd, and a Preface by Richard

Henry Stoddard. New York: Scribner, Armstrong and Co. 1878. Pp. xx.–444.

The contents of this volume consist chiefly of a damned play, which Moore himself confessed was good for nothing, and a number of articles reprinted with no great expenditure of time or labor from the *Edinburgh Review*, in the pages of which they might have been left to slumber without much loss to the world. The "suppressed passages" from Byron's life seem to be chiefly made up of notes jotted down by the author when he had the book in view (e. g., 'Lord B.'s modesty"—"his looking up to all the men he lived with,"—"mentioned this in talking of his praises of me"), which he used in writing it, so far as he needed them, and which are now generally of no particular value. The play, "M. P.; or, The Blue-Stocking," even a dead failure when produced on the stage, and the pretty little songs it contains, have been mostly printed in the author's "Poetical Works." Most of the other verses in the book are derived from a scrap-book formerly in Moore's possession, containing newspaper cuttings of his political squibs, with his own manuscript corrections, as prepared for the collected edition of his works, from which they were omitted, it seems, "either by accident, or for some temporary reasons, which no longer exist." Some of these are well worth preserving, though we confess to a slight feeling of resentment at being forced to take with them such a very large dose of well-forgotten prose. Many of them show Moore at his best—as the composer of those light verses in which he excelled, sometimes *vers de société*, sometimes political squibs, in which we have all the pleasure to be got from a graceful wit in the hands of a master of versification. For graceful banter and raillery in verse, for badinage and pretty sentiment, for every one of the less weighty literary faculties, Moore is undoubtedly unequaled, and a hundred years hence the idea of criticising him seriously from any other point of view will probably be no more thought of than a classical scholar would now think of complaining of Anacreon because he did not write an epic. The efforts of his most moral and praised contemporaries to lift him up to what would now be called a "higher plane," will probably then seem only amusing. On a higher plane Moore was out of his element, and not at his best. When Leigh Hunt adjures "dear Tom" not to—

> "Pollute the bright Eden Jove gives to his care,
> But love the fair Virtue for whom it is given,
> And keep the spot pure for the visits of Heaven,"

one involuntarily turns to "dear Tom's" first prophetic effusions in

verse (p. 3), in which in 1793 he gave the world warning of what was in store for it:

> "'Tis true my Muse to love inclines,
> And wreaths of Cyprias' myrtle twines;
> Quits all aspiring lofty views,
> And chants what Nature's gifts infuse."

Nothing could be better than this as an indication of what he felt inspired to do, and we can no more find heart to regret it than we can that Theodore Hook did not take to preaching sermons, or that Sheridan did not devote his life to African missions. Some of the verses which Mr. Shepherd has rescued from oblivion are well worth preserving; as, for instance, the "Songs of the Church, No. II.," an excellent poetical parody of Shenstone's—

> "I have found out a gift for my fair."

In the notes for Byron's life, too (p. 423), there is a valuable hint (we do not recollect whether it is given in the life itself or not) that should be read and pondered by any one who proposes to examine the evidence in Mrs. Stowe's attack on the poet's private life. Moore says:

"The pride of personating every description of character, evil as well as good, influenced, as we have seen, but too much of his conduct. . . . To such a perverse length, indeed, did he sometimes carry this fancy for self-defamation, that if, as he himself in moments of depression supposed, there was any tendency to derangement in his mental faculties, on this point alone could it be pronounced to have showed itself. . . . I have known him, when a little under the influence of wine, as we have sat together after dinner, to fall seriously into one of these dark and self-accusing moods, and throw out hints of his past life and its deeds, with an air of mystery, designed evidently to evoke curiosity and interest. . . . I have little doubt that, to produce effect at the moment, there is hardly any crime so dark of which, in the excitement of this acting upon the imagination of others, he would not hint that he had been guilty; and it has sometimes occurred to me that the real secret cause of his lady's separation from him, round which herself and her legal advisers have thrown such a formidable mystery, may after all have been nothing more than some dramatic trial of his own fancy and of her credulity, some invention in the dramatic guise of confession of undefined horrors meant merely to mystify, his temptation to such tricks being increased by the precise character of his hearer, but which the lady, unluckily for both, so little understood him as to take seriously."

4.—*Reminiscences and Anecdotes of Daniel Webster.* By PETER HARVEY. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 1877. 8vo, pp. x.–480.

MR. HARVEY'S book is one of those which is sure to have what the French call a *succès d'estime*. It is written about a distin-

guished man by an intimate friend, contains what purports to be interesting or amusing anecdotes relating to him and his friends, and important hitherto unpublished reminiscences. Yet we have searched the book in vain for any indication that Mr. Webster was a great or even interesting person. We know that he was; but Mr. Harvey almost makes us doubt it. We cannot help asking ourselves, as we read Mr. Harvey's prosing pages, whether this is indeed the great Webster who argued the Dartmouth College case, who made the Ashburton treaty, and whose dispatches and speeches on matters of public law are not less authorities than the treatises of Grotius and Wheaton, or whether it is not rather some local political hack unknown beyond the bounds of his petty borough, whose fast-waning fame is fanned again into a temporary blaze as an excuse for the publication of this volume. Mr. Harvey takes us through the statesman's early years, exhibits him to us as a law-student, at the bar, in public life, in his intercourse with his contemporaries, and at home; gives us his traits of character, his religious thoughts and feelings, and even takes us into the confidence of his last moments and death-bed; and yet after all is done we know little more of Mr. Webster than before, and what is worse we know a great deal more of a person toward whom at the outset we entertained no unkind feelings, but for whom our regard diminishes in warmth with the growth of our acquaintance —we mean the author. The book might be called "Webster's Reminiscences of Harvey," so certainly and so minutely does it make us acquainted with the peculiarities of the latter. Not that it is an egotistic book; far from it. Mr. Harvey's abasement of himself in the presence of his idol is profound; but there are certain qualities of his which shine through his modesty, and will not let us have any peace. As his tale goes on, we feel that there is being photographed upon our mind's eye an image not of Webster, but of Harvey himself, the devout biographer worshiping his great friend, but worshiping him without knowledge, and wholly misunderstanding and misrepresenting him. Many of his reminiscences would have been better not remembered, some of his anecdotes not told.

There are, of course, stories worth telling. Often Mr. Harvey catches a gleam of Mr. Webster's humor, and reproduces it faithfully; as (in a small way) in the case of the nicknames he was in the habit of giving his favorite fowling-pieces, the "Learned Selden" and the "Wilmot Proviso;" and here and there we find something with regard to public matters, or the practice of his profession, which deserved a memorandum. For instance, we may mention the curious-

ly-verified prophecy made after he had failed to receive the nomination at Baltimore (in 1852), looking forward to the ruin of the Whig party, declaring that its downfall had begun when it began to take "available" instead of well-qualified men as candidates; that General Scott would not receive the electoral vote of six States; that Pierce would be elected, and that after the 4th of November the Whig party would cease to exist.

Again, Mr. Harvey unwittingly now and then reveals Mr. Webster's failings in a curious way; the following extract from a letter we should hardly have expected to find carefully preserved by a sincere admirer of Mr. Webster:

"For my part, though I like the investigation of particular questions, I give up what is called the science of political economy. There is no such science. There are no rules on these subjects so fixed and invariable that their aggregate constitutes a science. I believe I have recently run over twenty volumes from Adam Smith to Prof. Dew; and, from the whole, if I were to pick out with one hand all mere truisms, and with the other all the doubtful propositions, little would be left."

The passages which describe Webster's advice to Mr. Harvey to vote for Pierce would have had light cast upon them by mention of the fact that his son Fletcher Webster retained his lucrative Federal office at the port of Boston under the incoming Administration. But Mr. Harvey's services in detaching the Webster Whigs may be held to have deserved that recognition; they were assiduous and successful. It is only just to this duller Boswell, who possessed at least the greatest of those qualities which aroused the enthusiasm of Carlyle in the self-effacing and admiring biographer of Dr. Johnson, to say that his reserve is complete where he might have told so much, in respect to the chronic pecuniary straits which would have disclosed the weakness of his idol.

The volume ends with a full report of the unveiling of Ball's colossal statue of Webster in the Central Park of New York, an occasion remarkable by the orations of Mr. Evarts and Mr. Winthrop, and the absence of Webster's most intimate friend now living, his only surviving literary executor and his biographer, the accomplished lawyer and publicist, Mr. George Ticknor Curtis, who divides with Rufus Choate and Edward Everett the honor, which Peter Harvey has so sadly missed, of being the faithful custodian of an exceeding and just fame.

5.—*Essai sur la langue basque, par François Ribáry, professeur à l'université de Pest. Traduit du hongrois, avec des notes complémentaires et suivi d'une notice bibliographique, par Julien Vinson.* Paris, 1877, 8vo, pp. xxv.–158.

The origin of this little book is somewhat curious. Ribáry is Professor of History, author of a number of historical books, and philologist only in connection with his historical studies. Having read Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte's "Langue Basque et Langues Finnoises" (1862), which establishes analogies between the isolated mountain tongue of the Iberian Peninsula and the branch of languages to which the Hungarian belongs, he studied the Basque in order to verify those conclusions, but arrived at a negative result. He communicated the fruits of his studies in an elaborate essay in two parts, published in 1866, in the leading philological periodical of his country, the *Nyelotudományi Közlemények* ("Linguistic Reports"). M. Vinson, a scholar devoted to Basque studies, heard of the existence of the Hungarian professor's production, obtained it, and, in order to possess himself of its contents, mastered the entirely unknown language in which it was written; and he now lays it before a wider public in a faithful translation, to which are added a preface, notes, and a large bibliographical index. The original essay embraces a rather brief but interesting introduction, on the relation of the Basque language to others, and a grammar, the bulk of which, owing to the character of the subject, is devoted to the verb. The translator's preface enlarges on the contents of the introduction, and the notes contain both supplementary matter and corrections of statements by the author considered erroneous. Both fully agree in rejecting the Finnic theory, while the translator also speaks disparagingly of the speculations representing the Basques as the special descendants of the ancient Iberians. Both leave the Basque language in entire isolation, as an idiom *sui generis*, such as are, according to Ribáry, also the Lesghian, and other tongues of the Caucasus, by some pretended to be of Finnic origin. The latter admits, however, that there are some traits discoverable both in Basque and in the langues of the Caucasians, which point to some early contact with Finnism, the domain of which may have extended in prehistoric times "all over those vast regions bounded by the Finnish Peninsula and the strait of Messina, the Atlantic Ocean, and the Altai Mountains."

6.—*The New Republic; or, Culture, Faith, and Philosophy in an English Country-House.* New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co. 1878.

If we were to be told that the first novel of a young Oxford graduate dealt with the deepest social, religious, and political problems; that it had no plot whatever; that its chief characters were Tyndall, Huxley, Matthew Arnold, Ruskin, and others under thin disguises; that the action was confined to forty-eight hours in an English country-house by the sea; that the whole aim of the book was to give an accurate reflection of the doubts which serve our generation for beliefs, to exhibit in their nakedness the ideals which we are striving for, and to weigh these in a just balance—if one were to be told these bald facts and no more, the safe inference would be that such a book was an absurdity and its author a madman.

This would be the safe inference of the experienced reader of novels, and it would be based on an almost limitless induction, but like all safe judgments it would except the unusual. The element omitted is the spark of genius.

In Book I. we find a party of friends about to come down to dinner at the country-house of Otho Laurence, a young Englishman of wealth and of high intelligence, who "not being humble enough to despair of himself, was by this time taking to despair of his century." Laurence's old friend Leslie finds him in the library with a pile of *menu* cards in his hand, on which, indeed, the order of dinner was written, but which held blank spaces to be filled with a *menu* of the conversation. A company so mixed in its elements required a little judicious guidance to bring out its best points and its personal flavors. "What is the Aim of Life?" was chosen to go with the soup. "About what do we know less or talk more? There is a sphinx in each of our souls that is always asking us this riddle; and, when we are lazy or disappointed, we all of us lounge up to her and make languid guesses."

We need a mere glance at the guests who were to enjoy the *menu* of which the first question was as to the Aim of Life, and on which "The Future" came with the *entremets*. We have named, already, some of them, disguised here under the name of Mr. Storks (Huxley), Herbert (Ruskin), Luke (Arnold), and others no less well known, who will soon be detected by the ingenious reader. We have types of women most cleverly drawn, in surprisingly few words. These, with Leslie, who is a cynic, which he defines to be "a kind of inverted confessor, perpetually making enemies for the sake of what

he knows to be false," and a disagreeable and talented young materialist who out-Herods Comte and is a chosen Philistine—these, and a few others, make up the tale of the guests. And these incongruous elements suddenly fall a-talking on the Aim of Life.

"The Aim of Life is progress," says the Comtist, and "progress is such improvement as can be verified by statistics, just as education is such knowledge as can be tested by examinations." Could anything be more delicious than this bit, said, be it remembered, into the ear of Ruskin? Here is another: "Think, too, of that flower of Christian civilization, the innuendo. That is simply the adroit saying under difficulties of what, but for Christianity, every one would have taken for granted." Again, "What is life itself?" . . . .

It is hardly necessary to say that no definite conclusions are reached, such as would be of use in a Kindergarten, for example. "The New Republic" is in many ways a modern prose Faust. The same questionings are there, but they are not fierce and wild as with Faust.

> "Was man nicht weiss, das eben brauchte man,
> Und was man weiss, kann man nicht brauchen."

Here they are such as one may hear from one's next neighbor at dinner, if one chooses to ask. The fierceness of Faust's questions was a hopeful sign, but the apathy of these justifies the melancholy pessimism of our generation.

"The New Republic" is an extraordinary first attempt, and shows nothing of the tyro, except a marvelous freshness and vigor. It seems that few things are too much to expect from the same hand.

7.—*Gerrit Smith: a Biography.* By Octavius Brooks Frothingham. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1878. 12mo, pp. 381.

We have read this book with some amusement; not that there was anything very entertaining in the life and opinions of the anti-slavery protagonist to whom it is devoted, but because of the extraordinary difficulty which the author seems to have experienced in making a eulogistic life out of the materials at his hands. Between the lines we can see that Mr. Frothingham is always conscious that to the great mass of readers the traits of character which he recalls and describes will be given quite different names from those which he applies, and he is continually engaged in a struggle with the English language and his own conscience in consequence. There

does not to us seem to be any great difficulty in understanding what sort of a man Gerrit Smith was. A rich landed proprietor, belonging to a family of much local consequence, but of little real prominence except from its wealth; possessed of a good deal of natural ability (the feat of arguing and winning a fugitive-slave case, performed by any one not a lawyer, must be regarded as strong evidence of this), and a great desire to benefit his kind, he, early in life, was placed in a position of such superiority to all his associates and acquaintances, that he developed an unbounded conceit, by means of which he rapidly persuaded himself that, without further preparation, he was qualified to instruct the world on any subject that it was worth while to discuss. This he accordingly proceeded to do during the remainder of his life; and as he was really sincere, and identified himself with a great cause, he ended by persuading a large number of people that he was really a Heaven-sent counselor. But whenever he actually descended to the ordinary fields of human activity (outside of business affairs, for which he inherited an aptitude), he invariably made confusion worse confounded. Witness his scheme of negro colonization; his career in Congress; his proposal for a national "police," to be composed of the best and most enlightened citizens, as a substitute for the army. Looking over his various professions of faith, there is hardly any conceivable plan for the improvement of the human race, that experience shows to be wildly visionary and impracticable, that did not at one time or other meet his cordial approval. He was in favor of agrarianism, opposed to the whole system of property recognized in Anglo-Saxon countries; he longed for woman-suffrage, believed in the abolition of dram-drinking by law; he maintained that slavery was not recognized by the Constitution of the United States; he insisted on the abolition of custom-houses; his social and political faiths were a bundle of flagrant absurdities. We should have expected a friendly biographer to pass lightly over the eccentricity which induced Mr. Smith to believe himself to be right on all these points, and all the rest of the world wrong; but no, Mr. Frothingham reproduces all his most crazy schemes at length, and even appears to gloat over them, although we do not understand that he considers them to have been practical. A biographer must be filled, of course, with an interest in his subject, but it surely ought not to lead him to the point of making his subject ridiculous.

8.—*Creed and Deed. A Series of Discourses.* By FELIX ADLER, Ph. D. New York: Published for the Society for Ethical Culture, by G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1877. 12mo, pp. iv.–243.

THE lectures contained in this volume have been published at the request of the society before which they were delivered. They treat of a great variety of topics, religious and ethical, and as a whole make up the religious "platform" of the author and the society. This may be summed up in a few words. Dr. Adler is a liberal thinker of great learning and enlightenment, and endowed with a good deal of the fervor which marks the foreordained priest. Liberality, freedom from prejudice, and learning, have all combined in his case, as in so many others, to drive him beyond the fold of recognized religious faiths, and to substitute in his mind, for the commonly professed dogmas, a negative or skeptical attitude as to what are usually considered the most essential and cardinal of religious points. Immortality he can more easily discredit than believe; the efficacy of prayer as commonly understood he cannot admit; the existence of another world of any kind he finds no actual evidence for—we are not attempting to indicate in any more than the most general way his position—and, thus cut off from all sympathy with existing forms of religion, he endeavors to find some new field in which the spirit of man, freed from the superstitions and errors of the past, can evolve a new and true faith. This he finds in morality; in deed as opposed to creed. Morality has, he says, in the past furnished all the solid basis for religion. The rest was mere form, and observance, and rite. Now the time has come to throw these aside, and devote ourselves to the essence, to abandon religion, and cling in the future to morality. There is, it will be seen, a close resemblance if not absolute identity between this view and that taken by Matthew Arnold; and it is expounded with much zeal, and in a very interesting manner, in the present volume. The difficulty with it, of course, is that it substitutes for religion something that to most persons is no substitute at all, because it does not appeal to the same feelings. The suggestion that morality may take the place of religion is founded upon the assumption that the longing for another life, the desire to worship Omnipotent Power, and to obtain remission of sins (to take some of the most elementary religious feelings), has died out in most human minds. But in any minds, so devoided of their religious sentiments, it is clear that morality, whether egotistic morality, founded on the desire for self-improvement, or philanthropic morality, founded on the desire to benefit our fellow-creatures, cannot take the place of them. The

two things are radically and essentially different. We might as well propose that food should be substituted for water to relieve thirst; and that, too, after assuming at the outset that no thirst exists. Morality, or the endeavor to do good and avoid evil, is generally, in practice, recognized as something wholly distinct from the religious sentiment, and we never confound, for a moment, the religious with the moral character in our friends or acquaintances, though, of course, they are frequently united in the same persons. We do not mean to question the fact, provided religion dies out from the world, that morality is the only sentiment left on which to base any scheme of life. This is undoubtedly true, but it does not seem to us that this is what Dr. Adler looks forward to. He rather regards morality as a new and higher form of religion, which will bring to its support most of those feelings and aspirations which religion now rests upon. This is almost *ex vi termini* impossible. We cordially advise all those who are interested in these deeply-important topics to examine Dr. Adler's lectures whether agreeing with him or not. No one can read the book without being interested and improved by it, as the author brings to the discussion ripe scholarship, keen interest, and warm sympathy.

9.—*Field-Paths and Green Lanes.* Being Country-Walks chiefly in Surrey and Sussex. By Louis J. Jennings. Illustrated with Sketches by J. W. Whymper. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1878. 12mo, pp. xiv.–293.

Walking, as Mr. Jennings truly says in his preface, is the best of all known means of getting from one place to another—provided the country in which the traveling is to be done is an interesting one. We confess to agreeing with him much less in the advice he gives on another point—that care should be taken to avoid all companions save a hand-book and a pocket-compass. To our minds, half the pleasure of country-walking depends on having a sympathetic and congenial companion. Walking alone is better, perhaps, than not walking at all; but walking with a companion whose society is agreeable is simply the highest form of combined mental and physical enjoyment that it is possible to get.

Mr. Jennings is a writer perhaps better known in this country than in England, and his style is well adapted to a guide-book of this sort—which aims not at an exhaustive catalogue of routes and objects of interest to the tourist, but at bringing to the notice of

worn and jaded "cits" little rambles in the country within easy reach of London, with a running account of the country, and talks with the inhabitants, illustrating their peculiarities. The introduction of conversation serves to relieve the otherwise necessarily monotonous character of the descriptive writing, and to make the places seem more full of life and more natural than they otherwise would. Without being very original, or very different from a good many other books, Mr. Jennings's volume is entertaining, and contains a great deal of information which those for whom it is intended will find really valuable.

10.—*Popular Astronomy.* By SIMON NEWCOMB, LL. D., Professor U. S. Naval Observatory. With One Hundred and Twelve Engravings and Five Maps of the Stars. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1878. 8vo, pp. xvi.–566.

PROF. NEWCOMB has undertaken to popularize the subject of astronomy in a manner which, we believe, has never been attempted before—by an historical method of study. The book being intended for persons who are not mathematicians, he has conceived the idea that the best way to make astronomical science intelligible is to follow, with the individual, the path which the world as a whole has followed, familiarizing him first with the simple facts relating to the heavenly bodies, observable by a totally ignorant person or a child, and thence deducing the astronomical system, which at first seems to explain them; then proceeding to examine the changes and modifications of this system, which a knowledge of the spherical form of the earth makes necessary; then gradually taking in more and more until we reach the modern conception of the solar system and the universe. In this order we do not, at the outset, know anything about Kepler's laws, or the attraction of gravitation. We begin the study as the shepherd kings of Chaldea may be supposed to have begun it; and, gradually bringing to our aid step by step the stores of knowledge and generalization that have been accumulated since their time, we prepare our mind exactly as the mind of the human race was prepared for each new discovery—by what has gone before. This system has the great advantage of acquainting us at one and the same time with the science and with the history of its development, and shows us, what most people have a very faint conception of—that, since the earliest times, no important discovery in it has been made even by Newton himself, without the

aid of the knowledge given to the world by the discoverer's predecessors; that Newton could not have existed but for Kepler, nor Copernicus but for Ptolemy. We may, with some hesitation, and in all deference to Dr. Newcomb's judgment, suggest that he has made a little too much of his historical method, and has credited the student with the possibility of a too dense ignorance at the outset. Every child in modern times is born with—or at any rate acquires so early in life that we may say he is born with it—a knowledge of the sphericality of the earth, and of the diurnal revolution of that planet on which he lives, and even of the attraction of gravitation. This knowledge he cannot efface, and hence it rather requires an effort for him to imagine that the apparent motions of the heavenly bodies are real, that the sun goes round the earth, or that the earth is flat. On this account we believe it is easier for him to study astronomy in the light of the existing laws than by a quasi-historical method; and on this account we should be inclined to believe that Herschel's well-known treatise, in which the other method is pursued, would in some respects be less difficult to the ordinary student than Dr. Newcomb's. But we do not desire to express a positive opinion on the point, which must, after all, be tested by experience; and the actual historical information contained in his book is so great that we should be inclined to hope the doubt might be settled in its favor. The experiment will, of course, be made. It is impossible to read ten pages of the work without seeing that it must make its way at once into schools and colleges all over the country.

Dr. Newcomb has divided his book into four parts, only the first of which is devoted to this historical development. The second part is devoted to "practical" astronomy, or, in other words, to the description of telescopes, their history and uses, the method of measuring distances in the heavens, the motion of light, and the spectroscope. The third part treats of the solar system, and the fourth part of the stellar universe; and here—in the discussion of the fascinating problems suggested by the known facts as to the constitution and probable origin of the heavenly bodies—will be found for most readers the principal attraction of the book. Here, we are glad to say, the author has avoided the danger—to which another distinguished popularizer of astronomy has frequently fallen a victim—of writing dogmatically or controversially upon disputed points. Wherever doubts exist, he states them, but does not, in such matters, ever allow himself to become a partisan. When

he can, he gives the views of eminent astronomers, allowing the student to gather from them the present condition of the study. For instance, on the subject of the physical constitution of the sun, he gives (page 265) the views of Father Secchi, of M. Faye, and of Professors Young and Langley, besides his own, pointing out that certain differences in these views on minor points "are unavoidable in the investigation of so difficult a subject." As a whole, the book, we have no hesitation in saying, is the most valuable of its kind yet produced in this country, if not in the world.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

The Odes of Horace in English Verse. By CASKIE HARRISON. Boston: Ginn & Heath. 16mo, pp. 89.

Elements of Geometry. By G. A. WENTWORTH, A. M. Boston: Ginn & Heath. 12mo, pp. 250.

Historia Critica M. Tulii Ciceronis Epistularum ad Familiares. Scripsit ROBERTUS FOWLERUS LEIGHTON, A. M. Leipsiae: A. Th. Engelhardt. 8vo, pp. 44.

Third Annual Report of the New York Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. 8vo, pp. 120.

Comparative Psychology; or, the Growth and Grades of Intelligence. By JOHN BASCOM. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 16mo, pp. 297.

The Cyclopædia of Biography: A Record of the Lives of Eminent Persons. By PARKE GODWIN. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 8vo, pp. 332.

The Beginning of the Middle Ages. By R. W. CHURCH. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co. 16mo, pp. 226.

Prose and Verse: Humorous, Satirical, and Sentimental. By THOMAS MOORE. With Suppressed Passages from the Memoirs of Lord Byron. With Notes edited by RICHARD HERNE SHEPHERD, and a Preface by RICHARD HENRY STODDARD. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co. Crown 8vo, pp. 444.

Primer of Piano-Forte Playing. By FRANKLIN TAYLOR. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 24mo, pp. 126.

Renée and Franz. From the French of GUSTAVE HALLER. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 16mo, pp. 196.

Democracy in Europe: A History. By Sir THOMAS ERSKINE MAY, K. C. B., D. C. L. 2 vols. New York: W. J. Widdleton. 8vo, pp. 421.

The American Decisions. Containing all the Cases of General Value and Authority decided in the Courts of the Several States, from the Earliest Issue of the State Reports to the Year 1869. Compiled and annotated by JOHN PROFFATT, LL. B. 1 vol. San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft & Co. 8vo, pp. 740.

Is the Human Eye changing its Form under the Influence of Modern Education? By EDWARD G. LORING, M. D. New York. 8vo, pp. 26.

State Regulation of Vice. By AARON M. POWELL. New York: Wood & Holbrook. 16mo, pp. 127.

The Nabob. From the French of ALPHONSE DAUDET. By LUCY H. HOOPER. Boston: Estes & Lauriat. 16mo, pp. 451.

From Egypt to Japan. By HENRY M. FIELD, D. D. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co. Crown 8vo, pp. 424.

Cerebral Hyperæmia the Result of Mental Strain or Emotional Disturbance. By WILLIAM A. HAMMOND, M. D. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 16mo, pp. 108.

The Appreciation of Money: Its Effects of Debts, Industry, and National Wealth. By A. J. WARNER. Philadelphia: Henry Carey Baird & Co. 8vo, pp. 93.

A Defense of Russia and the Christians of Turkey. By Sir TOLLEMACHE SINCLAIR, Bart., M. P. London: Chapman & Hall. 16mo, pp. 252.

The House of Ravensburg. By the Hon. RODEN NOEL. London: Daldy, Isbister & Co. 16mo, pp. 167.

The Labor Problem in the United States. By an ANGLO-AMERICAN. New York: D. I. Carson & Co. 16mo, pp. 75.

The Tariff Question, and its Relations to the Present Commercial Crisis. By HORACE WHITE. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 12mo, pp. 30.

Why we Trade and How we Trade. By DAVID A. WELLS. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 12mo, pp. 67.

The Silver Question: The Dollar of the Fathers versus the Dollar of the Sons. By DAVID A. WELLS. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 12mo, pp. 47.

Firm Ground: Thoughts on Life and Faith. By GEORGE MCKNIGHT. Published by the Author, Sterling, New York. 16mo, pp. 131.

Biology. By Dr. CHARLES LETOURNEAU. London: Chapman & Hall. 12mo, pp. 471.

Memorial of Thomas Perkins Shepard, M. D. By GEORGE I. CHACE. Providence: Sidney S. Rider. 8vo, pp. 35.

Documents relating to New England Federalism, 1800–1815. Edited by HENRY ADAMS. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 8vo, pp. 437.

The Tatler, Guardian, and Freeholder. By ADDISON and STEELE. With an Introductory Essay by JOHN HABBERTON. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 24mo, pp. 238.

Gerrit Smith. A Biography. By OCTAVIUS BROOKS FROTHINGHAM. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 12mo, pp. 381.

Outlines of the History of Art. By Dr. WILHELM LÜBKE. Edited by CLARENCE COOK. 2 vols. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. 8vo, pp. 571, 695.

Documents relating to the History of the Dutch and Swedish Settlements on the Delaware River. By B. FERNOW. Vol. xi. 4to, pp. 669.

Pottery and Porcelain of All Times and Nations, with Tables of Factory and Artists' Marks, for the Use of Collectors. By WILLIAM C. PRIME, LL. D. New York: Harper & Brothers. 8vo, pp. 530.

The Race for Wealth, considered in a Series of Letters, written to Each Other. By A BROTHER AND SISTER. New York: The Authors' Publishing Company. 16mo, pp. 180.

Money. By FRANCIS A. WALKER. New York: Henry Holt & Co. 8vo, pp. 550.

Memory Gems for the Young: Being Choice Selections from a Hundred Different Authors. By CHARLES NORTHEND, A. M. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 24mo, pp. 61.

Romances of the East. From the French of COMTE DE GOBINEAU. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 16mo, pp. 327.

St. Paul's within the Walls: An Account of the American Chapel at Rome, Italy. By the Rev. R. J. NEVIN, D. D. 12mo, pp. 280.

An American Girl, and her Four Years in a Boys' College. By SOLA. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 16mo, pp. 269.

Elements of Geology: A Text-Book for Colleges and for the General Reader. By JOSEPH LE CONTE. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 8vo, pp. 588.

The Last Years of Daniel Webster: A Monograph. By GEORGE TICKNOR CURTIS. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 8vo, pp. 55.

Four Years with General Lee: Being a Summary of the More Important Events touching the Career of General Robert E. Lee in the War between the States. By WALTER H. TAYLOR. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 8vo, pp. 199.

Some Aspects of the Money Question. By WILLIAM M. DICKSON. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co. 8vo, pp. 34.

At the Court of King Edwin. A Drama. By WILLIAM LEIGHTON, Jr. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 16mo, pp. 157.

Classical English Reader. By the Rev. HENRY N. HUDSON. Boston: Ginn & Heath. 12mo, pp. 452.

The Electoral System of the United States. By DAVID A. MCKNIGHT. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. Crown 8vo, pp. 433.

Two Chancellors: Prince Gortchakoff and Prince Bismarck.

By JULIAN KLACZKO. Translated from the *Revue des Deux Mondes* by FRANK P. WARD. New York: Hurd & Houghton. 12mo, pp. 332.

Goethe's Poems. Translated in the originial metres by PAUL DYRSEN. New York: F. W. Christern. 12mo, pp. 374.

Album Leaves. By GEORGE HOUGHTON. Boston: Estes & Lauriat. 12mo, pp. 34.

Field-Paths and Green Lanes. By LOUIS J. JENNINGS. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 12mo, pp. 293.

A Manual of Nursing. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 16mo, pp. 142.

Anthropology. By Dr. PAUL TOPINARD. London: Chapman & Hall. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 12mo, pp. 548.

Census of the State of New York for 1875. Compiled by C. W. SEATON, Superintendent of the Census.

The New Republic; or, Culture, Faith, and Philosophy, in an English Country House. By W. H. MALLOCK. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co. 12mo.

The Life of Edgar Allan Poe. By WILLIAM F. GILL. New York: W. J. Widdleton. 12mo, pp. 347.

Rome in Canada. The Ultramontane Struggle for Supremacy over the Civil Authority. By CHARLES LINDSEY. Toronto: Lovell Brothers. Crown 8vo, pp. 398.

All Saints' Day and Other Sermons. By the Rev. CHARLES KINGSLEY, M. A. Edited by the Rev. W. HARRISON, M. A. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co. 12mo, pp. 410.

Letters from John Keats to Fanny Brawne. Written in the Years 1819 *and* 1820, *and now given from the Original Manuscripts, with Introduction and Notes.* By HARRY BUXTON FORMAN. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co. 16mo, pp. 128.

The Ancient Life-History of the Earth: A Comprehensive Outline of the Principles and Leading Facts of Palæontological Science. By H. ALLEYNE NICHOLSON, M. D. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 12mo, pp. 407.

A Manual of the Anatomy of Invertebrated Animals. By THOMAS H. HUXLEY, LL. D., F. R. S. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 12mo, pp. 596.

A History of England in the Eighteenth Century. By WILLIAM EDWARD HARTPOLE LECKY. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 2 vols. 12mo, pp. 626, 699.

THE

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

MAY–JUNE, 1878.

No. 262.

Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur.

NEW YORK:
D. APPLETON AND COMPANY,
549 & 551 BROADWAY.
1878.

COPYRIGHT BY
ALLEN THORNDIKE RICE.
1878.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

MAY–JUNE, 1878.

ART. PAGE

I. IS THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IN ITS DEATH-STRUGGLE? By T. O. HOWE, United States Senator from Wisconsin 381

II. THE SOVEREIGNTY OF ETHICS. By RALPH WALDO EMERSON 404

III. COMMERCIAL RELATIONS WITH FRANCE. By J. S. MOORE 421

IV. DISCIPLINE IN AMERICAN COLLEGES. By JAMES MCCOSH, D. D., LL. D., President of the College of New Jersey 428

V. THE ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES. Part II. By General JAMES A. GARFIELD, Member of Congress from Ohio. With Letters of Generals M. F. FORCE and JOHN POPE 442

VI. IS MAN A DEPRAVED CREATURE? 466
By The Rev. O. B. FROTHINGHAM.
The Rev. T. W. CHAMBERS, D. D.

VII. THE IRREPRESSIBLE CONFLICT UNDECIDED. By ANGUS CAMERON, United States Senator from Wisconsin . 485

VIII. CHINESE IMMIGRATION. By M. J. DEE 506

IX. THE PHONOGRAPH AND ITS FUTURE 527
By THOMAS A. EDISON,
Inventor of the Instrument.

X. CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE:

1. Masson's Life of John Milton, 537.—2. Lecky's History of England in the Eighteenth Century, 542.—3. Lewes's Actors and the Art of Acting, 545.—4. Page's Thoreau: His Life and Aims, 546.—5. Proffatt's American Decisions, 548.—6. Curtis's Last Years of Daniel Webster, 550.—7. Topinard's Anthropology, 551.—8. Dyrsen's Goethe's Poems, 554.—9. Hunfaldy's Ethnographie von Ungarn, 555.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED 558

INDEX 561

The Editor disclaims responsibility for the opinions of contributors, whether the articles are signed or anonymous.

Volumes 124, 125, and 126, of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, neatly bound, are ready for delivery. Volume 124 embraces the issues of the first half, and volume 125 of the second half, of the year 1877, and volume 126 those of the first half of 1878. Price per volume, in cloth, $3.00; in half morocco, $4.00. Sent post-paid on receipt of price.

The undersigned proposes to publish an INDEX to the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, to the close of 1877, if a sufficient number of subscribers are obtained to justify such an enterprise. The usefulness of such an Index will be at once apparent. It will consist of two parts—Subjects and Authors, the list of authors compiled from reliable sources—and will make a volume of about two hundred pages of the size of the Review. The price, in cloth, will be $2.50. Subscriptions solicited. WILLIAM CUSHING, Asst. Harvard Coll. Pub. Lib., 18 Wendell Street, Cambridge, Mass.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CCLXII.

MAY-JUNE, 1878.

I.

IS THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IN ITS DEATH-STRUGGLE?

Mr. Julian's article in the last number of this Review has an interest extrinsic to the subject and to the author, but derived from the relation of the author to the subject. De Quincey was neither a murderer nor an artist, but he ventured to discuss murder as an art. An older genius than De Quincey, who was an artist, it is said, became a murderer, that he might the more vividly portray on canvas the agony of death. It is not fair to conclude that Mr. Julian helped to murder the Republican party for the purpose of administering to his literary reputation. But, having for other reasons done his best to assassinate the party, he now aspires to see how much fame he can achieve by describing the contortions of his victim.

The article is a little broader than the title. It undertakes to sketch the birth-throes as well as the death-struggle of the Republican party. The author enjoys some advantages for discussing the first, which he lacks for treating the last, theme. He undoubtedly witnessed the birth of the Republican party, but it is not sure he has yet seen its death. He stood by its cradle, and may think he is now following its hearse; but there is reason to hope it is another vehicle he is trailing after.

The analysis given of the Republican party is nearly correct.

It was composed of fragments rent from other and preëxisting organizations. The best of its constituent elements, we are told, was that contributed by the "Free-Soil party." A flush of enthusiasm is perceptible when the author refers to that organization. "No purer party ever existed than that which was composed of the permanent adherents of the organization."

That statement derives an air of probability from the fact that the reviewer himself entered the Republican party with that communion. And yet we hesitate to accept his estimate, for he seems to be slightly confused as to the identity of the Free-Soil party. He introduces it to us as the party born in 1848, and cradled in Buffalo. An ambition to appear younger than we are is quite common, but the Free-Soil party existed long before 1848.

On the 13th of November, 1839, a convention was held at Syracuse, New York, which nominated candidates for President and Vice-President, and which resolved:

"That, in our judgment, every consideration of duty and expediency which ought to control the action of Christian freemen, requires of the abolitionists of the United States to organize a distinct and independent political party embracing all the necessary means for nominating candidates for office, and sustaining them by public suffrage."

The Whig party held no national convention until the December following. The Democratic party held none until 1832. So it seems the Free-Soil party is almost as old as the Democratic party, and older than the Whig party.

From those three organizations the material was drawn which, nearly twenty years later, was welded into the Republican party.

There is but little profit in reopening the old debate as to whether the Whig, the Free-Soiler, or the Democrat, was the purer patriot. All discharged a manifest duty in 1856 when they ceased to struggle separately and hopelessly against different wrongs, and combined against the monster wrong of that time. It seems fair to conclude that all who did their duty then would have done their duty earlier had they known it earlier. But the extra quality of those who entered the Republican party with the Free-Soil brand is now asserted by way of excusing

their early withdrawal from that party. It may not be amiss, therefore, to say that in 1839 the great body of antislavery men did not think it wise to commit that cause to the vicissitudes of party politics. Mr. Birney and Mr. Le Moyne, who were nominated for President and Vice-President in 1839, both declined those nominations. The next year another convention was called of those who favored political action, to meet at Albany, on the first day of April. That call issued not from a national but from a State organization. The movement was earnestly resisted by friends of the cause in many quarters. The Board of Managers of the Massachusetts Antislavery Society issued an address to the abolitionists of the United States, declaring the great body of abolitionists to be opposed to the formation of a distinct political party. The address closed with these words:

"For the honor and purity of our enterprise, we trust that the abolitionists of the several States will refuse to give any countenance to the proposed convention at Albany. Let their verdict be recorded against it as unauthorized, unnecessary, and premature. Let the meeting be insignificant and local, and thus rendered harmless."

Nevertheless, the meeting was held. Mr. Birney was again nominated for President, and Mr. Earl, of Pennsylvania, for Vice-President. But even in that convention there was a majority of only eleven in favor of nominating the ticket; and the ticket nominated received less than 7,000 votes in the United States.

It was impossible to know then, and it is difficult to say now, whether the cause of antislavery was promoted or was retarded by the action of the so-called Free-Soil or Liberty party. If Judea had been thoroughly imbued with the principles of Christianity when Jesus appeared, and he had attempted to rally a party in Jerusalem to force the gospel into Rome, he would not the less have been crucified; but it is not certain that his blood would not have submerged the Church instead of nourishing it.

The Liberty party raised its flag in the face of a people not merely professing to be abolitionists, but who had abolished slavery, and so had proved their faith by their works. This had

been a nation of abolitionists. The Constitution was the work of their hands. Our laws and literature breathed the spirit of anti-slavery. State after State had abrogated the institution. A few years before the Liberty party entered the political arena, it was given to a representative from Massachusetts, who had ventured on some pro-slavery utterance in the national House of Representatives, to receive such a rebuke from John Randolph, of Virginia, as is rarely administered even in that assembly.

Slavery was willing to die, and only asked for time. This temper had changed somewhat even before 1840; it changed rapidly after 1840. Hostility to slavery gradually gave place to hostility to those who would meddle with slavery in the States.

The party which assembled in Buffalo, and which called itself the Free Democratic party, was a very different affair. It doubtless represented the Liberty party of 1840 and 1844; but it represented a multitude besides that party—two multitudes, in fact. It represented those Whigs whose love for the slave bled afresh at the refusal to nominate Daniel Webster at Philadelphia, and it represented those Democrats equally wounded by the refusal to nominate Martin Van Buren at Baltimore.

All those tribes were gathered into the Republican ark which was built in 1856. In each tribe there were doubtless the usual assortment of clean and unclean, of selfish and unselfish, of patriotic and of unpatriotic. The better way to value the different elements composing the Republican party is to consider, not where they came from, but how long they staid, and how they behaved while they staid.

When you have seen a crew with steady hearts, under the command of Farragut, take the Hartford into Mobile Bay, is it worth while to attempt to impeach their courage by proving that the last cruise they made was on board a New England fishing-smack? And when you have seen another crew pull down their colors and desert the ship in the middle of an engagement, you will hardly save their reputations, if you do their lives, by calling witnesses to prove that they once spent a winter fighting icebergs in the arctic seas.

We are told that the Republican movement has been made, not by a party, but by a combination. "Its action was not inspired by a creed, but an object." This criticism was not well

conceived nor well expressed. If the critic meant what he said, he was not correct. If he had said what he probably meant, he would have been absurd. The Republican party had a creed as well as an object; both were avowed, and both were pursued. If it was intended to say that Republicans differed among themselves upon points outside their avowed creed, it is undoubtedly true of the Republican party, as it was of every party which preceded it, and as it will be of every party which succeeds it. No political party, no religious society, scarcely any family, has ever been known in absolute accord upon all points in human controversy.

The most we can expect of a party is, that it will aim at an object. The most we can *ask* is, that it will set before itself the worthiest object attainable, and loyally and resolutely struggle on until it has attained it. The individuals composing the Republican party differed upon many points, but they agreed upon some. They combined to save the Territories for free labor; not to fight a war; not to emancipate the slaves; not to enfranchise them.

Undoubtedly, when the Territories were secured against the ingress of slavery, the Republican of 1856 had served the term and achieved the purpose of his enlistment. He could then, without impeachment of his party fealty, withdraw from the party organization, and address himself to other political endeavors. But the party which has combined for one purpose may lawfully lend itself to another. It can command, for its new enterprise, the support of those alone who voluntarily embark in it. The Republican party did, with entire unanimity, accept the responsibility of a civil war.

When the war closed it did attempt the emancipation of all slaves, and it did attempt the enfranchisement of all citizens. Neither of these measures secured the coöperation of all the original Republicans. Some fainted before the thirteenth amendment, some before the fifteenth. Some of those who failed by the arduous way had been Whigs, some had been Democrats, some had been Free Democrats in 1848, and some had been Liberty party men before that time.

Mr. Julian, if we are not mistaken, fainted before neither of those measures, but espoused them all. If all have been achieved, he is entitled to an honorable discharge, and is at liberty to enlist under any new, or any old flag which is unfurled in the political

field. Have those measures been achieved? Mr. Julian says yes, because "the freedom and enfranchisement of the negro had been established by constitutional amendments, in which all parties acquiesced."

That answer is pertinent but is not true. The party in whose service Mr. Julian now draws his trenchant blade did not, and does not acquiesce in the great amendments. That party did not lend a vote to place those amendments in the Constitution. That party denied their validity when adopted. That party, achieving a temporary ascendency in New Jersey, two years after she had ratified the thirteenth amendment, repudiated it. That party did the same in Oregon; it did the same in Ohio. Achieving a like supremacy in New York nearly a year after she had ratified the fifteenth amendment, that party repudiated her act of ratification. And after the amendments had all been ratified, only four Democrats in the House of Representatives were found who would vote for a resolution recognizing their validity.

Besides, freedom and enfranchisement are not established simply by a law which declares the right to liberty or to the ballot. Laws not enforced are of no value, and a government which is really hostile to a law is not apt to enforce it. The Constitution of the United States provides, that a person charged with crime, who shall escape from one State to another, shall be given up on demand of the State from which he fled. But if the State harboring the criminal will not give him up on demand, and the national Government will not enforce its own Constitution, how can the fugitive be reclaimed?

So, the same Constitution commands that "the members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution." But what if the people of a State are hostile to the Constitution of the United States, and select officers who will not take an oath to support it, but take an oath to resist it? Of what value is the command, if the national Government is in sympathy with the recusant State?

The last three amendments not only issued certain great commands, but authorized Congress to enforce those commands "by

appropriate legislation." But if State governments are opposed to colored suffrage, and the national Government is in sympathy with the State, what practical security has the colored citizen for his right?

These reflections were not overlooked by the artist who sketches "The Death-Struggle of the Republican Party." He has not been unmindful that such questions might be asked. His answer is:

"If these results are not safe in their [Democratic] hands, how shall we trust the Republican party? It favored the abolition of slavery upon compulsion. It labored with might and main to prevent the great work of which it now so constantly boasts."

These are heavy accusations to hurl against the Republican party. If true, they should shake public confidence in the fidelity of that organization. But, if not true, what confidence should be reposed in the assertions of Mr. Julian? Are they true? When did the Republican party labor to prevent the great work of which it boasts? We are told "many thousands of lives and many millions of money were sacrificed in the mad effort to save the Union and slavery."

The great sacrifice was made to save the Union: not a man, not a dollar, was sacrificed to save slavery. Good men do believe that too much pains was taken in the beginning of the war to persuade the Democratic party that it was not the aim of the conflict to abolish slavery. Good men do believe that President Lincoln hesitated too long to proclaim emancipation; good men also think he proclaimed it too soon. That he did hesitate the world knows, and why he hesitated the world knows. While history lives it will reëcho the sad, solemn, pathetic assurance he gave to Mr. Greeley:

"My paramount object is to save the Union, and not either to save or destroy slavery.

"If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it. If I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it. And if I could do it by freeing some, and leaving others alone, I would also do that. What I do about slavery and the colored race, I do because I believe it helps to save this Union; and what I for-

bear, I forbear because I do not believe it would help to save the Union.

"I shall do less whenever I shall believe what I am doing hurts the cause; and I shall do more whenever I believe doing more will help the cause."

And he closed the assurance by declaring, "I intend no modification of my oft-expressed personal wish that all men everywhere could be free."

It is against the memory of that man, now dead, that Mr. Julian hurls the charge of having sacrificed thousands of men and millions of money to save slavery. Presently, we shall have occasion to notice what his testimony is worth against the living.

When the war had raged more than two years, Mr. Lincoln finally concluded that doing more would help the cause, and accordingly he issued his proclamation. Good men differed then, and differ still, as to whether the proclamation was wise or unwise. Two things, however, are certain. It did not end the rebellion, and it did not abolish slavery. It took nearly two years more of heavy, of costly, of bloody pounding to finish the rebellion; and, after the rebellion was finished, it required an amendment of the Constitution to abolish slavery. But, however men may differ as to the wisdom of the proclamation, that judgment must be brutish which does not feel that Mr. Lincoln would have issued it earlier, or withheld it longer, if he believed that by so doing he could have saved a dollar or a soldier, and have also saved the Union.

And what compulsion drove the Republican party to favor the abolition of slavery? Slavery was abolished by the thirteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States. The resolution proposing that amendment was moved in the Senate on January 11, 1864, and referred to the Judiciary Committee. It was reported back from the committee favorably on the 10th of February following. The Senate agreed to the resolution on April 8, 1864. Thirty-eight Senators recorded their votes in favor of the resolution; all but two of them were Republicans. Six Senators recorded their votes against the resolution; all were Democrats. The House agreed to the same on Janu-

ary 31, 1865. One hundred and nineteen representatives recorded their votes in its favor; but sixteen of those votes came from that Democratic party to which Mr. Julian has hurried. Fifty-six votes were recorded against the resolution; not one of them came from the party which Mr. Julian has deserted. The Senator who moved the resolution in the Senate, the Senator who reported it with the recommendation of the Judiciary Committee, the Senator who first addressed the Senate in its defense, were all Republicans; and not one of them had ever spent a single night in the camp with the Free Democrats of 1848, or with the Liberty party of earlier times.

This is the argument, at last, upon which Mr. Julian justifies his attempt to assassinate the Republican party and to crown the Democratic party: that the former was taught only by events to favor emancipation; that Democrats have attended the same school and have followed in the same path, only a few years behind the former; that Conservatives under the lead of Disraeli have proved as efficient in the cause of British reform as the Liberals under Gladstone; and, therefore, that the Democratic party can as safely be trusted to guard the results of our costly civil conflict as the Republican party. If his conclusions are correct, his justification is complete. The debate turns just upon that point.

If the Democratic party can be depended upon to champion the great interests guaranteed by the last three amendments, no man can be convicted of bad faith for deserting the Republican party and joining it, whatever may be said of his judgment. And candor compels the admission that recent events have rendered it not quite certain, that the Republican party can hereafter be relied upon to do battle for the equal rights of citizens. When the party was united and was honest, and when Grant was President, it was very difficult to keep the way to the polls open to the colored citizen, through the set ranks of the masked Ku-Klux and the unmasked White Leagues and rifle-clubs, which, in some States, surrounded the polls. Thousands fell on their way there, or died for having been there. But, when the ballot-box was reached and a result achieved, it was not difficult to defend that result. Now it seems we are no longer able, or no longer willing, to do that. President Hayes gave away a victory after the en-

franchised blacks of Louisiana had won it, after they had snatched it from the very brow of such terrors as white voters rarely, if ever, confront. A small portion of the Republicans openly and vociferously approve the deed. A larger portion, when the deed is named, greet the mention with a shuddering but admonitory "hush."

Nevertheless, it is as certain now, as it was in 1865 that, if equal citizenship is to be defended at all, it must be done by the Republican party. Nothing has transpired to inspire belief, that the other party is more favorable to the exercise of colored suffrage, than it was to the grant of it. Steadily, stubbornly, inflexibly, that party has opposed itself both to the adoption and to the execution of the great amendments.

On the 11th of July, 1870, Mr. Ferris, in the House of Representatives, offered the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That the fourteenth and fifteenth articles of amendment to the Constitution of the United States, having been duly ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, are valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution of the United States; and as such, binding and obligatory upon the Executive, the Congress, the judiciary, the several States and Territories, and all citizens of the United States."

That resolution was agreed to. One hundred and thirty-eight Representatives voted for it, only four of whom were Democrats. Thirty-two voted against it, not one of whom was a Republican.

On the 5th of February, 1872, Mr. Peters, of Maine, offered, in the same place, the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution of the United States, having been ratified by the number of State Legislatures necessary to make their adoption valid and binding, as well as having been sanctioned by the most significant popular approval, the highest patriotism, and most enlightened public policy, demand of all political parties and all citizens an acquiescence in the validity of such constitutional provisions, and such reasonable legislation by Congress as may be necessary to make them in their letter and spirit most effectual."

That resolution was agreed to. One hundred and twenty-four

Representatives voted for it; only eight of those were Democrats. Fifty-eight Representatives voted against it; not one of those was a Republican.

"I am made all things to all men, that I might by all means save some," was the declaration of the apostle Paul to the Corinthians. Democrats have become all things to all men, so that by all means the negro might *not* be saved. In 1872 they offered to accept Mr. Greeley for President; but only that he might help them to the control of Congress. In 1877 they shouted their applause of President Hayes; but only, as explained by Governor Hampton, because he would wipe out the Republican party in the South. Surely, if in the Democratic party only the colored citizen has hope, he is of all men most miserable.

But, in spite of all these open avowals and all these transparent glosses, Mr. Julian has the unquestionable right to believe, that the party, which has obstinately opposed every concession to the colored citizen, is the only safe guardian of all the concessions secured to him—if he can. It is, however, too evident that he cannot; that he does not believe his own theory. He does not trust his own defense to his own hypothesis. He therefore offers a second plea. If he cannot bring his allies to the protection of his old wards, he would, at least, have us believe that he found in their tents a pure political atmosphere for his own delectation. So he parades himself before the public as a fugitive from the sodden corruptions of the Republican party.

He is politically a unique. He was educated to believe human slavery to be the "sum of all villainies." He taught others to believe that. He first encountered the monster when, weak and self-abased, it was trying to shrink away from human gaze, and perish somewhere out of sight. With that valor common to the very strong in the presence of the very weak, he assaulted the retreating ogre. Suddenly he saw the monster turn upon its assailants. He heard it refuse to die. He heard it demand to live. He heard it demand to reign.

He saw a political party embrace it—not individuals, not a score or two, not a few hundreds here and there, of a party, but the party itself. He saw the party abandon every other human interest, and cleave only to that of slavery. Empires were purchased, wars were fought, conquests were made, ancient

laws were abrogated, that slavery might have room for expansion.

He saw that party demand that the national ægis should protect slavery in the States which sanctioned it, should attend it in the Territories, and whenever it chose to visit in the States which condemned it, that the national authority should enforce for it the rights of hospitality even there.

When slavery made war on the Union and the Constitution, he heard that party demand for it belligerent rights. When, finally, the war closed—when slavery was practically dead—he heard that party refuse to give the national assent to the fact of death, or to an edict forbidding its resuscitation.

And when the fearful struggle was nearly ended, when peace had returned, when slavery was buried and its sepulchre was sealed up with a constitutional amendment, when four millions of human beings had been translated from that bondage which is the law of chattels to that liberty which is the right of men, when nothing remained but to shield with the national authority those new-born rights against the assaults of the Ku-Klux and the rifle-clubs, suddenly Mr. Julian awoke to find that the companions who surrounded him, by whose fidelity and courage this transcendent work had been accomplished, were a band of thieves, not upholding a flag for love of the cause it symbolized, but following it for the sake of the plunder it promised; while, just opposite to him in the camp of that party against which he had so long given battle; from which he had helped to seize the "sum of all villainies,"—there stood the angel of True Reform, white-robed and smiling, beckoning to him; with more serenity but not less authority, than the ghost of Hamlet's father beckoned to the prince!

Undoubtedly Mr. Julian is the victim of nightmare; but whether he awoke from that state in 1872 or sank into it then, is a question for the doctors to determine.

It is but just to the distinguished delinquent to say, that he did not invent this theory, of the depravity of the Republican party.

It was systematically hurled against the party while Julian belonged to it. Others had used the plea to exculpate them from adhering to the Democratic party. The plea is found in

the form-books of that party, well thumbed and very rank. The principle on which it is constructed is simple. It needs only to take the current official register of the United States, and charge every man whose name is enrolled in it with being a villain, and you have the first averment. Then take every name on the last register not found in the present, and proclaim him a martyr to his virtues, and the plea is complete. The proofs are marshaled quite as handily. You have only to dip up bucketful after bucketful of slush from the full sluices of a ribald partisan press, and pour them into the pages of the NORTH AMERICAN, and the pleader's case is concluded.

There is something akin to the admirable, in the audacity which can inspire a man, to come forward and make his bow before the American people, and then tell one-half of them that they are organized for the work, and held together by the hope of public plunder.

It cannot well be said that Mr. Julian has been painstaking in getting up this part of his case, but it may be said that he has been diligent. The limits of a single number of the REVIEW will not suffice for a traverse of all his accusations and of all his insinuations. One can charge a very formidable rascality in very brief space. A rascality can be *suggested* in less space. Mr. Julian employs both forms of presentment indifferently. But it requires much space to refute the charge, and still more to clear up the suggestion. Conscience once stifled, and all sense of duty dismissed, it is quite easy to say that the Republican party opposed all investigations into official conduct, and that when finally forced by popular opinion to submit to investigation, "committees were packed in the interest of the Administration," that their "reports were shamefully spoiled by whitewash," and the like. But until we are told what investigation was opposed, and by whom; until we are told how a committee was packed; until we are told what single fact was covered by whitewash—it is impossible to reply.

He speaks, however, of "abuses in the New York Custom-House." As an easy introduction to the art of trying his allegations, it may not be amiss to remark, that a committee did go to New York, instructed to make an investigation into those abuses. Both political parties were represented on that committee. Sen-

ator Buckingham, of Connecticut, was at the head of it. Mr. Julian will hesitate to accuse Mr. Buckingham of having concealed official guilt, and yet he has nothing to fear from the Senator in this world. Unfortunately for us, Mr. Buckingham is no longer in this world. And, if Mr. Julian chooses to make such a charge, he will stand but little chance of meeting him in the next.

Every witness whom either party wished to examine, was examined. Every question which either party cared to ask, was answered. Not one was objected to—at least by the majority of the committee. There is the testimony, filling three large volumes. That inquiry was prosecuted by Senators Bayard and Casserly, among others. It was inspired by the ambition of one great party, eager to pull down another. It was hounded on by a faction of another party, poisoned by personal rivalries and sputtering with spite. The great horde, which in the course of years had been prosecuted for offenses against the revenue laws, were uniformed as witnesses in the cause of reform, were brigaded, and pioneered by the jackals who had been dismissed the service, were led on to the assault. Every one of them was allowed to state all he knew, all he thought he knew, all he had heard, and all he suspected. The sum of it all is before the world, and has been for years. The defense of that service was staked upon the ability of its ministers to disprove whatever the most malignant witness might assert or insinuate against it. It would seem to be about time that honorable men should stop exclaiming about the abuses of the New York Custom-House, or should specify what those abuses are.

Among the witnesses examined on that inquiry, was that same Horace Greeley whose banners Mr. Julian trained under in 1872. He lived in New York, under the shadow of the custom-house. He was as apt to be informed of its abuses as Mr. Julian could or can be. He was asked to reveal "what knowledge you have, particularly in regard to any wrong-doing in the custom-house or by custom-house officers. Whether you know of any parties in subordinate capacities who have divided their receipts with their superior officers, or whether in any way officials of the custom-house have connived at any frauds upon the revenue?"

Surely that question was broad enough to elicit any informa-

tion he might have as to "abuses in the custom-house." But to that question the only answer he could or would give was this, "I wish to give testimony to one point only; what I consider a grave abuse by custom-house officers in patrolling our State to control its elections."

He knew nothing of offenses against the revenue. He knew nothing of abuses in the service, though he had much to say of what he conceived to be abuses against that wing of the Republican party in New York to which he belonged, and which followed him to Cincinnati, and from Cincinnati to Baltimore.

Mr. Julian's *rationale* of official corruption is, not that official life generates it, but that adventurers, soldiers of fortune, and knaves of every sort, are naturally attracted by the opportunities for plunder which assured majorities in politics afford.

So they gather around such majorities, obtrude themselves upon the service of such; make themselves useful to such, until majorities abandon the great principles which commanded their first successes, and fling themselves into the arms of the villains who followed those successes. As if the master of an East Indiaman, on arriving at Liverpool, should find the hull of his stout ship not disfigured by a seam or by a strain, but covered with barnacles, and should therefore conclude to dismiss from the noble structure all the solid oak in her, and ship her costly cargo for New York in the shell formed of the barnacles.

Undoubtedly there is a tendency in political adventurers toward majorities, but, as they are drawn on by the hope of employment, so they are repelled by the failure to get employment. No one knows how this is better than Mr. Julian himself. He carried the flag and kept step to the music of the Republican party, while that party kept him in the House of Representatives, and only found his way to Cincinnati in 1872, when he lost his way to Washington.

If Mr. Julian would prove his devotion to Republican principles, he should paraphrase the declaration of the apostle, and say, "Herein is fidelity, not that I first forgot the Republican party, but that it first forgot me."

Leaving, reluctantly, the discussion of general principles, we come to notice a few of the instances of official rascality which drove Mr. Julian into Democratic communion. Space and time

are too precious to afford the notice of many of them; and of course it is not for the purpose of defending the Republican party that we notice any of them. Manifestly the fullest and clearest defense of every individual of the score or two of criminals pointed out by Mr. Julian, would not clear the character of the millions who compose the Republican party. Before the next issue of the REVIEW a half-hundred more might be found just as open to attack. The object here is, not to show how much reliance can be placed on the integrity of the Republican party, but how little can be placed on the veracity of Mr. Julian. There can be little room to doubt, either that the Republican party is a combination of the greatest rascals who ever wielded power, or that its assailants are a tribe unparalleled for mendacity.

Mr. Sumner is pointed out, not as an agent of Republican rascality, but as a victim of it; and as having been "driven from *his* chairmanship of the Committee on Foreign Relations," because he opposed the San Domingo job; and "still further insulted by the offer of a place at the tail of the Committee on Education and Labor, with Mr. Flannagan, of Texas, at its head." It has often been asserted before this, that Mr. Sumner was driven from the Committee on Foreign Relations because of his hostility to the San Domingo treaty, and it has as often been denied. This last circumstance of aggravation we have never seen stated before.

There is a coarse and homely adage which ranks a lie "well stuck to" as the peer of a truth. That this lie, so bravely stuck to, and now at last lifted into THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, may not finally dominate the truth, it may be well to say once more that Mr. Sumner *had* no committee, and therefore was driven from none. The simple and well-known facts of that transaction are these: At the opening of the Forty-second Congress, the standing committees of the Senate were reorganized, as they are at the opening of every Congress. Mr. Sumner was not replaced at the head of the Committee on Foreign Relations, in which place he had served long and served ably. He was dropped from that committee, not to degrade, not to punish him, but simply because it was the judgment of the Senate, for reasons stated on the floor at the time, that he would thereafter be less useful in that place than he had formerly been.

He was not dismissed from the Senate. All his familiarity with public law and with foreign politics was retained for the public use. But for the purposes of personal intercourse between the committee and the President and the Secretary of State, it was believed to be more convenient that its chairman should be one who would hold personal intercourse with those functionaries.

It suits the purposes of Mr. Julian to repeat the assertion that Mr. Sumner was left off the committee to punish him for his opposition to the acquisition of San Domingo.

If the fact had been so, it would hardly be a reason why Mr. Julian should leave the Republican party to join the Democratic party. When the Democratic party arranged the committees of the Senate, it displaced Mr. Stephen A. Douglas from the Committee on Territories, avowedly for the reason that he was not sufficiently favorable to the planting of slavery in them. And, if a representative body really favors the adoption of a public measure, it is difficult to say why it should place at the head of a committee any man whose employment there would endanger the success of the measure.

The right of the Senate to leave Mr. Douglas off the Committee on Territories was denied by no one. The propriety of leaving Mr. Sumner off the Committee on Foreign Relations was sharply questioned in open Senate at the time it was done. The reasons for doing it were then stated, and appear of record. It has pleased certain persons to believe, or at least to say, that the true reason was not assigned. The world knows, or may know, by consulting the Journals of the Senate, who voted for and who voted against the organization of the committees had at that time. The world does not know who voted for or who voted against the ratification of the San Domingo treaty. Until the injunction of secrecy is removed from the proceedings on that treaty, the world cannot know whether those who voted against the treaty, voted for or against leaving Mr. Sumner off from the Committee on Foreign Relations. But what the world does know about the treaty is, that the same Senate which left Mr. Sumner off the committee, rejected the treaty. And yet the absurd statement is periodically brandished before the public, that the same Senate

which defeated the treaty, punished a single conspicuous member of the body for helping to defeat it!

Mr. Julian is wholly mistaken in saying that Sumner was insulted by being placed at the tail of the Committee on Education and Labor, of which committee Mr. Flannagan, of Texas, was the head.

Mr. Flannagan was not at the head of that committee, and Mr. Sumner was not placed on it. The Senate did not intend to narrow the sphere of Mr. Sumner's usefulness. That is proved by the fact that the Committee on Privileges and Elections was created at that time. It was proposed to place Mr. Sumner at the head of it, and that committee has always been one of greater activity and more commanding influence than the Committee on Foreign Relations. He, however, declined to serve upon it.

Again, we are told that "Sharpe, a brother-in-law of the President, was appointed Surveyor of the Port of New York, just as if no civil-service rules had ever been heard of." The author does not specify which rule of the civil service it is, which forbids the appointment of a brother-in-law of the President to any office. But the answer to this allegation is that, although a man by the name of Sharpe has for four years held the office of Surveyor of the Port of New York, yet he was not a brother-in-law of the President, nor related in any manner whatever to the President.

Again, we are told that "Cramer, another brother-in-law, who had disgraced our diplomatic service during the preceding Administration, was appointed by the President, and confirmed by the Senate, as Naval Officer at New Orleans."

It is a little difficult to reply to such statements. There was a man by the name of Creamer in the custom-house at New Orleans. He was not naval officer at that port, but was an examiner in the custom-house. He was not a brother-in-law—he was not in any way related to the President. His name is not spelled as is the name of the President's brother-in-law. And, had the critic taken the trouble to refer to a hand-book as common as the Congressional Directory, issued as late as February last, he would have seen that that same Cramer, whom he has accused of having

disgraced our diplomatic service, is still in that service, and still residing at Copenhagen.

Before the Republican party was born, one George Chorpenning was a contractor to carry the United States mails on certain routes between Sacramento, California, and Salt Lake City, in the Territory of Utah. It seems a peculiarity of those contracts that, while service under them ceases at the appointed time, payments rarely do. Mr. Chorpenning was not contented with the pay allowed him under his contract. Accordingly, in 1857, he procured the enactment of a law under which he was paid the sum of $109,000 extra. Still he was not satisfied. He applied successively to Postmasters-General Brown, Holt, Randall, and Cresswell, for more money. Each one in turn denied him. In 1870 he once more had recourse to Congress. The bill then submitted is said to have been drawn for the express purpose of compelling further payments to Chorpenning. The act passed without objection from any one, in the hurry of the last days of the session. Under the new act a new adjustment was had, and a further allowance of $443,000 was made. But before the money was paid Congress reassembled. Attention was attracted to the act, and to the new adjustment made in pursuance of it. Mr. Dawes, of Massachusetts, then a member of the House of Representatives, moved its repeal. On the very day he submitted the repealing act, the House unanimously suspended all rules and passed it. A week later the Senate unanimously concurred. Not a dollar was disbursed in pursuance of the act.

On these facts Mr. Julian feels authorized to say that "Postmaster-General Cresswell did his best to take from the Treasury the sum of $443,000 and pay it to Chorpenning." But if Mr. Cresswell wanted to pay that claim why did he not pay it? He had abundant time to do so; and under the act he had abundant authority to do so. The act requiring readjustment was passed on the 15th of July. Congress adjourned on that day. The whole recess passed before any award was made under it. That award was not signed until the 23d of December. The act was not repealed until January following.

The passage of the act was doubtless a blunder, but a Democratic blunder as much as a Republican blunder; and more the blunder of Mr. Julian than it was of Mr. Cresswell, for the latter

had no voice in either House when the act passed, while the former was a conspicuous member of the House of Representatives. It passed the Forty-first Congress in spite of his presence; it was repealed by the Forty-second Congress in spite of his absence.

Again, we are told that "when General Logan wanted a collector at Chicago turned adrift because he would not join Orville Grant in his whiskey frauds, and in order to make room for one of his political henchmen, the President was his humble servant."

We have consulted the records to ascertain if possible what collector is referred to in that passage. It seems evident that a collector of internal revenue, and not a collector of customs, is aimed at. But whether it is a collector in Chicago, or a collector in some other part of Illinois, or a collector in some other State, is not so certain. And if the Collector of Internal Revenue at Chicago is referred to, the records fail to afford the slightest indication as to which one reference is had.

Owing to deaths, resignations, and removals, there have been since the 4th of May, 1869, six different Collectors of Internal Revenue on duty in the city of Chicago. General Logan seems to have recommended three of them. Two of the three were appointed upon recommendations in which General Logan was only one of a large number of signers. One of the three seems to have been appointed upon the recommendation of General Logan and Hon. C. B. Farwell, only. Not one of them appears to have been appointed upon the sole recommendation of General Logan.

It is a profligate expenditure of time to pursue the items of this indiscriminate inculpation further. The fullest exemplification of innocence is no protection against the charge of guilt. The testimony of public records, even the verdicts of juries and the judgments of courts, are alike disregarded.

In the annals of criminal jurisprudence, there is perhaps not another case where an individual was subjected to so terrible an ordeal as was Oscar F. Babcock at St. Louis. There is no probability that he would ever have been accused of crime if he had not held confidential relations with President Grant. But the brutal appetite for smirching the President could not be resisted.

The lure was too dazzling. He was accused. He was dragged to a distant and a strange city for trial. That there might be no possible lack of zeal in the prosecution, special counsel was employed for the purpose. The counsel selected stood in the front rank of his profession. He stood high in the confidence and regard of the Democratic party. He was inspired by the assurance of large fees, and by the suggestion of the highest political honors. Never did an advocate appear at the bar under so many spurs to effort.

We do not mean to suggest that all these incentives impelled General Brodhead to go beyond his duty. We do mean to say that they were ample securities, if any were needed, against his falling short of his duty.

One great party, and part of the other, clamored for conviction until candid men sickened at the spectacle. It was not to punish Babcock; it was to disgrace Grant. After all, Babcock was acquitted; and, after all, Julian reiterates the charge of his guilt, and ascribes his acquittal to Grant's friendship, the very circumstance which provoked his prosecution. If Mr. Julian should see an officer ride a mile in front of his enemies' sharpshooters without being hit, he would ascribe the miraculous escape to the fact of his exposing the decorations of a general. If he were to witness a bull-fight at Madrid, he would, doubtless, denounce the *matador* as a coward, because he took refuge behind a red flag!

Mr. Julian is nervous. He should take counsel. Any good criminal lawyer would tell him he talks too much. In his eagerness to hide his guilt he betrays it. It is an interesting symptom, and gives ground to hope for his spiritual welfare. It shows that he has sensibility left, or at least the memory of sensibilities; that he remembers, and perhaps regrets, the time when he had generous impulses, and gave loose to them; when he had moral perceptions and trusted them.

Almost all who have betrayed a great cause have exhibited similar symptoms. Very generally they endeavor to excuse their treason by assaults upon the character of the associates they abandon. Such was Arnold's endeavor when he deserted the cause of American independence. Such was Görgey's endeavor when he deserted the cause of Hungarian independence. An-

other class, more sensitive and more despairing still, have laid hands upon their own lives.

Mr. Julian is not so very peculiar. Thousands before him have turned their backs at different periods on the loftiest enterprises which from time to time have engaged human effort. Thousands after him will do likewise. Some have been moved by the hope of personal gain, some by resentment of personal slight. Very generally they have made proclamation that it was not their own integrity, but that of their associates which failed.

Those who deserted the cause of African independence in 1865 were like the rest. Each man took his office, and at sunrise and sunset fired his gun for the President's policy, and the account was settled. Those who deserted the same cause in 1872 were peculiar in these four respects: that they did business more exclusively on credit; that they exacted larger promises; that they paraded their price more ostentatiously; and that they took poorer security than was perhaps ever known before. We are too near that event. We cannot outline it. We do not appreciate it. We are dazed by the din and glamour of the great pretense. But History will laugh.

Whoever shall look back out of the next generation and shall count up the number of renegade Republicans who congregated at Cincinnati in 1872 as candidates for President—all shouting for reform; all vociferating against Republican rascality; each led by a little faction of sore-heads, desperate and reckless, ready to stake their last political hope on the success of their favorite; not one thinking to be elected by the party represented at Cincinnati, but each expecting to be backed by the party which subsequently assembled at Baltimore—will not fail to estimate that stupendous sham at its true value.

Catching gudgeons in an English stream is proverbially easy; but, no matter how skillfully you bait your hook, only one gudgeon, at a time, bites. But the Democratic party threw its hook into Republican waters in 1872, baited with the presidency, and pulled up a whole string of gudgeons, and, what was more wonderful, each was followed clear out of water by the particular school with which he had sported.

The office of criticism is a legitimate and necessary one. Po-

litical parties cannot escape it, and public men should not shun it. But criticism and calumny are two very different agents. The one tends to reform, the other to destroy, the state. The example is evil, and the effort is only pernicious where innocent men are pilloried in the permanent literature of the country as if they were guilty.

It is a crime so to assail private character.

But when the individuals so gibbeted are sent down to posterity as the type of millions and the exemplars of an era, it is no longer a crime against individuals, but against human society.

T. O. Howe.

II.

THE SOVEREIGNTY OF ETHICS.

Since the discovery of Oersted that galvanism and electricity and magnetism are only forms of one and the same force, and convertible each into the other, we have continually suggested to us a larger generalization: that each of the great departments of Nature—chemistry, vegetation, the animal life—exhibits the same laws on a different plane; that the intellectual and moral worlds are analogous to the material. There is a kind of latent omniscience not only in every man but in every particle. That convertibility we so admire in plants and animal structures, whereby the repairs and the ulterior uses are subserved, when one part is wounded or deficient, by another; this self-help and self-creation proceed from the same original power which works remotely in grandest and meanest structures by the same design,—works in a lobster or a mite-worm as a wise man would if imprisoned in that poor form. 'Tis the effort of God, of the Supreme Intellect, in the extremest frontier of his universe.

As this unity exists in the organization of insect, beast, and bird, still ascending to man, and from lower type of man to the highest yet attained, so it does not less declare itself in the spirit or intelligence of the brute. In ignorant ages it was common to vaunt the human superiority by underrating the instinct of other animals; but a better discernment finds that the difference is only of less and more. Experiment shows that the bird and the dog reason as the hunter does, that all the animals show the same good sense in their humble walk that the man who is their enemy or friend does; and, if it be in smaller measure, yet it is not diminished, as his often is, by freak and folly. St.-Pierre says of the animals that a moral sentiment seems to have determined their physical organization.

I see the unity of thought and of morals running through all

animated Nature; there is no difference of quality, but only of more and less. The animal who is wholly kept down in Nature has no anxieties. By yielding, as he must do, to it, he is enlarged and reaches his highest point. The poor grub in the hole of a tree, by yielding itself to Nature, goes blameless through its low part, and is rewarded at last, casts its filthy hull, expands into a beautiful form with rainbow wings, and makes a part of the summer day. The Greeks called it Psyche, a manifest emblem of the soul. The man down in Nature occupies himself in guarding, in feeding, in warming, and multiplying, his body, and, as long as he knows no more, we justify him; but presently a mystic change is wrought, a new perception opens, and he is made a citizen of the world of souls: he feels what is called duty; he is aware that he owes a higher allegiance to do and live as a good member of this universe. In the measure in which he has this sense he is a man, rises to the universal life. The high intellect is absolutely at one with moral nature. A thought is imbosomed in a sentiment, and the attempt to detach and blazon the thought is like a show of cut-flowers. The moral is the measure of health, and in the voice of Genius I hear invariably the moral tone, even when it is disowned in words—health, melody, and a wider horizon, belong to moral sensibility. The finer the sense of justice, the better poet. The believer says to the skeptic:

> "One avenue was shaded from thine eyes
> Through which I wandered to eternal truth."

Humility is the avenue. To be sure, we exaggerate when we represent these two elements as disunited: every man shares them both; but it is true that men generally are marked by a decided predominance of one or of the other element.

In youth and in age we are moralists, and in mature life the moral element steadily rises in the regard of all reasonable men.

'Tis a sort of proverbial dying speech of scholars, at least it is attributed to many, that which Anthony Wood reports of Nathaniel Carpenter, an Oxford Fellow. "It did repent him," he said, "that he had formerly so much courted the maid instead of the mistress" (meaning philosophy and mathematics) "to the neglect of divinity." This, in the language of our time, would be ethics.

And when I say that the world is made up of moral forces, these are not separate. All forces are found in Nature united with that which they move: heat is not separate, light is not massed aloof, nor electricity, nor gravity, but they are always in combination. And so moral powers: they are thirsts for action, and, the more you accumulate, the more they mould and form.

'Tis in the stomach of plants that development begins, and ends in the circles of the universe. 'Tis a long scale from the gorilla to the gentleman—from the gorilla to Plato, Newton, Shakespeare—to the sanctities of religion, the refinements of legislation, the summits of science, art, and poetry. The beginnings are slow and infirm, but 'tis an always-accelerated march. The geologic world is chronicled by the growing ripeness of the strata from lower to higher, as it becomes the abode of more highly-organized plants and animals. The civil history of men might be traced by the successive meliorations as marked in higher moral generalizations—virtue meaning physical courage, then chastity and temperance, then justice and love—bargains of kings with peoples of certain rights to certain classes—then of rights to masses—then at last came the day when, as the historians rightly tell, the nerves of the world were electrified by the proclamation that all men are born free and equal.

Every truth leads in another. The bud extrudes the old leaf, and every truth brings that which will supplant it. In the court of law the judge sits over the culprit, but in the court of life in the same hour the judge also stands as culprit before a true tribunal. Every judge is a culprit, every law an abuse. Montaigne kills off bigots, as cowage kills worms; but there is a higher muse there sitting where he durst not soar, of eye so keen that it can report of a realm in which all the wit and learning of the Frenchman is no more than the cunning of a fox.

It is the same fact existing as sentiment and as will in the mind, which works in Nature as irresistible law, exerting influence over nations, intelligent beings, or down in the kingdoms of brute or of chemical atoms. Nature is a tropical swamp in sunshine, on whose purlieus we hear the song of summer birds, and see prismatic dew-drops—but her interiors are terrific, full of hydras and crocodiles. In the preadamite she bred valor only;

by-and-by she gets on to man, and adds tenderness, and thus raises virtue piecemeal.

When we trace from the beginning, that ferocity has uses; only so are the conditions of the then world met, and these monsters are the scavengers, executioners, diggers, pioneers, and fertilizers, destroying what is more destructive than they, and making better life possible. We see the steady aim of Benefit in view from the first. Melioration is the law. The cruelest foe is a masked benefactor. The wars, which make history so dreary, have served the cause of truth and virtue. There is always an instinctive sense of right, an obscure idea, which animates either party, and which in long periods vindicates itself at last. Thus a sublime confidence is fed at the bottom of the heart that, in spite of appearances, in spite of malignity and blind self-interest, living for the moment, an eternal, beneficent necessity is always bringing things right; and, though we should fold our arms—which we cannot do, for our duty requires us to be the very hands of this guiding sentiment, and work in the present moment—the evils we suffer will at last end themselves through the incessant opposition of Nature to everything hurtful.

The excellence of men consists in the completeness with which the lower system is taken up into the higher—a process of much time and delicacy, but in which no point of the lower should be left untranslated; so that the warfare of beasts should be renewed in a finer field, for more excellent victories. Savage war gives place to that of Turenne and Wellington, which has limitations and a code. This war again gives place to the finer quarrel of property, where the victory is wealth and the defeat poverty.

The inevitabilities are always sapping every seeming prosperity built on a wrong. No matter how you seem to fatten on a crime, that can never be good for the bee which is bad for the swarm. See how these things look in the page of history. Nations come and go, cities rise and fall, all the instincts of man, good and bad, work, and every wish, appetite, and passion, rushes into act and embodies itself in usages, protects itself with laws. Some of them are useful and universally acceptable, hinder none, help all, and these are honored and perpetuated. Others are noxious. Community of property is tried, as when a Tartar horde or

an Indian tribe roam over a vast tract for pasturage or hunting; but it is found at last that some establishment of property, allowing each, on some distinct terms, to fence and cultivate a piece of land, is best for all.

Nature is not so helpless but it can rid itself at last of every crime. An Eastern poet, in describing the golden age, said that God had made justice so dear to the heart of Nature that, if any injustice lurked anywhere under the sky, the blue vault would shrivel to a snake-skin and cast it out by spasms. But the spasms of Nature are years and centuries, and it will tax the faith of man to wait so long.

"For my part," said Napoleon, "it is not the mystery of the incarnation which I discover in religion, but the mystery of social order, which associates with heaven that idea of equality which prevents the rich from destroying the poor."

Shall I say, then, it were truer to see Necessity calm, beautiful, passionless, without a smile, covered with ensigns of woe, stretching her dark warp across the universe? These threads are Nature's pernicious elements, her deluges, miasma, disease, poison; her curdling cold, her hideous reptiles, and worse men, cannibals, and the depravities of civilization; the secrets of the prisons of tyranny, the slave and his master, the proud man's scorn, the orphan's tears, the vices of men, lust, cruelty, and pitiless avarice. These make the gloomy warp of ages. Humanity sits at the dread loom and throws the shuttle and fills it with joyful rainbows, until the sable ground is flowered all over with a woof of human industry and wisdom, virtuous examples, symbols of useful and generous arts, with beauty and pure love, courage, and the victories of the just and wise over malice and wrong.

Man is always throwing his praise or blame on events, and does not see that he only is real, and the world his mirror and echo. He imputes the stroke to fortune, which in reality himself strikes. The student discovers one day that he lives in enchantment: the house, the works, the persons, the days, the weathers—all that he calls Nature, all that he calls institutions, when once his mind is active, are visions merely—wonderful allegories, significant pictures of the laws of the mind, and through this enchanted gallery he is led by unseen guides to read and learn the laws of Heaven. This discovery may come early—some-

times in the nursery, to a rare child; later in the school, but oftener when the mind is more mature; and to multitudes of men wanting in mental activity it never comes—any more than poetry or art. But it ought to come; it belongs to the human intellect, and is an insight which we cannot spare.

The idea of right exists in the human mind, and lays itself out in the equilibrium of Nature, in the equalities and periods of our system, in the level of seas, in the action and reaction of forces. Nothing is allowed to exceed or absorb the rest; if it do, it is disease, and is quickly destroyed. It was an early discovery of the mind—this beneficent rule. Strength enters just as much as the moral element prevails. The strength of the animal to eat and to be luxurious and to usurp is rudeness and imbecility. The law is: To each shall be rendered his own. As thou sowest, thou shalt reap. Smite, and thou shalt smart. Serve, and thou shalt be served. If you love and serve men, you cannot, by any hiding or stratagem, escape the remuneration. Secret retributions are always restoring the level, when disturbed, of the Divine justice. It is impossible to tilt the beam. All the tyrants, and proprietors, and monopolists of the world, in vain set their shoulders to heave the bar. Settles for evermore the ponderous equator to its line, and man and mote and star and sun must range with it, or be pulverized by the recoil.

It is a doctrine of unspeakable comfort. He that plants his foot here, passes at once out of the kingdom of illusions. Others may well suffer in the hideous picture of crime with which earth is filled and the life of society threatened, but the habit of respecting that great order which certainly contains and will dispose of our little system, will take all fear from the heart. It did itself create and distribute all that is created and distributed, and, trusting to its power, we cease to care for what it will certainly order well. To good men, as we call good men, this doctrine of Trust is an unsounded secret. They use the word, they have accepted the notion of a mechanical supervision of human life, by which that certain wonderful being whom they call God does take up their affairs where their intelligence leaves them, and somehow knits and coördinates the issues of them in all that is beyond the reach of private faculty. They do not see that *He*, that *It*, is there, next and within; the thought of the

thought; the affair of affairs; that he is existence, and take him from them and they would not be. They do not see that particulars are sacred to him, as well as the scope and outline; that these passages of daily life are his work; that in the moment when they desist from interference, these particulars take sweetness and grandeur, and become the language of mighty principles.

A man should be a guest in his own house, and a guest in his own thought. He is there to speak for truth; but who is he? Some clod the truth has snatched from the ground, and with fire has fashioned to a momentary man. Without the truth, he is a clod again. Let him find his superiority in not wishing superiority; find the riches of love which possesses that which it adores; the riches of poverty; the height of lowliness, the immensity of to-day; and, in the passing hour, the age of ages. Wondrous state of man! never so happy as when he has lost all private interests and regards, and exists only in obedience and love of the Author.

The fiery soul said: "Let me be a blot on this fair world, the obscurest, the loneliest sufferer, with one proviso—that I know it is His agency. I will love him, though he shed frost and darkness on every way of mine." The emphasis of that blessed doctrine lay in lowliness. The new saint gloried in infirmities. Who or what was he? His rise and his recovery were vicarious. He has fallen in another; he rises in another.

We perish, and perish gladly, if the law remains. I hope it is conceivable that a man may go to ruin gladly, if he see that thereby no shade falls on that he loves and adores. We need not always be stipulating for our clean shirt and roast-joint *per diem*. We do not believe the less in astronomy and vegetation, because we are writhing and roaring in our beds with rheumatism. Cripples and invalids, we doubt not there are bounding fawns in the forest, and lilies with graceful, springing stem; so neither do we doubt or fail to love the eternal law, of which we are such shabby practisers. Truth gathers itself spotless and unhurt after all our surrenders, and concealments, and partisanship—never hurt by the treachery or ruin of its best defenders, whether Luther, or William Penn, or St. Paul. We answer, when they tell us of the bad behavior of Luther or Paul:

"Well, what if he did? Who was more pained than Luther or Paul?" We attach ourselves violently to our teachers and historical personalities, and think the foundation shaken if any fault is shown in their record. But how is the truth hurt by their falling from it? The law of gravity is not hurt by every accident, though our leg be broken. No more is the law of justice by our departure from it.

We are to know that we are never without a pilot. When we know not how to steer, and dare not hoist a sail, we can drift. The current knows the way, though we do not. When the stars and sun appear; when we have conversed with navigators who know the coast, we may begin to put out an oar and trim a sail. The ship of heaven guides itself, and will not accept a wooden rudder.

Have you said to yourself ever: "I abdicate all choice, I see it is not for me to interfere. I see that I have been one of the crowd; that I have been a pitiful person, because I have wished to be my own master, and to dress and order my whole way and system of living. I thought I managed it very well. I see that my neighbors think so. I have heard prayers. I have prayed even, but I have never until now dreamed that this undertaking the entire management of my own affairs was not commendable. I have never seen, until now, that it dwarfed me. I have not discovered, until this blessed ray flashed just now through my soul, that there dwelt any power in Nature that would relieve me of my load. But now I see."

What is this intoxicating sentiment that allies this scrap of dust to the whole of Nature and the whole of Fate—that makes this doll a dweller in ages, mocker at time, able to spurn all outward advantages, peer and master of the elements? I am taught by it that what touches any thread in the vast web of being touches me. I am representative of the whole, and the good of the whole, or what I call the right, makes me invulnerable.

How came this creation so magically woven that nothing can do me mischief but myself—that an invisible fence surrounds my being which screens me from all harm that I will to resist? If I will stand upright, the creation cannot bend me. But if I violate myself, if I commit a crime, the lightning loiters by the speed of retribution, and every act is not hereafter but instanta-

neously rewarded according to its quality. Virtue is the adopting of this dictate of the universal mind by the individual will. Character is the habit of this obedience, and religion is the accompanying emotion, the emotion of reverence which the presence of the universal mind ever excites in the individual.

We go to famous books for our examples of character, just as we send to England for shrubs, which grow as well in our own door-yards and cow-pastures. Life is always rich, and spontaneous graces and forces elevate it in every domestic circle, which are overlooked while we are reading something less excellent in old authors. From the obscurity and casualty of those which I know, I infer the obscurity and casualty of the like balm and consolation and immortality in a thousand homes which I do not know, all round the world. And I see not why to these simple instincts—simple yet grand—all the heights and transcendencies of virtue and of enthusiasm are not open. There is power enough in them to move the world; and it is not any sterility or defect in ethics, but our negligence of these fine monitors, of these world-embracing sentiments, that makes religion cold and life low.

While the immense energy of the sentiment of duty and the awe of the supernatural exert incomparable influence on the mind,—yet it is often perverted, and the tradition received with awe, but without correspondent action of the receiver. Then you find so many men infatuated on that topic! Wise on all other, they lose their head the moment they talk of religion. It is the sturdiest prejudice in the public mind that religion is something by itself; a department distinct from all other experiences, and to which the tests and judgment men are ready enough to show on other things, do not apply. You may sometimes talk with the gravest and best citizen, and, the moment the topic of religion is broached, he runs into a childish superstition. His face looks infatuated, and his conversation is. When I talked with an ardent missionary, and pointed out to him that his creed found no support in my experience, he replied, "It is not so in your experience, but is so in the other world." I answer: Other world! there is no other world. God is one and omnipresent; here or nowhere is the whole fact. The one miracle which God works evermore is in Nature, and imparting himself to the mind. When

we ask simply, "What is true in thought? what is just in action?" it is the yielding of the private heart to the Divine mind, and all personal preferences, and all requiring of wonders, are profane.

The word miracle, as it is used, only indicates the ignorance of the devotee, staring with wonder to see water turned into wine, and heedless of the stupendous fact of his own personality. Here he stands, a lonely thought harmoniously organized into correspondence with the universe of mind and matter. What narrative of wonders coming down from a thousand years ought to charm his attention like this? Certainly it is human to value a general consent, a fraternity of believers, a crowded church; but as the sentiment purifies and rises, it leaves crowds. It makes churches of two, churches of one. A fatal disservice does this Swedenborg or other who offers to do my thinking for me. It seems as if, when the Spirit of God speaks so plainly to each soul, it were an impiety to be listening to one or another saint. Jesus was better than others, because he refused to listen to others and listened at home.

You are really interested in your thought. You have meditated in silent wonder on your existence in this world. You have perceived in the first fact of your conscious life here a miracle so astounding—a miracle comprehending all the universe of miracles to which your intelligent life gives you access—as to exhaust wonder, and leave you no need of hunting here or there for any particular exhibitions of power. Then up comes a man with a text of 1 John v. 7, or a knotty sentence from St. Paul, which he considers as the axe at the root of your tree. You cannot bring yourself to care for it. You say: "Cut away; my tree is Ygdrasil —the tree of life." He interrupts for the moment your peaceful trust in the Divine Providence. Let him know by your security that your conviction is clear and sufficient, and if he were Paul himself, you also are here, and with your Creator. We all give way to superstitions. The house in which we were born is not quite mere timber and stone; is still haunted by parents and progenitors. The creeds into which we were initiated in childhood and youth no longer hold their old place in the minds of thoughtful men, but they are not nothing to us, and we hate to have them treated with contempt. There is so much that we do not know, that we give to these suggestions the benefit of the doubt.

It is a necessity of the human mind that he who looks at one object should look away from all other objects. He may throw himself upon some sharp statement of one fact, some verbal creed, with such concentration as to hide the universe from him: but the stars roll above; the sun warms him. With patience and fidelity to truth he may work his way through, if only by coming against somebody who believes more fables than he does; and, in trying to dispel the illusions of his neighbor, he opens his own eyes.

In the Christianity of this country there is wide difference of opinion in regard to inspiration, prophecy, miracles, the future state of the soul; every variety of opinion, and rapid revolution in opinions, in the last half-century. It is simply impossible to read the old history of the first century as it was read in the ninth; to do so, you must abolish in your mind the lessons of all the centuries from the ninth to the nineteenth.

Shall I make the mistake of baptizing the daylight, and time, and space, by the name of John or Joshua, in whose tent I chance to behold daylight, and space, and time? What anthropomorphists we are in this, that we cannot let moral distinctions be, but must mould them into human shape! "Mere morality" means—not put into a personal master of morals. Our religion is geographical, belongs to our time and place; respects and mythologizes some one time, and place, and person, and people. So it is occasional. It visits us only on some exceptional and ceremonial occasion, on a wedding or a baptism, on a sick-bed, or at a funeral, or perhaps on a sublime national victory or a peace. But that be sure is not the religion of the universal unsleeping providence which lurks in trifles, in still, small voices, in the secrets of the heart, and our closest thoughts, as efficiently as in our proclamations and successes.

Far be it from me to underrate the men or the churches that have fixed the hearts of men and organized their devout impulses or oracles into good institutions. The Church of Rome had its saints, and inspired the conscience of Europe—St. Augustine, and Thomas à Kempis, and Fénelon; the piety of the English Church in Cranmer, and Herbert, and Taylor; the Reformed Church, Scougal; the mystics, Behmen and Swedenborg; the Quakers, Fox and James Naylor. I confess our later generation

appears ungirt, frivolous, compared with the religions of the last or Calvinistic age. There was in the last century a serious habitual reference to the spiritual world, running through diaries, letters, and conversation—yes, and into wills and legal instruments also, compared with which our liberation looks a little foppish and dapper.

The religion of seventy years ago was an iron belt to the mind, giving it concentration and force. A rude people were kept respectable by the determination of thought on the eternal world. Now men fall abroad—want polarity—suffer in character and intellect. A sleep creeps over the great functions of man. Enthusiasm goes out. In its stead a low prudence seeks to hold society staunch; but its arms are too short; cordage and machinery never supply the place of life.

Luther would cut his hand off sooner than write theses against the pope if he suspected that he was bringing on with all his might the pale negations of Boston Unitarianism. I will not now go into the metaphysics of that reaction by which in history a period of belief is followed by an age of criticism, in which wit takes the place of faith in the leading spirits, and an excessive respect for forms out of which the heart has departed becomes most obvious in the least religious minds. I will not now explore the causes of the result, but the fact must be conceded as of frequent recurrence, and never more evident than in our American church. To a self-denying, ardent church, delighting in rites and ordinances, has succeeded a cold, intellectual race, who analyze the prayer and psalm of their forefathers, and the more intellectual reject every yoke of authority and custom with a petulance unprecedented. It is a sort of mark of probity and sincerity to declare how little you believe, while the mass of the community indolently follow the old forms with childish scrupulosity, and we have punctuality for faith, and good taste for character.

But I hope the defect of faith with us is only apparent. We shall find that freedom has its own guards, and, as soon as in the vulgar it runs to license, sets all reasonable men on exploring those guards. I do not think the summit of this age truly reached or expressed unless it attain the height which religion and philosophy reached in any former age. If I miss the inspiration of the

saints of Calvinism, or of Platonism, or Buddhism, our times are not up to theirs, or, more truly, have not yet their own legitimate force.

Worship is the regard for what is above us. Men are respectable only as they respect. We delight in children because of that religious eye which belongs to them; because of their reverence for their seniors, and for their objects of belief. The poor Irish laborer one sees with respect, because he believes in something, in his church, and in his employers. Superstitious persons we see with respect, because their whole existence is not bounded by their hats and their shoes; but they walk attended by pictures of the imagination, to which they pay homage. You cannot impoverish man by taking away these objects above him without ruin. It is very sad to see men who think their goodness made of themselves; it is very grateful to see those who hold an opinion the reverse of this. The old poet Daniel said:

> "Unless above himself he can
> Erect himself, how poor a thing is man!"

All ages of belief have been great; all of unbelief have been mean. The Orientals believe in Fate. That which shall befall them is written on the iron leaf; they will not turn on their heel to avoid famine, plague, or the sword of the enemy. That is great, and gives a great air to the people. We in America are charged with a great deficiency in worship; that reverence does not belong to our character; that our institutions, our politics, and our trade, have fostered a self-reliance which is small, liliputian, full of fuss and bustle; we look at and will bear nothing above us in the state, and do exceedingly applaud and admire ourselves, and believe in our senses and understandings, while our imagination and our moral sentiment are desolated. In religion, too, we want objects above; we are fast losing or have already lost our old reverence; new views of inspiration, of miracles, of the saints, have supplanted the old opinions, and it is vain to bring them again. Revolutions never go backward, and in all churches a certain decay of ancient piety is lamented, and all threatens to lapse into apathy and indifferentism. It becomes us to consider whether we cannot have a real faith and real objects in lieu of these false ones. The human mind, when it is trusted, is never

false to itself. If there be sincerity and good meaning—if there be really in us the wish to seek for our superiors, for that which is lawfully above us, we shall not long look in vain.

Meantime there is great centrality, a centripetence equal to the centrifugence. The mystic or theist is never scared by any startling materialism. He knows the laws of gravitation and of repulsion are deaf to French talkers, be they never so witty. If theology shows that opinions are fast changing, it is not so with the convictions of men with regard to conduct. These remain. The most daring heroism, the most accomplished culture, or rapt holiness, never exhausted the claim of these lowly duties—never penetrated to their origin, or was able to look behind their source. We cannot disenchant, we cannot impoverish ourselves, by obedience; but by humility we rise, by obedience we command, by poverty we are rich, by dying we live.

We are thrown back on rectitude forever and ever, only rectitude—to mend one; that is all we can do. But *that* the zealot stigmatizes as a sterile chimney-corner philosophy. Now, the first position I make is that natural religion supplies still all the facts which are disguised under the dogma of popular creeds. The progress of religion is steadily to its identity with morals.

How is the new generation to be edified? How should it not? The life of those once omnipotent traditions was really not in the legend, but in the moral sentiment and the metaphysical fact which the legends enclosed—and these survive. A new Socrates, or Zeno, or Swedenborg, or Pascal, or a new crop of geniuses like those of the Elizabethan age, may be born in this age, and, with happy heart and a bias for theism, bring asceticism, duty, and magnanimity, into vogue again.

It is true that Stoicism, always attractive to the intellectual and cultivated, has now no temples, no academy, no commanding Zeno or Antoninus. It accuses us that it has none: that pure ethics is not now formulated and concreted into a *cultus*, a fraternity with assemblings and holy-days, with song and book, with brick and stone. Why have not those who believe in it and love it left all for this, and dedicated themselves to write out its scientific scriptures to become its Vulgate for millions? I answer for one that the inspirations we catch of this law are not continuous and technical, but joyful sparkles, and are recorded for their

beauty, for the delight they give, not for their obligation; and that is their priceless good to men, that they charm and uplift, not that they are imposed.

It has not yet its first hymn. But, that every line and word may be coals of true fire, ages must roll, ere these casual wide-falling cinders can be gathered into broad and steady altar-flame.

It does not yet appear what forms the religious feeling will take. It prepares to rise out of all forms to an absolute justice and healthy perception. Here is now a new feeling of humanity infused into public action. Here is contribution of money on a more extended and systematic scale than ever before to repair public disasters at a distance, and of political support to oppressed parties. Then there are the new conventions of social science, before which the questions of the rights of women, the laws of trade, the treatment of crime, regulation of labor. If these are tokens of the steady currents of thought and will in these directions, one might well anticipate a new nation.

I know how delicate this principle is—how difficult of adaptation to practical and social arrangements. It cannot be profaned; it cannot be forced; to draw it out of its natural current is to lose at once all its power. Such experiments as we recall are those in which some sect or dogma made the tie, and that was an artificial element, which chilled and checked the union. But is it quite impossible to believe that men should be drawn to each other by the simple respect which each man feels for another in whom he discovers absolute honesty; the respect he feels for one who thinks life is quite too coarse and frivolous, and that he should like to lift it a little, should like to be the friend of some man's virtue; for another who, underneath his compliances with artificial society, would dearly like to serve somebody,—to test his own reality by making himself useful and indispensable?

Man does not live by bread alone, but by faith, by admiration, by sympathy. 'Tis very shallow to say that cotton, or iron, or silver and gold, are kings of the world; there are rulers that will at any moment make these forgotten. Fear will. Love will. Character will. Men live by their credence. Governments stand by it—by the faith that the people share—whether it comes from the religion in which they were bred, or from an

original conscience in themselves, which the popular religion echoes.. If government could only stand by force, if the instinct of the people was to resist the government, it is plain the government must be two to one, in order to be secure, and then it would not be safe from desperate individuals. But no; the old commandment, "Thou shalt not kill," holds down New York, and London, and Paris, and not a police, or horse-guards.

The credence of men it is that moulds them, and creates at will one or another surface. The mind as it opens transfers very fast its choice from the circumstance to the cause; from courtesy to love, from inventions to science, from London or Washington law, or public opinion, to the self-revealing idea; from all that talent executes to the sentiment that fills the heart and dictates the future of nations.

The commanding fact which I never do not see, is the sufficiency of the moral sentiment. We buttress it up, in shallow hours or ages, with legends, traditions, and forms, each good for the one moment in which it was a happy type or symbol of the Power, but the Power sends in the next moment a new lesson, which we lose while our eyes are reverted and striving to perpetuate the old.

America shall introduce a pure religion. Ethics are thought not to satisfy affection. But all the religion we have is the ethics of one or another holy person; as soon as character appears, be sure love will, and veneration, and anecdotes, and fables about him, and delight of good men and women in him. And what deeps of grandeur and beauty are known to us in ethical truth, what divination or insight belongs to it! For innocence is a wonderful electuary for purging the eyes to search the nature of those souls that pass before it. What armor it is to protect the good from outward or inward harm, and with what power it converts evil accidents into benefits; the power of its countenance; the power of its presence! To it alone comes true friendship; to it come grandeur of situation and poetic perception, enriching all it deals with.

Once men thought Spirit divine, and Matter diabolic: one Ormuzd, the other Ahriman. Now science and philosophy recognize the parallelism, the approximation, the unity of the two: how each reflects the other as face answers to face in a glass: nay,

how the laws of both are one, or how one is the realization. We are learning not to fear truth.

The man of this age must be matriculated in the university of sciences and tendencies flowing from all past periods. He must not be one who can be surprised and shipwrecked by every bold or subtile word which malignant and acute men may utter in his hearing, but should be taught all skepticisms and unbeliefs, and made the destroyer of all card-houses and paper walls, and the sifter of all opinions, by being put face to face from his infancy with Reality.

A man who has accustomed himself to look at all his circumstances as very mutable, to carry his possessions, his relations to persons, and even his opinions, in his hand, and in all these to pierce to the principle and moral law, and everywhere to find that,—has put himself out of the reach of all skepticism; and it seems as if whatever is most affecting and sublime in our intercourse, in our happiness, and in our losses, tended steadily to uplift us to a life so extraordinary, and, one might say, superhuman.

R. W. Emerson.

III.

COMMERCIAL RELATIONS WITH FRANCE.

It is generally admitted that, in order to revive our commerce and industry, it is absolutely necessary to have a more extended foreign trade.

It is further admitted that, while the agricultural products of the United States share a more than fair competition with the raw cotton of India, Egypt, and Brazil, and with the cereals of Russia and Germany, in the markets of the world, yet the export of our surplus manufactures can hardly compare in value to the two towns of Sheffield and Bradford. In fact, our whole export of manufactured goods in 1877 was about $70,000,000, while our production of manufactures exceeded, no doubt, $3,000,000,000 in value.

It is therefore of the greatest importance to the industry of the country to understand our commercial relations with the several great countries in the world. I intend in this article to explain our commercial relations with France. Our total trade with that country, exports and imports, is the second in importance on the list.

The total imports from France in 1877 amounted to $50,355,540, and our total exports to France in 1877 amounted to $46,233,793: the grand total being $96,589,333. The imports and exports of bullion comprised in the above figures were: Imports of bullion from France, $2,799,248; exports of bullion to France, $2,135,450—showing an increase of imports in bullion over exports of $663,798: yet the actual balance of trade was against us to the amount of $4,121,747. This circumstance in itself is by no means a very serious feature, as it has been proved over and over again that a country can be, and, as an example, during the last few years the United States has been, in commercial and industrial distress, with the balance of trade in the aggregate in her

favor. But when we analyze the nature of our trade with France we find the result far from satisfactory. Of our $46,233,793 exports to France, twelve items represent no less than $44,336,013, as follows:

Cotton, raw	$25,450,939
Provisions	4,662,844
Petroleum	3,355,104
Leaf-tobacco	2,491,421
Bullion	2,135,450
Breadstuffs	2,036,807
Copper in ingots	1,880,000
Tallow	1,234,260
Lumber, staves, etc.	356,960
Hides and skins	335,900
Whale-oil and whalebone	251,054
Hops	145,274
Total	$44,336,013

Leaving barely $2,000,000 of exports for all manufactured goods. As it will be observed that the above items represent the crudest agricultural products, breadstuffs, petroleum, ingot-copper, tallow, etc., the question now arises, "Why do we not export more of our manufactures to France?"

As a comparison of our exports of the same manufactured goods to England, Germany, and France, respectively, the following table, of but a few items, will give the reader a better idea in how far we are cut off from the French market with our manufactures:

EXPORTS IN 1877.

ARTICLES.	To England.	To Germany.	To France.
Cotton fabrics	$1,740,365	$257,944	None.
Iron and steel manufactures	1,108,901	837,166	$117,309
Leather of all kinds, including morocco	4,785,265	1,527,076	19,515
Wooden-ware and furniture	476,820	247,891	47,539
Sewing-machines	479,710	587,684	38,281

It would be useless to follow up the list of smaller items, but the above gives a fair idea that we are precluded from selling our manufactured goods in the French market. And, what is still more melancholy, is the fact that this is not owing to our inability to compete, seeing that we do compete, both with England

and Germany, in their own markets, with the manufactured goods so far named.

The unsatisfactory state of our commercial relations with France is owing to the fact that our commerce is classed under the general tariff of France, and we are not allowed to participate in the benefits of the liberal treaty tariff. It should be understood that the French have two distinct tariff laws. The one (the old tariff) is called *tarif général*, full of prohibitions and high rates of duties, and the other the *tarif conventionnel*, which is the celebrated Cobden treaty tariff, and only nations who have an express commercial treaty with France come under the category. The nations who have a commercial treaty with France are—Great Britain, Belgium, Italy, Switzerland, Sweden and Norway, the Netherlands, Portugal, Austria, Turkey, and Germany.

Any of these nations sending fabrics of cotton to France are charged a duty in a specific form, averaging from 40 francs for 100 kilos (or 220 pounds) to 95 francs on unbleached cotton goods. But if it comes from any other country, that has not a commercial treaty with France, for instance from the United States, it is prohibited entirely.

Iron, for instance, pays under the treaty tariff a duty of 6 to 7 francs 50 centimes per 100 kilos. But, if it comes from the United States, the duty is 15 francs to 19 francs per 100 kilos.

Tanned leather pays a duty of 10 to 60 francs per 100 kilos under the treaty tariff, while under the general tariff the duty is from 57 to 147 francs per 100 kilos.

Machinery, under the treaty tariff, pays a duty of from 6 to 10 francs per 100 kilos, but under the general tariff the duty is from 21 to 75 francs per 100 kilos. And so it goes on through the whole tariff list on manufactured goods. What is not absolutely prohibited, is charged from three to four times more under the general tariff than under the treaty tariff. Thus it will be seen that we are precluded from having a trade with a great country like France, in manufactured goods, not because we do not manufacture articles she needs or wants, or because they are really too dear, but simply because the tariff law of France prevents the trade.

It should also be understood that, in the several articles we

do export largely to France, such as raw materials, grain and provisions, no difference is made in France in the duties, if they came from tariff-treaty countries or others.

This, then, explains the whole mystery why, in an export of over $46,000,000 to France, less than $2,000,000 is made up of manufactured goods. Now, France is no doubt perfectly willing to allow us to come in under the treaty tariff. But she says (and perhaps not very wisely): "As long as you in the United States charge a heavy duty on our products, we cannot admit you to our liberal tariff. What we want is reciprocity."

It will therefore be necessary now to explain in how far our high duties injure imports from France. First, I will show the chief imports from France in 1877, and the rate of duties charged on them.

Of the $50,353,540 imports from France in 1877, $7,201,881 were admitted into the United States free of duty, leaving some $43,000,000 imports dutiable, and the chief items were as follows:

ARTICLES.	Value of Imports.	Rate of Duty, calculated ad valorem.
Buttons of all kinds	$842,647	30 per cent.
Articles of clothing	127,633	56 " "
Cotton fabrics	2,231,058	Average 40 " "
Earthenware	544,320	" 40 " "
Fancy goods	1,784,970	35 " "
Sardines	685,164	50 " "
Linens, etc	354,162	40 " "
Fruits of all kinds	521,349	25 " "
Furs and dressed skins	781,769	20 " "
Glassware	250,329	45 " "
Iron and steel manufactures	401,082	Average 40 " "
Leather of all kinds	3,095,685	25 " "
Kid gloves	1,186,109	50 " "
Leather manufactures	142,501	35 " "
Metals	290,499	Average 30 " "
Olive-oil	297,796	51 " "
Paintings, etc	378,661	10 " "
Precious stones	1,032,758	10 " "
Manufactures of silks	12,709,932	60 " "
Watches, clocks, etc	230,419	25 " "
Spirits, brandy	1,100,966	104 " "
Wines, champagne	1,613,417	51 " "
Still-wines in casks	951,055	85 " "
Manufactures of wool	7,682,345	Average 56 " "
Total	$39,236,626	

It will thus be seen that nine items alone, amounting to $26,354,417 out of these $39,236,626 imports, pay a duty of fifty per cent. and over in the United States:

ARTICLES.	Value of Imports.	Rate of Duty, calculated ad valorem.
Silks	$12,709,932	60 per cent.
Manufactures of wool	7,682,345	56 " "
Brandy	1,100,966	104 " "
Still-wines	951,055	85 " "
Kid gloves	1,186,109	50 " "
Champagne	1,613,417	51 " "
Olive-oil	297,796	51 " "
Articles of clothing	127,633	56 " "
Sardines	685,164	50 " "
Total	$26,354,417	

Then arises the question whether, for the sake of obtaining revenue, we can afford to lower our duties on the above articles in order to conciliate the French trade.

There is no doubt that lower rates of duties on silks, manufactures of wool, sardines, kid gloves, clothing, and olive-oil, would bring us more revenue than we get now from these products.

The tax on brandy is not higher in the United States than it is in England, while the duty on wine requires more a revision of classification than actual lowering of rates. It is true, the duty of forty cents a gallon on cheap red wines is too high, and should be lowered; but champagne, at six dollars' duty on a dozen quart-bottles, is barely equal to fifty-one per cent. Thus, it will be seen that the reciprocity tariff question with France is more or less complicated; yet France is decidedly punishing her commerce by keeping us out of the "treaty tariff." She deprives herself largely of the benefits of having many of our manufactured articles cheap, because we tax heavily her silks and wines, which, as is seen, we are still obliged to import largely, notwithstanding the high rates of duties.

Again, France for the last seventeen years has had ample proof that a liberal trade with nations is of the greatest benefit to her.

How strange, and, if I may be allowed to say, blind, is a commercial policy which says, "Because you are taxing your people

in the United States sixty per cent. on silks, we in France will tax American leather fifty per cent., and, by so doing, we will not have as cheap boots and shoes, saddlery, and other leather goods, as the English and Germans, who do not tax American leather!" Is it possible for so enlightened a nation as France not to see that a tariff policy which actually deprives the treasury of revenue (as is the case with American cotton goods, now prohibited in France) injures both the revenue and the consumers?

France has found it profitable to buy cotton fabrics and many other articles in England. She certainly does not buy these manufactures simply because all kinds of French products, except spirits and wines, are free in England. But she does buy them because they are cheap, and both trade and consumers are benefited. If there were no benefits derived from these English products in France, the Frenchman would not buy them. Why, then, should France deprive herself of our manufactures, which the English are buying from us, and in many cases, no doubt, selling them to France as English goods?

Retaliation is not a very philanthropic word, nay, not even if it is used for charitable purposes; because it is always open to the questionable contingency that, when one side stops being charitable, the other side would do the same.

The interest of a great commercial nation is to allow its people to have the benefits of the world's productions, without hinderance, from the cheapest markets, subject to such judicious charges as are absolutely necessary for the maintenance of the state.

In connection with the retaliation policy, it may be pointed out that section 17 in Mr. Wood's tariff bill, which proposes to charge an additional ten per cent. on the rate of duty on all goods coming from countries that have discriminating duties against our manufactures, is a step backward in tariff revision; and there is not much danger of its becoming law. This section, if adopted, would of course raise the duty on French products higher than on English and German products. I do not believe that it would punish the industries of France much, since we would, in spite of it, consume as many French silks, French wines and brandies, and other peculiar French manufactures, as before; but it will add a heavier burden to the consumers of French goods in the United States.

The able economists of France should seriously consider whether the time has not come for the abolition of that relic of barbarism known as the *tarif général.* It is not for a moment contended that this tariff is kept on the statute-books of France in order to produce revenue. It is simply upheld to induce or coerce foreign nations to reciprocate in the trade with France. But it is a melancholy fact that it has the opposite effect. It produces irritation enough to induce one of the largest and most faithful customers of France, the 45,000,000 consumers in the United States, to propose a retaliation; and the very fact of the existence of this outrageous *tarif général* in France has furnished the most potential weapons to the high-tariff party here with which to fight the advocates of a liberal tariff reform.

Besides, coercion may sometimes prove successful in war, mutiny, and rebellion; but, commerce being the very embodiment of peace and harmony, "coercion" is about the worst element that can be employed to bring about a good understanding.

There can be no doubt that a satisfactory commercial understanding can be accomplished between the United States and France, in a thorough exchange of liberal views, by the eminent men who are now presiding over the destinies of each country.

The commercial interests of both countries, the value and amount of the trade, are set forth in this article, and there can be no doubt that, by a fair commercial understanding, our trade with France can in a few years be doubled, both as to exports and imports. That such a happy consummation will give employment to tens of thousands in both countries, be a great boon to consumers, commerce, and industry, and besides add revenue to the Treasury, no one, who can bring only average intelligence to the question, can doubt.

J. S. Moore.

IV.

DISCIPLINE IN AMERICAN COLLEGES.

In consequence of a number of student-outbreaks, some of which have been covered up, while others have been exposed to view in order to their repression, there is a considerable amount of undiscerning interest taken at this present time in the discipline of American colleges. People who have not concerned themselves with the progress which our best colleges have been making of late years in advancing culture and learning are dreadfully agitated with fears that our young are being trained to disorders, and that lives are in danger—the simple truth being that certain colleges are bent at all hazards on repressing lawlessness. I have before me, while I write, dozens of newspapers discussing the subject of college-government with hot eagerness, most of them with visible ignorance (which is sometimes as visible as darkness), and without any supererogatory wisdom. Everybody is crying out, like the crowd when a fire is raging: "Let us do something; the flame is spreading!" Most of the articles condemn the colleges, and do not propose a remedy, as they evidently do not know of any. Others have a recipe got up on the instant. A contagious disease has broken out, and one after another comes with his medicines, most of them of an obviously quack character, and none of them yet patented. Some are shouting, "Let the civil authorities put down the evil by prosecutions such as have been used against the ku-klux, the railway-laborers, and the Molly Maguire associations!" Others are demanding of the college faculties that they awake from their somnolence, and suspend, dismiss, and expel, till there is no evil left (and no good) —*atque ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem adpellant.* It has to be added that there are among us a few laughing philosophers, as knowing as Democritus, who wonder what all this is about, and think it, upon the whole, best that students should strike, bruise,

haze, and shoot each other, as they choose, and that they will thereby acquire manliness. It may be well to speak when we can get a hearing. Our higher journals should be prepared to view things calmly and comprehensively, to condemn the evils, and suggest wise and practical means of remedying them.

It may serve a good purpose to look at what is done in certain European countries. Not that we can get many or any suggestions of a valuable character from these quarters. But we may discover the operation of certain tendencies which the universities of the Old World have yielded to, and which are already working in this country, and inquire whether we should encourage or resist them. Generally the tendency of the great European colleges is to relax discipline more and more, and not to meddle with students unless they commit crimes or gross outrages of some kind.

The discipline of German universities is conducted on the principle of the selection of the fittest. The primary object of the university is to prepare civil servants for the state, be it in the church, in law, medicine, jurisprudence, or academic pursuits. If men are so weak as to yield to the ordinary temptations which surround them in their university life, they would sooner or later cause the state trouble in their professional career. Accordingly, the state, after exercising the most rigid discipline and painstaking care in the gymnasial education of its youth, at once, on their entering the university, strikes off the bonds of ordinary discipline, grants to the academic burgher a more than common degree of liberty, and virtually says: "You are subject, as long as you commit no crime, only to the laws and jurisdiction of the university of which you are a member. If you are drunken or riotous, you will be imprisoned in the university *carcer;* if you run in debt, you will be arrested, and examined before the university judge, and compelled to pay, but only according to your means; if you are guilty of any excess that approaches a crime, you will be examined before the university judge, and, according to his discretion, handed over to the civil authorities or not, as the case may be—in short, as long as you keep within the limits of academic discipline, you are in no wise subject to the civil law." The principal offenses of which a university court takes cognizance are: riotous conduct on the streets, for bad conduct

in the lecture-rooms is unknown; debt and dueling, for which latter the *flotter bursch* still has, or must pretend to have, a hearty love. The punishment for the first and last of these offenses is imprisonment in the university jail for any period up to a month; for debt, a virtual confiscation of funds—the judge decreeing that so much of a student's income shall go to pay his creditors, and so much to his own support. Drinking in private rooms, gambling, immoral conduct—in short, any offense which does not create a public scandal, all these receive no recognition whatever, as far as my experience goes, before the university court.

The administration of affairs is conducted by means of beadles, one of whom is on duty every night in every police-court of the university-town to take the numbers of the "legitimation-cards" which the offending students brought in by the police possess, or ought to possess, and then to set them free till summoned by the proper authorities. The faculty or senate of the university has absolutely nothing whatever to do with the administration of discipline, except, perhaps, to ratify the nomination which the government makes for the place of university judge.

There is little or nothing here worthy of being transplanted into America. Our republican spirit is jealous, very properly, of any class of men, students or others, being, so far as state offenses are concerned, under special government. The students in America are younger than those of Germany, and parents expect them to get a moral and a religious training such as is not likely to be had from a policeman or state officer of any kind. So we say in this country, "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's," and reserve for God and for the Church the things that are God's —all that has to do with conscience and with character. Some American State colleges need to be guarded against the temptation of giving up the moral training, without even seeking to bring in the civil control of the German universities.

In the two great English universities the students live, as a rule, in colleges (of which there are about twenty-three in Oxford and eighteen in Cambridge), and in halls, which have been springing up of late years. The teaching is by tutors, who give instruction to single students or to small companies, and is effective in producing accuracy, but wants class-stimulus to commonplace

minds. The student is handed over to a tutor, who is supposed to take charge of him, but commonly does little for his religious or moral training, which is, in fact, determined by himself and the spirit of the place. He has to attend prayers in the morning, and be in his room by nine o'clock at night. Otherwise he is not under very strict surveillance; he may do foolish acts in town, and drink wine with companions in his apartments. John Bull has a way of his own of enforcing such discipline as he chooses to exercise. At midnight or two in the morning you may see a don from the colleges—which take the duty by turns—with two huge men behind him, called "bull-dogs," reconnoitring the streets and suspected houses, detecting transgressing students—which is more easily done because they are obliged to wear college costumes—taking down their names and colleges, and exposing them to rigid fines. The talk in the rooms is of the romance implied in dexterously escaping in the dog-hunt. There is not much here for American institutions to borrow: only, they might have an officer to watch those public-houses and drug-stores which make it their business to tempt and corrupt students in our college-towns; and it has been suggested that every youth entering college might be put specially under a professor or tutor to be his friend through his college course.

In the large Scottish colleges (Edinburgh has 2,300 students) the young men are allowed to do very much as they please, provided they prepare their tasks and behave themselves in the lecture-room, and do not come in collision with the police—which they are apt to do now and then, especially at snow-balling seasons, which are sure to turn into stone-throwing occasions, ending in arrests. A number of the parents who can afford it look out for a respectable domicile in which to board their sons, and there they have some oversight. But the great body of the students hire lodgings where they please, and are there under no control whatever. Most of them are moral and studious, but not a few sink into low habits and vice. The teaching is by professors (with assistants), who are commonly noted authors, and is ably conducted, and followed by examinations; but the classes are very large, and the lazy and idle are apt to escape heavy work, and are not caught even at a graduating examination, as many of them do not think it worth their while asking a degree.

In Dublin residence is not required, and a considerable number of students live at a distance, and go up to periodical examinations. But the body of the students live in college-rooms, and cannot be guilty of any great public outrage without being detected and punished. The teaching, as in the English universities, is mainly by tutors, and secures attention and fair scholarship, tested by examinations; but there is no such careful teaching in religion as we have in most American colleges.

The three Queen's Colleges in Ireland follow very much the Scottish system, with this difference—that every lodging-house has to be sanctioned by the college authorities, and each Christian denomination is entitled to have a dean, who gives some religious instruction, but cannot, in fact, look carefully after the morals of the scattered students, who are subjected to a rigid discipline in the college, but beyond are not under any special cognizance.

I need not describe, in contrast, the American system in an American periodical. I believe that the whole four hundred colleges which we have, happily or unhappily, profess to take a moral, most of them a religious, charge of their young men—in fact, coming *in loco parentis*. In the case of some, all this is nothing but a profession, and in such it were better that there should be no profession, that parents, anxious about their children, might make some other provision for their oversight. In a number, the guardianship extends no further than this, to secure that there are no disorders at the recitations or disgraceful scenes in the college-rooms and no outrages on the streets. But in the great body of the American colleges, male and female, there is a real oversight, moral and religious, of the students.

There may be colleges, but they are few, which are over-governed by masters who look as wise as Solomon, but whose judgments are not just so wise as his were. In some places there may be a harsh repression of natural impulses, and an intermeddling with joyousness and playfulness. I have known ministerial professors denounce infidelity till they made their best students infidel. The most effective means of making young men skeptics is for dull men to attack Darwin and Spencer, Huxley and Tyndall, without knowing the branches which these men have been turning to their own uses. There are grave professors who cannot

draw the distinction between the immorality of drinking and snowballing. It is true that we have two eyes given us that we may see, but we have also two eyelids to cover them up; and those who have oversight of young men should know when to open and when to close these organs of observation. I have seen a band of students dragging a horse, which had entered the campus, without matriculating, into a *goody*-student's room, and a professor with the scene before him determinedly turning his head now to the one side and now to the other that he might not possibly see it. I have witnessed a student coming out of a recitation-room, leaping into a wagon, whose driver had villainously disappeared, and careering along the road, while the president turned back from his walk that his eyes might not alight on so profane a scene.

Notwithstanding some incidental ills, I do believe that it is of advantage to have young men of sixteen, eighteen, or twenty, under some sort of oversight when they are away from home. I am convinced that professors and tutors, as a rule, have a kindly feeling toward the young men with whom they come into constant contact, and may, if they are made to feel that their duty requires, exercise a happy moral influence over them. I should deplore to find instructors settled on the understanding that they were simply to teach Latin or Greek, mathematics or metaphysics, and had no responsibility in regard to the formation of character and the kindling of spiritual aspirations. A good many years ago, about twenty-five young men of us went up from the "Land of Burns" to the University of Glasgow. It is one of the most painful recollections of my life that nearly one-half of these, cared for by nobody, fell before temptation to such vices as drinking, licentiousness, and gambling; and their teachers knew nothing about it. I remember how chilled I became at the coldness of a professor when I told him of it—he talked of it as a matter with which he had no concern. It is of moment that the instructors in a college be made to realize, what some very able teachers averse to the personal exercise of discipline are not willing to do, that they have a responsibility in regard to the conduct of the young men under them, as well as in regard to their scholarship. I verily believe that, in America, professors and tutors, as a rule, have a kindly feeling toward their

young men, indeed, at times, are apt—especially kind-hearted, evangelical ministers—to relax too speedily on a profession of repentance. The tutors may at times be too strict, for they have to keep up their authority; quite as frequently they are too lax themselves, for they have lately been students. The professors may seem to be awfully solemn, "with looks that threaten the profane," but they are trying all the while to keep down a tender feeling within. In this connection it is important to remark that it is of advantage to have in a faculty a due admixture of old men and of young, the former to restrain both from too great and too small punishments, the latter to stimulate and to sympathize. I am convinced, also, from my experience in other countries as well as this, that it is expedient to have some ministers in the governing body, feeling a responsibility about the souls of their pupils, but also a number of laymen to relax their rigidity and give their discipline a human side. Without resorting to a spy system of looking through windows and key-holes—a system in which the governors are sure to be outwitted by their pupils—the instructors may find out, if they are faithful, when a young man is falling into negligence or vice, and may save him at the hour of temptation—in answer, it may be, to the prayers of a mother wrestling with God for him a thousand miles away.

It is a benefit to a young man far, it may be, from home, to find persons to take an interest in him, to sympathize with him when he has lost a mother or sister, or when his father has become bankrupt; to warn him when he is dancing on the edge of a precipice, and direct him to the best Teacher. I have wrought under both systems—the European and American—in the youngest of the British universities, and one of the older American colleges, and I am prepared to recommend that the Americans keep their method of religious instruction and moral watchfulness as long as they can, and watch and oppose all attempts, certain to be made mainly by professors averse to be troubled with any act of discipline, to undermine gradually, on one pretext or other, all formal supervision.

I feel constrained to add that no college discipline will succeed if merely of a restrictive or prohibitory character—there must be the play of higher agencies. The most essential secu-

lar power in preventing college mischief is, undoubtedly, a well-organized system of instruction, whereby the students are kept busy from day to day. I have implicit faith in the old grandmother-sentiment, even though the old grandmother seldom has courage to put it in operation—that, "next to the grace of God, the most powerful means of keeping young men moral is to keep them occupied." In the younger classes the pupils should be trained to regular habits by constantly required and recurring work, and liability to be called up any day or any hour; and for this purpose skillful professors (and not mere tutors, who should, however, also be employed) should be multiplied so as to break down large classes into divisions of twenty or twenty-five. In the upper classes there should not be a necessity for such a breaking up into parts; indeed, there may be a stimulating effect produced by the very largeness of the class and the variety of talent in it, only there should be frequent recitations and searching examinations. I am glad to see that Harvard has declared that its experiment, of making attendance on recitations by the Senior Class voluntary, has not been successful; it was an imitation of the German system, without the severe check of the bureau-examination, which opens up valuable civil offices to those who pass it. Higher than all this, the teachers must be men in advance of their age in their departments, and capable of interesting their pupils because interested themselves in their work. The great teachers I have known have all been enthusiasts. The Americans beat all other nations in practical inventions; they have formed instruments which can speak and hear, but they have not yet constructed a machine that can teach. I can conceive, indeed, that there are States in the Union which, when they have run in debt by political jobbery, will begin to economize in education, by having a central station where one teacher can, through the telephone, put his questions simultaneously to ten thousand pupils. But this perfect mechanical age has not yet come. Hitherto fire has had to be kindled by fire. The latest science has not been able to show that life can be produced except by life. Along with the severer studies, the grave board of trustees might expediently lay out some of its funds in providing entertainments, such as music and gymnastics, to keep the young men at their relaxation hours from baser amusements.

But, to supplement not supersede all these means, there is need of discipline in every college. Of those who imagine that a father or a college can dispense with this, we simply say that they are ignorant of what human nature is, and may have to be taught it by sad experience, by the lamentable fall of a son or a promising youth who might have been saved. The college faculty must insist on their right to institute investigations. A father has the power of inquiring into the conduct or misconduct of his children. A master, the head of a store or factory, has surely the right of determining whether those employed by him have or have not fallen into thieving or intemperance. On a like principle the president and faculty may and should take an oversight of the doings of their students. True, there are limits to their prerogative. Masters and professors must carefully avoid conducting their investigations so as to damage the character of those under them, or expose them to a criminal process. The man of sense and good feeling will instinctively stop at the point at which he would be likely to injure any one, and will commonly be able to find enough of evidence to secure the only end he has in view, to determine what should be his own conduct toward those under his care; that is, to determine whether he should admonish, deprive of privileges, or dismiss those who have offended.

The college faculties have only a limited means of obtaining evidence—I know excellent lawyers who cannot make allowance for this. According to the college code of honor, more binding than state or even divine law, it is held to be unpardonable for one student to inform against another. In the naval and military academies, as in courts of law, every student is required to testify as to what he has witnessed, so far as he may be asked. But in a college such a proceeding would not be tolerated. This is so far a weakness and a hinderance. But I am inclined to think that upon the whole it is better that faculties should not have the power of enforcing evidence. The very fact that they are thus restricted enables them to act as a father, and to insist on having acknowledgments and confession which will commonly be given to a president or professor who has in any measure the confidence of a student, when it would be studiously withheld from a court of law.

The faculties are also restricted as to the penalties they can impose. They have not a prison, like the German universities. Except for the destruction of college property, they do not impose pecuniary penalties, as the English universities do—such penalties, unless they be imposed unequally, bear hard on the poor, and scarcely affect the rich. What power, it may be asked, have they left them? They have the power of imposing disorder-marks, and making these reduce the grades, a penalty felt by all good students, but not felt, it is to be admitted, by those who have sunk so low that they have no ambition to rise. They have the most important power, which most American colleges use, and most European colleges do not, of reporting regularly and on all needful occasions to parents and guardians. They have also the equally important power of sending home offenders to their homes to be dealt with. I have found that, in nine cases out of ten, when faculties and fathers combine and pursue the same firm but kind course, the wayward student is reclaimed—which I may add is almost never the case when fathers join their sons in resisting the faculty. These, with the power of suspension and dismission, are commonly sufficient to sustain the authority of the faculty. As to expulsion, I believe that there are grievous cases in which it would be resorted to. But I have never known it to be imposed in any college with which I have been connected, and I hope never to be required to inflict it.

The colleges should avow, and the public should be assured, that the civil authorities have rights and corresponding duties in regard to all members of colleges. It is not to be tolerated that it should be claimed for students that they are a privileged class, beyond civil prosecutions. There are colleges in the Old World, and there are (or were) colleges in America, which have an exclusive jurisdiction in regard to ordinary offenses even beyond the college walls. It is, I think, better in every way that our schools and colleges have no such prerogative, which is contrary to the genius of our institutions, and might lead to abuses in the way of excusing culprits. It is a wholesome thing that students should feel that, like others, they are under the law of the land, and that they are liable to be punished if they commit a criminal offense. It is not only desirable, but a necessity, and a duty, that the civil authorities should in certain cases interfere promptly

and decisively. Wherever any student is seriously hurt, the civil authorities are bound to defend him. Whenever students attack the persons or houses of citizens living beyond the college precincts, the police should act instantly and effectively, as they would in the case of others committing a like offense. Only thus can the college-town be secured against the attacks and insults of a few vulgar and cunning fellows who may contrive to conceal their misdeeds from their professors—left without the power of compelling evidence.

There is little or no risk of the criminal authorities interposing too often, or pronouncing too severe sentences. The tendency is all the other way. American colleges are often situated in villages, and the best people, including the magistrates and storekeepers, are not inclined to punish students, partly because they have an affection for the youths, and partly because they are afraid of a retaliation. The quarrels between "town and gown" are confined to the lowest rabble, and are abhorrent to the respectable citizens. Even in larger cities, where the students do not form so important an element, the disposition will be to wink at offenses committed by youths acting under mere impulse.

What, then, should the public, in its present interested and excited state, demand?

1. It should insist on the civil authorities doing their duty. I do not propose that they should appear on the occasion of every college *émeute*. But wherever there is interference with the inherent rights of man, or serious injury done to person or property, the magistrate has to fulfill his functions, and be "a terror to evil-doers, and a praise and protection to such as do well."

But I do not expect much, after all, from these civil prosecutions. There will always be a feeling for generous (supposed to be) young men, and a disposition to palliate their offenses. The prosecutors may make a show of activity and zeal, but will in fact do little. There will often be a lack of forthcoming evidence, and not unfrequently the wrong persons will be charged. The marshal or constable may on some pretext or other allow an escape, and the magistrate impose a mere nominal penalty. The accused will get friends to engage a plausible lawyer for the defense, and he will resort to all sorts of quirks, take advantage of mistakes, and in the end persuade the jury that the whole was

a piece of innocent college fun and frivolity. Some portions of the public press have been clamorously demanding the prosecution of hazing students. Let them mark how many, or it may turn out how few, of the prosecutions now instituted are successful. As not believing in the great efficacy of civil prosecutions, the public should look to another quarter for an effective remedy to the evil.

2. The college authorities must be required to do their duty, and be sustained and strengthened while they do so.

It is certain that there are old college customs still lingering in our country which people generally are now anxious to be rid of. Some of them are offsets of the abominable practices of old English schools, and have come down from colonial days, through successive generations. Thus American hazing is a modification of English fagging. It seems that there are still some who defend or palliate the crime—for such it is. They say that it stirs up courage and promotes manliness. But I should like to know what courage there is in a crowd, in masks at the dead of night, attacking a single youth who is gagged and is defenseless! It is not a fair and open fight in which both parties expose themselves to danger. The deed, so far from being courageous, is about the lowest form of cowardice. The preparations made and the deeds done are in all cases mean and dastardly, and in some horrid. I have seen the apparatus. There are masks for concealment, and gags to stop the mouth and ears; there is a razor and there are scissors, there are ropes to bind, and in some cases whips or boards to inflict blows; there are commonly filthy applications ready, and in all cases unmanly insults more difficult to be borne by a youth of spirit than any beating. The practice, so far from being humanizing, is simply brutalizing in its influence on all engaged in it. It does not form the brave man, but the bully. The youth exposed to the indignity this year is prepared to revenge it on another next year. A gentleman, who knows American colleges well, tells me that in those in which hazing is common in the younger classes the very look of the students is rowdyish. It is astonishing that the American people, firm enough when they are roused, should have allowed this barbarity to linger in our colleges, great and small, down to the last quarter of the nineteenth century of the religion of purity and love.

I am so glad that public sentiment is now turned toward it and so far against it! It is of vast importance that it be rightly directed. The opportunity should not be allowed to pass away without improving it so as to be rid of the evil forever. It is well known by all knowing ones that in certain colleges the practice is very common; nearly every freshman is exposed to an indignity, it may be very small, of some kind. But parents are kept in ignorance of it. The college is in a quiet locality, and the most wide-awake reporter does not hear of the deed. There are other places in which the noise is heard. But the college cries: "Hush! hush! It will lessen our students, it will stop the flow of our funds."

The duty of the college authorities is clear. And let the public keep them to it. Let them not try to conceal the disease, but let them resolve on curing it, even though it should thereby have to come forth to view. Which sort of colleges is to be blamed, those which proceed to extinguish the fire, it may be by floods and amid hissing, or those which allow it to smoulder from year to year, ready to burst out at any time? According to the answer given to this question, is the prospect of having the evil rooted out.

Much of what I have said about hazing applies to secret societies. I admit that some of these societies set before them a good end. But they promote it by unbecoming means when worthy means are available and might be far more effective. They foster in youth, when character is formed, a habit of underhand action and underground procedure which are apt to go through life. It should be one of the aims of our higher educational institutions, not only to make scholars, but to rear open and manly character. There will always be a temptation and a tendency on the part of these secret organizations to meddle with college management, to thwart certain of the plans of the college authorities, and to influence the election to college honors. It is difficult to get proof where men are bound to secrecy, but we have the published testimonies of eminent men that the social meetings held by these societies often tempt young men to drinking. Nearly every professor I meet with acknowledges that these societies have an influence for evil. But they are afraid to meet them, are more afraid of these earth-hidden mud-works than they would be of

castles of stone above-ground. This evil will not be stopped till the public demand its removal.

The public is at present inclined to condemn the evil practices. But there is a risk that the efforts to cast out the virus will be sporadic, one college making a weak attempt at one time, and another at another, no one assisting his neighbor, some rather profiting by their neighbors' difficulties, and "fishing in troubled waters." The remedy lies with the public, which can stop the mischief as soon as it is in earnest, and says so.

JAMES MCCOSH.

V.

THE ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES.

PART II.

THE officers and friends of the army are neither unmindful of its defects of organization nor of the mistakes which have been made in its administration. They have criticised both, with a freedom and vigor which does credit alike to their independence and intelligence. But these criticisms have disclosed such differences of opinion, that Congress has frequently been more confused than aided by the multitude of counselors.

There are, however, a few vital questions which should not be omitted from even a brief discussion of the army. Prominent among these is the relation of the army proper to the Department of War and to the political administration of the Government. On this subject I know of no criticism more vigorous and condensed than that of Judge Force, of Cincinnati, contained in a letter which I am permitted to quote. Its author rendered honorable and distinguished service as a general officer in our volunteer army; and his recognized abilities and high character as a citizen and a judge give great weight to his opinions on this subject, which he evidently discusses without any bias of personal interest.

His letter was written at a time when the evils of which he complained had culminated in an event that inflicted a grievous wound upon the national honor; and, though the methods of administration have since been greatly improved, the discussion should not cease till the reform is made a part of our permanent law:

CINCINNATI, *March* 19, 1876.

Hon. A. TAFT, *Secretary of War.*

DEAR JUDGE: When you consented to take the office of Secretary of War, I wanted to see you, to talk over the matter of army administration. I

have happened to have some association with officers since the war; and, visiting posts, have seen some things and heard more about the army, and have received some strong impressions.

When you left so soon I thought of writing. But it seemed hopeless, and I feared it might be unwelcome. But I have received such letters from General Sherman and General Pope (I inclose General Pope's letter confidentially for your private reading), that I have determined to say something, at all events.

I think you must have noticed the constant aggrandizement of the office of Secretary of War of late years; the concentration of functions in his person. But one can hardly, without going about in the army, know the disorganizing effects of this change.

It has become the practice of the Secretary and of subordinates in the department to send all sorts of orders to individual officers, to particular posts and commands, without notifying their superior and commanding officers. Commanding officers are continually finding out that their subordinates have received orders about which they have not been consulted, and of which they have not been advised. Commanding officers are unable to know how or what they command, and subordinates are taught to look elsewhere than to the regular line of duty, and learn to ask through influence for favors and indulgences they have no right to.

This is inconsistent with the tone and discipline that are necessary to an army. It is absolutely incompatible. The army has deteriorated under it.

The Secretary has acquired by special acts of Congress, and assumed by analogy with the practice of political appointments in civil service, a power which is essentially corrupting. One example is the appointment of sutlers, post-traders, etc., directly without reference to the councils of administration of the posts. Another is his requiring the engineer officers in charge of river-improvements to employ, in their work, men of no use in the work, but who have a certain political value. I know old officers whose notions of honor and sense of public duty have been sorely perplexed by being obliged to do so.

This overgrown power in the Secretary's office is just like the power of slavery—it oppresses those subject to it, and corrupts those who wield it. Your predecessor was a warm-hearted, honorable gentleman. He became entangled in a system that was too much for him. If the system is not changed, he will not remain solitary. Among your successors will be others like him.

The difficulty is, the appetite for power grows by what it feeds on. The staff and bureau officers in Washington, pampered by this system, have, from time to time, procured the passage of laws to foster it. I believe there is a law which prohibits army-officers from writing to members of Congress upon army matters, while the staff in Washington may *say* what they please.

I write in general terms; but there are men who are competent to write in detail if you ask them. But the army is away from Washington, and can-

not be heard. I inclose General Pope's letter, to show there is a real substance in this matter. But why cannot you call on the General and the Lieutenant-General of the Army, and other officers—say General Pope as a general officer, and General Hazen as a regimental officer, or others, to give you officially any suggestion they can make concerning army administration?

I will instance two matters: I think you will find one great, perhaps the greatest, cause of wasteful expenditure is in the purchase of army-supplies and the cost of transportation. This is not in the price of the particular thing purchased, but in the system by which it is done. I am not competent to suggest the change that should be made; yet there are officers who are.

Another, and one which General Belknap once told me he would have remedied, is this: Fines and stoppage of pay by sentence of courts-martial are all sent to Washington, for the adornment and support of the Soldiers' Home there. This magnificent institution, which is not attractive to the men for whom it is established, has such plethora of funds that it bought some years ago, in addition to its already large domain, several hundred acres of Mr. Corcoran's grounds, which serves no purpose but as a park for Washington City. I have sometimes tried, but have always failed, to imagine a more monstrous meanness than to take from the enlisted men of the army part of their little pay to purchase a sumptuous park for the metropolis.

These fines and stoppages should be kept in each military department as a fund to establish post libraries and other means of instruction and amusement. This would be an economy, by preventing desertion and by making the men more contented and self-respecting, and therefore more efficient. This fund in each department should be under the control of the department commander, to prevent waste by duplication, and to insure the best choice of localities for expenditure.

You have a great opportunity. If you secure a reform of army administration, your reward will not be the temporary satisfaction of filling an honorable office; it will be a permanent distinction in the history of the country.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) M. F. Force.

In the unofficial letter of General Pope, referred to by Judge Force, the same subject is discussed more in detail; and the relations of the staff to the line of the army are plainly and strongly stated.

It is possible that General Pope pushes his criticisms further than the facts will warrant; but his long and eminent service in command of troops, both in war and peace, and his ample knowledge of the practical results of army administration on the frontier, will give great weight to the opinions he expresses.

We quote the main points of his letter:

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE MISSOURI,
FORT LEAVENWORTH, KANSAS, March 13, 1876.

MY DEAR FORCE: The telegraph brings us news that Judge Taft has accepted the appointment of Secretary of War, and I suppose he will enter upon the duties at once.

For the general interests of the army and the Government, as well as for his own success in administration, there are some things which he ought to know, and which he will never learn from the officials in Washington with whom he will be brought into the nearest official relations. There are the men to whose influence largely and to whose not unnatural longing to concentrate in their own hands all possible power, and make themselves practically independent of and irresponsible to the army, which it is their business only to supply, the administration of the army has been brought to a condition (I will not call it a system) abhorrent to common-sense, and so shocking to all business sense, that, if the consequences were not so serious, it would be absurd and ridiculous. Any corporation or private business conducted through such a system of administration would be bankrupt in six months, and nothing but the strength of the Treasury prevents the army from reaching the same result.

The business of the staff of this or any other army, and especially of the supply departments of the staff, is to keep the army in condition to fight battles or make campaigns. Of what is needed for such purpose, the commanders of troops responsible for all consequences, and best competent to judge, must necessarily be the judges. They alone, with their commands, benefit by, or suffer from, the administration of the staff. Yet it will be found that all power or authority to the minutest detail has been concentrated in Washington, and in the hands of men, many of whom, although holding commissions in the army, never served a day with troops, and are as ignorant practically of the condition, the circumstances, and the surroundings of the army, and of the country in which the larger part of it is serving, as they are of such military service in the Chinese Empire.

Worse still, although they absolutely control the supplies of the army to the smallest article, and regulate the manner of its transportation and delivery to the army, they are absolutely without any responsibility for results at all. Any disaster, dishonor, or suffering, occasioned by the failure to furnish any article needed for the soldier is charged, and naturally charged, upon the military commander, though he has no more power over such matters than the coroner in Cincinnati.

This concentration of every detail of army administration in Washington has reached a point where every sort of fraud is made possible, without dishonesty or knowledge of wrong on the part of officials; and, if it be not changed, the War Department and the army must finally break down.

This power of appointing post-traders is only an illustration of the whole system. In old times the post-sutlers were appointed on the recommendation and by the selection of an official board at each post; and such men, being constantly under the supervision of the officers and men

most concerned, were compelled to live at the posts and were absolutely deprived of the power of paying a price of any kind for their positions, since the price of every article sold was fixed by the men who bought. Was it for the good of the army that such a system was changed?

Fancy the position of a Secretary of War under the present system, in the making of the smallest contracts! Every man (and that many of them are rascals I think no one will question) who wants a contract rushes to Washington to bid or secure his bid. No one there knows or can know the character of the bidder or his capacity, to the extent that such things are known in the localities where the supplies are wanted, and no one certainly can feel the same interest in the character of a contractor, his power to fulfill his contract, and the certainty of his doing so, as the commander of the troops to be supplied. In Washington, these bidders for contracts are backed up by political influence, either of men in Congress or out of it; and, to please or satisfy a Senator or influential member of Congress, contracts will be given by officials who are too far away, and too remotely concerned in results, to feel any very pressing or direct responsibility.

Fancy a system of administration covering the whole continent, running so much into detail that such a thing as this could be possible, and must of necessity happen should the circumstances arise!

The depot of supplies for the Territory of Arizona is at Fort Yuma, on the Colorado River. All supplies needed for the troops are brought there from San Francisco by sea, by the Gulf of California, and by the Colorado River, a very long, difficult, and uncertain passage.

Supplies of food, clothing, etc., to last at least six months, must therefore be kept on hand; but if a tornado, a fire, or flood, or any other accident, should unroof any or all of these buildings, so that it would cost more than five hundred dollars to reroof them so as to protect the stores from ruin, and thereby subject the troops to suffering if not actual starvation, it would be absolutely necessary, before it could be done, to send estimates to department headquarters at Prescott, thence to division headquarters at San Francisco, thence to the General of the Army in St. Louis, thence to the Secretary of War, thence to the Quartermaster-General, thence back to the Secretary of War for his orders, and thence back by the same channel as it went, to Fort Yuma, which place it would reach, if lucky, probably six months after it left there, by which time it is to be presumed everything destructible would have been destroyed.

Imagine for a moment how absurd to business-men would appear such a system, say, for railroad management in this country. A railroad president, in New York, controlling the great railroad lines from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, and thence to the Pacific coast, who should require estimates to be made and authority asked of him, through these long and tedious channels of communication, for every rail or tie laid down, or every gallon of head-light oil expended on any part of these great lines of railroad, would be considered a business idiot. How long could a railroad be run under such a system? Yet this is just the system in the army, or

rather the War Department, as it has been brought about by the influence of the officials connected with the military bureaux in Washington. Not only inefficiency and confusion worse confounded are occasioned thereby, but an expense for maintaining the army made necessary which, I think, I am very safe in saying, is fully one-third more than would be needed to maintain the same force far better, far more efficiently, and far more to the satisfaction of the army, the War Department, and the people of the country. No doubt the military and other officials referred to will supply abundance of plausible reasons for the present system, and refer to many small special laws to justify or require it. But these special enactments were passed mainly on their own suggestion and solicitation; and in these very special laws passed during the last thirty years, and much more frequently during the last few years, merely in the general view of those who urged them, to give the much-coveted power and independence to these bureaux, are found all the evils of the present system of administration, all the enormous and unnecessary expenditures of the army, all the discontent in the army itself, and all its unpopularity. The sooner these special enactments are repealed, the better for the Government and the army. It was never contemplated, and surely never was practically carried out until recent times, that the Secretary of War, one of the great heads of the Executive Department of the Government, and the constitutional adviser of the President in great affairs of public policy, should make himself, or be made, by small special laws, procured by the influence of his military subordinates, a man of such small details as are now imposed upon him—a man of such shreds and patches that whatever of greatness, personally or politically, he might have brought with him to such a position should be completely wrapped up in pitiful details of such extent and in such number that he is practically bandaged in paper and wholly lost sight of until the exposure of some fraud or mismanagement tears the envelope from round him.

Not such was the position or duties of great Secretaries of War.

For the present system, with all the practicabilities of fraud involved in it, and with the absolute certainty of large unnecessary expenditure, to secure nothing but inefficiency of administration and of service, there is no remedy except a return to the old methods in the War Department, or rather to the existing methods of business administration known to and followed by every business-man in this or any other country. . . .

To the practical ignorance of some of these officials of the military necessities and mismanagement of the army, and perhaps to the unfortunate zeal in the supposed interests of their respective corps on the part of those who know better, this present system of administration has reached its deplorable condition, and not by them can any remedy be intelligently proposed; and yet, if a remedy be not applied at once sufficiently heroic to cure the disease by first intention, I envy not at all what character will be left to a Secretary of War after one year in his office.

Judge Taft goes to Washington under such circumstances, and with such

weight of character, that a great field for good to the army and to the Government is opened before him. I know that he must of necessity be in almost entire ignorance of the details of army matters, and of the business of the War Department.

It is extremely natural that he should at first rely in the transactions of business upon the staff officers now filling the important positions in the War Department; but it will be an evil day for him, and for the department he administers, if he allow them to persuade him that the present system of army administration is anything but bad, or can lead to anything but evil in the future, as it has in the past. It is surely not saying too much to assert that there are military officials in the country far better known, of far more eminent service, much better acquainted with the services and needs of the army, and much higher in rank and in the confidence of the people, than any of the officials in the offices in Washington, many of whom have been so long secluded from public view, and from the very sight of the army, in the sheltered recesses of the War Department building, or its adjacent appendages, that their existence in the flesh is almost a myth to the army.

Let Judge Taft call upon these officers of high rank and distinguished service, who command, live with, and serve with, the troops as they did in the front of battle, and hear what they will say on this subject. Their knowledge of the wants of the army, and of the best means to supply them, no one then dared question, or did question; and well was it for this Government that, at such a time, no pitiful interference with every detail of service was permitted. Why is it that now all this is so changed, and that staff officers, many of whom were hardly seen outside of the War Department building during a great civil war, have come to be considered such infallible authority on the wants, the services, and the administrative details of an army, of which they see and know less—very much less—now than they did then? I say again that a great mission is before the new Secretary of War, which he can accomplish easily in the half of the year before him, and which if he does accomplish, he will leave a name to be long cherished in the affections of the army, and long honored by this people. . . .

The Secretary of War holds an office too large, and he ought to be too large a man, to condescend to the details now imposed on him by a course of absurd practices and the small special laws passed in their interest.

The staff of the army should be returned to its proper relation to the line of the army. The staff is merely the servant of the army, to keep the army supplied with what it needs to perform its duties. . . . Who should know so well what the army needs, and how to supply it, and whether it is supplied, as the officers who command it, and whose character and reputation are staked upon its condition to do the work imposed upon it? The honor of the Government as well as their own honor depends upon the condition and conduct of the army; and yet they have no control over the officers who supply it with anything whatever. . . .

After insisting that the General of the Army should be re-

stored to his proper station, and the heads of the staff departments should be required to report to them for duty, General Pope continues:

The Secretary of War, having recommended the War Department appropriations himself, knows what they are made for, and when made that they ought to be turned over to the proper bonded officers of the army to be expended for the purposes for which they were made, under the direct orders of the General of the Army and his subordinates in command, who are responsible to the Secretary of War that these trusts are faithfully executed. In this manner every dollar would be expended for precisely the purposes for which it was asked, and it would soon be found that, when every officer came to know this fact, the estimates would decrease in a surprising manner. . . .

I have treated in this matter merely the financial view, as that appears to be the one most absorbing now: but this concentration of everything at Washington; the supreme control exercised over the army by heads of staff-departments; the practical ignoring of officers who command the army and serve with the troops; the now commonly-accepted understanding that it is more honorable as well as more profitable to serve in cities and on what is known as fancy duty, than to serve with the troops; that small disbursing business in the cities is far more important than the command of regiments in the field, have led to so much dissatisfaction, want of military pride and interest, and laxity of discipline, that nothing except the most stringent and unrelaxed action can now restore the army to that condition which the country has a right to expect and ought to exact. . . .

I trust what I have said and suggested will induce Judge Taft, if communicated to him, to break through the glittering outside crust. If he will once do this, he will soon discover a wealth of ill management which is rapidly ruining the army.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) JOHN POPE.

General M. F. FORCE, Cincinnati, Ohio.

It may fairly be said that no department of the Government has performed its functions with more honor and success than the army; but, from the opinions expressed in the foregoing letters, it is evident that much may be done to render it more effective for the purposes of its creation. We shall endeavor to state briefly a few of the leading topics in controversy, and suggest some possible improvements.

I.—THE SECRETARY OF WAR AND THE ARMY.

The Constitution makes the President commander-in-chief of the army and navy. In addition to his great civil functions,

he is, as Hamilton aptly phrased it, "the first general and admiral" of the nation. He may take the field and command the army in person, as Washington did during the Whiskey Rebellion. He may wear the insignia of his military rank, as Washington did on occasions of official ceremony.*

The Secretary of War is a civil officer; one of the constitutional advisers of the President—his civil executive to direct and control military affairs, and conduct army administration for the President. Long before the late war, General Scott described the functions of the Secretary of War as follows:

"He is, in respect to commands or orders strictly military, but the chief of the President's staff; and in that capacity is bound by the rules for governing other staff officers belonging to the department of command or orders."

This was clearly understood in our early history; and it is worthy of note that our most eminent Secretaries of War have been civilians, who brought to the duties of the office great political and legal experience, and other high qualities of statesmanship.

Perhaps it was wise in Washington to choose, as the first Secretary of War, a distinguished soldier, for the purpose of creating and setting in order the military establishment; but it may well be doubted if any subsequent appointment of a soldier to that position has been wise. In fact, most of the misadjustments between the Secretary of War and the army, so much complained of in recent years, originated with a Secretary of War who had been a soldier and could hardly refrain from usurping the functions of command.

In all matters, strictly military, the General of the Army is second in command under the President. Until 1855 the Army Regulations contained (Article II., paragraph 4) this plain declaration:

"It is the intention of the Government that there be established in every regiment or corps, *and throughout the army as one corps*, a gradual and universal subordination or authority."

The relations of the general-in-command to the Secretary of

* Once, at least, President Washington appeared in the Senate in full uniform, and addressed that body in reference to a nomination they had rejected.

War were very clearly stated in the following paragraph of Article X.:

"48. The military establishment is placed under the orders of the major-general commanding-in-chief, in all that regards its discipline and military control. Its fiscal arrangements properly belong to the administrative departments of the staff, and to the Treasury Department, under the direction of the Secretary of War. . . .

"49. The general will watch over the economy of the service in all that relates to the expenditure of money, supply of arms, ordnance and ordnance-stores, clothing, equipments, camp-equipage, medical and hospital stores, barracks, quarters, transportation, fortifications, Military Academy, pay, and subsistence—in short, everything which enters into the expenses of the military establishment, whether personal or national. He will also see that the estimates for the military service are based upon proper data, and made for the objects contemplated by law, and necessary to the due support and useful employment of the army. In carrying into effect these important duties, he will call to his counsel and assistance the staff, and those officers proper in his opinion to be employed in verifying and inspecting all the objects which may require attention. The rules and regulations established for the government of the army, and the laws relating to the military establishment, are the guides to the commanding general in the performance of his duties."

No very serious conflict of jurisdiction and command occurred until Jefferson Davis became Secretary of War. His early training as a soldier, his spirit of self-reliance and habits of imperious command, soon brought him into collision with General Scott, and were the occasion of a correspondence, perhaps the most acrimonious ever carried on by any prominent public men of our country. That correspondence, which fills several hundred pages of executive documents, arose mainly from the unwarrantable encroachments of the Secretary of War upon the authority and functions of the commanding general of the army. Sections 48 and 49, which have been quoted above, were omitted from the Army Regulations, as revised and published by Secretary Davis; and it has been asserted, with how much truth I will not stop to inquire, that this usurpation of authority was a part of the plan pursued by him and his immediate successor to place the army and its equipment in the hands of those who designed either to use the military establishment against the Union, or to cripple it for effective service against rebellion.

In the beginning of the correspondence referred to, under date of July 30, 1855, General Scott enumerates, among his

grievances—that, by the order of the Secretary of War, leaves of absence were granted; details for special service were frequently made; orders sent direct to the commanders of geographical departments for the establishment of posts and movements of troops, without the knowledge of the lieutenant-general; all of which were denounced as a departure from the earlier and sounder practice of the War Department. So bitter was the personal hostility existing between Secretary Davis and General Scott, that the office of lieutenant-general was virtually stripped of all authority, and the command of the army was usurped by the Secretary of War.

This evil example was followed by Secretary Floyd and had become firmly rooted in custom when our late war broke out; and when our armies were organized, in 1861, that unity of command which is so indispensable to success did not exist. The vicious system could not be changed in a moment, and the country paid dearly in blood and treasure for a system indefensible in peace but ruinous in war.

General Schofield has said:

"It is capable of demonstration to the satisfaction of any average military mind that our late war might have been brought to a successful conclusion in two years instead of four, and at half the cost in men and money, *if any one soldier* of fair ability had been given the absolute control of military operations, and of the necessary military resources of the country. It was only after three years of imperfect successes, failures, and disasters, that a practical recognition of this essential principle of unity was forced upon the Government."

The necessities of the war compelled the Government, for the time being, as a matter of practice, to restore unity to the army by making commanders of corps and departments responsible to one military head, and placing both the line and the staff under due subordination to the commanders of armies in things strictly military, and to the general orders of the Secretary of War in all matters of administration. But these reforms were not embodied in the laws; and, on the return of peace, the old, vicious system was revived. The staff officers in the War Department became, virtually, the staff of the Secretary of War, and received orders directly from him. As early as January 29, 1866, General Grant wrote a communication to the Secretary of War, in which he said:

"During the war, while in the field, my functions as commander of the armies were never impaired, but were facilitated in the essential matters by the Administration and by the War Department. Now, however, that the war is over, and I have brought my headquarters to this city, I find my present position embarrassing and, I think, out of place. I have been intending, or did intend, to make the beginning of the new year the time to bring this matter before you, with the view of asking to have the old condition of affairs restored; but, from diffidence about mentioning the matter, have postponed it until now. In a few words I will state what I conceive to be my duties and my place, and ask respectfully to be restored to them and it.

"The entire Adjutant-General's office should be under the entire control of the General-in-Chief of the Army. No orders should go to the army or the Adjutant-General except through the General-in-Chief. Such as require the action of the President would be laid before the Secretary of War, whose actions would be regarded as those of the President. In short, in my opinion, the General-in-Chief stands between the President and the army, in all official matters, and the Secretary of War is between the army (through the General-in-Chief) and the President.

"I can very well conceive that a rule so long disregarded could not, or would not, be restored without the subject being presented, and I now do so respectfully for your consideration."

But reform had been made difficult by long habit and by the fact that Congress, from time to time, had passed special acts prescribing special duties to the Secretary of War, which seemed to warrant his continued usurpation of the functions of military command.

When General Grant became President, he promptly undertook the restoration of the older and better practice, by directing that all orders to the army should be communicated through the commanding general. But he had appointed, as Secretary of War, a distinguished soldier who had served on his staff during the war; and it was hardly possible that the old relation should be changed. In a short time the new order of things was revoked, and the Secretary of War became again virtually the military head of the army. The general who should have been military commander, next in rank to the President, was made almost as powerless as a clerk, and wholly useless as a commander. Unwilling to remain in Washington with only the shadow of his rightful authority, General Sherman obtained permission to fix his headquarters at St. Louis, where he wielded less actual authority than a captain in command of a frontier post. This situation continued until that deplorable event, so disgraceful to the na-

tion, and so calamitous to a late Secretary of War, made a reform possible.

It should be remembered, to the honor of Secretaries Taft, Cameron and McCrary, that the General of the Army was restored and has been maintained in his rightful authority. They possessed sufficient largeness of mind to deny themselves the gratification of commanding the army. This, however, was, on their part, a policy of wise discretion and patriotic self-restraint. Their practice should be made law. The functions of the Secretary of War should be defined and limited; and Congress itself should respect the discipline of the army by addressing its laws, not as now, to the chiefs of bureaux and staff departments, but to the President or to the Secretary of War.

II.—THE STAFF.

Whatever may be the merits of the controversy between the staff and line of the army (and it is an old one, not only here but in other countries), the importance of a trained staff can hardly be overstated. Adapting to our own times the figure employed by a military author who wrote early in the century, it may be said that the functions of the staff are the army's life-breath in the Departments of Orders; its character in the Department of Inspection; its food in the subsistence; its limbs and raiment in the Quartermaster's; its health in the Medical; its defense in the Engineer's; its weapons in the Ordnance; its rights and discipline in the Judge Advocate's, and its reward in the Pay Department.

An effective army-staff is, of necessity, a work of years. It cannot be created in an emergency, and sent at once to the field, ready for efficient work. Without thoroughly well-organized staff and supply departments, made efficient by long-previous training, an army is "foredoomed to dogs and vultures." No expenditure at the moment, however lavish, can supply these wants or avert this doom. An eminent military critic of England has said:

"The parsimony of the House of Commons, during the later years of the Duke of Wellington's command, practically abolished any supply department for our troops at home, and kept up a staff wholly inadequate to the wants of a field army. Consequently, the instant the real strain of a campaign in

the field came upon our force, it may be said to have perished. Our army which was enrolled in 1854 was a collection of magnificent isolated battalions, the finest this country ever produced; but they were bound together by a rope of sand. Irresistible in the battle-field, they melted away like snow before the first touch of the hardships and inclemencies of winter; and their loss was the direct necessary and inevitable consequence of the ignorant economy of the Parliament of Britain. This was the great lesson which the Crimean War taught this country."

Any military legislation, therefore, which destroys the staff, puts out the eyes of the army, impairs its intelligence and fatally cripples its strength.

The staff of our army rendered efficient and distinguished service during the late war, and is still an honorable, intelligent, and effective body of public servants. But its functions have been distorted by the usurpations of the Secretaries of War.

The generals of the army, the commanders of military divisions, districts and posts, complain, with reason, that they are deprived of that authority over officers of the staff which proper subordination and the efficiency of the service demand. And this arises, in large measure, from the extent to which the numerous details of authority and service have been centralized in the War Department and in the several staff departments. Of course, the fact cannot be lost sight of that many staff officers are charged with the disbursement of large sums of money, and are under heavy bonds to account for the same in accordance with law and the rules of the War and Treasury Departments. But these obligations ought to be entirely compatible with the subordination of staff officers to military commanders, who are presumed to understand and respect the statutes and regulations which make disbursing officers accountable, in all matters of administration, to the Secretary of War.

This dual responsibility of staff officers appears to have been very successfully adjusted by the British Government in the reorganization of the army of India, made soon after the Sepoy Rebellion. It appears that the independence of the staff had greatly impaired the efficiency of the service by stripping commanders of their rightful and necessary authority. In his interesting work, now passing through the press, on "The Armies of Asia and Europe," General Upton has devoted to the army of India a chapter, in which he states, with admirable clearness and

force, the character of its present organization. He quotes from their Army Regulations these paragraphs:

"It will be the duty of an executive engineer, and of his assistant or subordinate in charge of any station or outpost, to afford the commanding officer every assistance in forming his judgment and issuing his orders on any subject relating to military works or buildings, and to lay before him, when necessary, any general or departmental orders which may bear upon such subjects.

"Before submitting to the engineer authorities any proposals, estimates, drawings, etc., connected with military works, executive engineers shall invariably submit them to the regimental or departmental officers concerned, as well as to the commanding officer of the station, and obtain their countersignatures and opinions for transmission with the papers under dispatch."

And then, on pages 53 and 54, General Upton says:

"Could our 'Regulations' prescribe with equal clearness the relations of our officers to the civil authorities, and relieve them from responsibility for the use of troops in civil affairs, it would place this duty before the country in a proper light, and would tend to disarm personal and partisan criticism.

"If at the same time in purely army matters they were to require commanding officers to exercise a limited control over all disbursements for military purposes within, or in connection with, their commands, the Government might be saved millions of dollars.

"As matters are now conducted, an officer who may be required to defend our sea-coast fortifications in war may see them built of worthless brick and mortar; mounted with guns of useless calibre and badly placed; and yet not be able to offer a suggestion or apprise the Government of the defective work and useless expenditure he daily witnesses.

"All of this arises from breaking away from the established usages of other armies, simply to gratify our natural love of personal independence, which is as strong in the army as in civil life.'

No commander can perform his duties with intelligence and success unless he can also command the means of arming, clothing, feeding and transporting his troops.

The complaints of the younger officers of the line are not without foundation. A majority of them are assigned to duty on the frontiers, at posts remote from civilization; while a majority of the staff serve in Washington, or at cities within easy reach of the centres of military authority, where they frequently receive the honors and favors of the service in undue proportion.

In 1869, when the system of brevet rank was breaking down under its accumulation of absurdities, a committee of the House

of Representatives reported that, of twenty officers in the Adjutant-General's office at Washington, there were six brevet major-generals, nine brevet brigadier-generals, and but one below the brevet rank of colonel. The same committee reported that, in another staff department, there were twenty brevet major-generals, and twenty-two brevet brigadier-generals.

It was in view of this practice, that one of our eminent commanders, at the close of a great and successful battle in 1864, said, with grim humor, "This day's work will be rewarded by a dozen more brevets to officers in the War Department."

No sufficient reason can be given why a young graduate of the Military Academy should enter the Corps of Engineers or Ordnance, for example, and be perpetually exempt from service in the command of troops. He will certainly make a more efficient soldier and a better staff officer by learning, from actual experience, the habits of command, and by sharing the hardships of the line.

The constant pressure of junior officers of the line for transfer to the staff demonstrates the fact that the hardships, honors and rewards of the service are not now equitably distributed.

With some distrust as to the result of radical changes, I suggest that this disparity could be in part removed, and the antagonism between the two branches of service could be considerably diminished, if it were provided that at least the lower grades of the staff—say those below the rank of major—should be filled by details from the line; and, after a fixed tour of staff duty, such officers should return to service in the line. This would enable the President to choose from the roster the brightest and worthiest officers to perform staff duty; and it would offer an inducement to young officers to attain greater excellence in their profession. In the work from which I have already quoted, General Upton tells us that the principle of transfer from the staff to the line and from the line to the staff has worked successfully in the army of India; and I see no reason why it may not work equally well with us.

It might also aid in the same direction to provide that a year's service in the line shall be counted equal to two years in the staff in entitling an officer to longevity pay.

Of course, these provisions could not be applied to those de-

partments of the staff whose duties are purely professional, like those of the surgeon. But some measure should be adopted to make the conditions of the service more equal, and to afford such military culture and experience to the several branches of the service that, in time of need, the country may have at its command the largest number of trained soldiers with which to officer a great army.

III.—THE STRENGTH OF THE ARMY.

It is a significant fact that, while numberless petitions and remonstrances upon almost all subjects of legislation have been constantly pouring into Congress, yet, during the last eight years, not one petition has been addressed to either the Senate or the House praying for the decrease of our military establishment, or for the reduction of the pay of its officers or enlisted men. Our people remember with gratitude the great captains who, in the late war, led their soldiers to victory to save the republic from overthrow. They thoroughly learned the lesson that, in times of extreme peril, the preservation of liberty and peace depends upon the disciplined valor of the nation, and that the science and art of war can be acquired only by the thorough and patient study and practice of its elements. This work they expect of the army; and the annual amount which they cheerfully pay for its support is the cost of national insurance against foes from without and anarchy within. They expect Congress and the Executive to make the army worthy of a great nation; and this can be done only by the hearty coöperation of Congress with those eminent and patriotic soldiers who have devoted their lives to the study and practice of military science.

Our army should be large enough to accomplish the two leading objects for which the military establishment was created: the first and chief of these is to keep alive the knowledge and practice of military science, so that at any time, in case of foreign or domestic war, the nation may know how to defend itself against the most skillful enemy. The necessity of an army for this purpose was never more strongly stated than in the report made in 1820 by Secretary Calhoun, one of our very ablest Secretaries of War. The fundamental doctrine of his report was, that our army should at all times be so complete in its organization that, "at the

commencement of hostilities, there should be nothing either to new-model or to create;" that, in passing from peace to war, nothing should be needed but to increase the force of enlisted men.

In addition to securing this primary object, the army should be large enough to preserve inviolate our national boundaries, and protect our widely-extended frontier settlements against Indian hostilities; to keep the peace and protect the public property in all places subject to the jurisdiction of the United States; and to aid the several States in case of invasion or insurrection too powerful to be controlled by their local authorities.

In addition to these strictly military functions, Congress has imposed upon the army many important duties of a purely civil character. For example, the construction and repair of harbors, the improvement of navigable rivers, the determination of national boundaries, the survey of the Territories and of the Northern lakes, and of canal and railroad routes, the construction of lighthouses, and other public buildings—all civil works of national importance—have required an increase in the Corps of Engineers far beyond the necessities of the army proper. Forty-seven officers of the engineers are now wholly employed in work of this character. For the observations and report of storms and maintaining storm-signals for the protection of commerce, sixteen officers are employed. Many officers of the staff are also engaged in adjusting the claims for pensions, bounties and back pay of volunteer soldiers, and in preserving the national cemeteries where our Union dead are buried. At the present time, one hundred and four officers are actively employed upon purely civil duties.

Much the largest share of the expenditures upon arsenals is for the manufacture of arms and ammunition to be distributed among the militia of the several States. But those who criticise our military expenditures charge the cost of all these services to the army. An analysis of the annual appropriations for the military establishment shows that nearly twenty per cent. of the whole amount is devoted to objects other than the support of the army as a military force.

In determining how large an army is needed, we must consider the extent of territory for the defense of which it was created.

Excluding Alaska, the line of our sea-coast and national boundaries is nearly twelve thousand miles in circuit. In addition to guarding the national honor upon this great line, the army must keep in advance of the rapidly-expanding lines of Western settlement, and must stand between the pioneers and the hostile Indians. How rapidly the settlements have extended, and how greatly the duties of the army have been thereby increased, may be seen by comparing the number and location of our military posts at different periods.

In 1846 we had ten arsenals and thirty-nine garrisoned posts, not one of which was west of the 97th meridian, which runs east of the centres of Kansas and Nebraska.

In 1860 we had fifteen arsenals and ninety-four garrisoned posts, more than half of which were along the Mexican line and the Pacific coast. But the vast territory between the 100th meridian and the Sierra Nevadas had scarcely been touched by our civilization. On January 1, 1878, we had eighteen arsenals and one hundred and sixty-one garrisoned posts, nearly a hundred of which have been established for the defense of our settlements between the 100th meridian and the Sierras.

Let those statesmen who wish to cut down the present force of our army ask the pioneers how many of these posts can be abandoned with safety.

In case of Indian hostilities, far more would be wasted in paying the additional cost of transporting troops from remote stations than can be saved by the proposed reduction.

But it is not the pioneers alone who need the protection of our faithful army.

The American people are not likely soon to forget the startling events of August last, when, in a great group of States belting the continent from ocean to ocean, the lives and property of many millions of citizens were rescued from sudden and imminent peril by the prompt and effective response of the army to the constitutional demand of the States for its aid.

We have now one soldier to two thousand of our population; and, for the protection afforded and for the various other services performed by the army, our people pay, *per capita*, less than sixty cents a year.

It is the unanimous testimony of our foremost officers—men

whom the nation long ago learned to trust and honor—that the present organization is barely sufficient to accomplish the objects of its creation and to perform the other important duties which have been imposed upon it by law.

The people have not asked for its reduction. They demand an honest and economical administration of the Government; but they cherish and cheerfully support the army which affords them a perpetual guarantee of national safety and domestic peace.

No doubt, changes can be made by which the army will be greatly improved. For example, a reorganization of the infantry on the basis proposed by General Sherman in his letter already quoted, diminishing the number of infantry regiments by five, adding two companies to each remaining regiment, adopting the three-battalion formation, and increasing the maximum strength of each company, would realize the conditions prescribed by Secretary Calhoun, and enable Congress to pass from the peace to the war basis by expanding the force from twenty-five thousand to two hundred thousand without adding new regiments.

This plan would have the additional advantage of keeping constantly in the field two strong battalions of each regiment, while the third was performing post duty, supplying details, and enlisting and drilling recruits for the whole regiment.

Another reform would also be effected. Enlistments would be made, and the recruits would be commanded, from the first, by officers of the regiment in which they were to serve. This suggestion is adopted in the bill now pending in the House of Representatives; but it is coupled with a reduction of the infantry force which would seriously impair the efficiency of the army. Besides reducing the line of the army below the limit of safety, the bill fatally cripples the staff.

The limits of this article will not permit a discussion of the proposition to consolidate several of the staff departments. There is some conflict of opinion, both in Congress and the army, as to the wisdom of such a measure; though the majority of army opinion is decidedly against it. The experiment has recently been tried in the British Army, and the result is still a matter of dispute. But the reduction of officers, proposed as a part of the

scheme of consolidation, would leave a staff wholly inadequate to the necessities of our widely-scattered forces.

In defiance of every principle of sound policy, the bill proposes to abolish the Bureau of Military Justice and the Corps of Judge Advocates.

The Constitution and laws of the United States provide for every citizen, whether he be a civilian or a soldier, a tribunal by which his offenses may be punished and his rights may be protected.

The Articles of War, made in pursuance of the Constitution, provide for the punishment of more than sixty crimes and offenses of a military character, and establish a system of courts-martial for the trial of offenders. Each year, nearly a thousand persons connected with the army are tried by general courts-martial, many of them on charges involving penal consequences of the gravest character; and regimental and garrison courts try a much larger number.

The proceedings and rules of evidence adopted by these courts are, in large measure, drawn from the practice in civil courts, and require the supervision of men skilled both in the common law and the military code. It would be as gross a perversion of justice to leave these proceedings wholly in the hands of laymen as it would be to banish lawyers from the bench and the bar in our civil courts. Justice to our citizen soldiers in the late war required the establishment of the bureau; and the results have justified its creation. The administration of justice in the army has been reduced to a system founded upon law and precedent. At first, many officers held that the introduction of lawyers into the army was inconsistent with military methods. But experience has convinced our most eminent commanders that the bureau is necessary to discipline and good government in the army.

Besides this, in time of peace, army commanders are constantly required to act upon delicate questions which involve the relation between the army and the civil government, and which require the service of lawyers skilled both in the discipline of war and the practice of civil courts. For the adjustment of questions of this class, the services of the Judge Advocate's Corps have become indispensable.

The recent legislation of Congress, which provided for its prospective reduction to four officers, was unwise. The recommendation of General Hancock should be adopted, which is, to abolish the shadowy and useless distinction between the Bureau of Military Justice and the Corps of Judge Advocates, establish the grades of colonel and lieutenant-colonel, and authorize promotions to be made as in other staff departments.

IV.—CONGRESS AND THE ARMY.

It is evident that during the last three years there has been manifested in Congress a growing spirit of unfriendliness, if not of positive hostility, toward the army. Near the close of the last Congress, after failing in its attempt to cut down our military force thirty-three per cent., the House of Representatives insisted upon adding to the army appropriation bill a provision which plainly violated the constitutional rights of the President as commander-in-chief; and, rather than abandon its revolutionary attempt, allowed the appropriation to fail, subjected the country to the expense and inconvenience of an extra session of Congress, and left the army to serve for many months without pay.

At the present session one of the smaller appropriation bills, which usually passes without opposition, was made the occasion of a fierce and bitter attack upon the Military Academy, an institution which, for seventy-five years, has been the fountain of military honor, has given to our soldiers a thorough and liberal culture, and has filled the army with the spirit of national patriotism. A republic, however free, requires the service of a certain number of men whose ambition is higher than mere private gain; whose lives are inseparable from the life of the nation, and whose honors and emoluments depend absolutely upon the honor and prosperity of the Government, and who can advance themselves only by serving their country.

To educate a body of young men to this standard of duty is the primary object of the Military Academy.* Yet, when the bill for its support came before the House, it was violently as-

* I regret that my space will not allow me to quote, in full, an admirable letter from General Schofield, in which he states, with great force, the importance to science, to the States and the nation, of the work done at West Point.

sailed, and its passage was long delayed. Attempts were made to cut down the pay of professors; to prevent the completion of the hospital; to reduce the number of cadets by preventing the filling of vacancies; and to cut down forty-five per cent. the pay and allowances of cadets, now barely sufficient for their support.

Mr. Aiken, a representative from South Carolina, denounced the institution as "an incubus upon the country," and declared himself ready to vote "to put West Point up to the highest bidder, or to give it away."

Though most of these amendments failed, their introduction illustrates the spirit of hostility which of late has so frequently been exhibited against the army.

The bill reported to the House in January last, by the Military Committee, provides for cutting down the force of enlisted men twenty per cent., and of officers nearly forty per cent. It contains, also, an artful device to destroy the whole army, by providing that, if, at the beginning of any fiscal year, Congress shall have failed to pass an appropriation bill for its support, the army shall be wholly disbanded. This would enable a small faction of either House, at the close of a long session, to defeat the passage of the bill, and thus muster out every officer and enlisted man. The motive of this provision may perhaps be found in a clause of the same bill, which repeals the following section of the existing law (section 1,218, Revised Statutes):

"No person who has served in any capacity in the military or naval service of the so-called Confederate States, or either of the States in insurrection during the late rebellion, shall be appointed to any position in the army of the United States."

While this section remains unrepealed, the new army to be created when our present army should be disbanded could not be officered by those who served in the late Confederate army. *Hinc illæ lachrymæ.*

Not content with crippling our present organization and reducing its force below the limit of efficiency and safety, the House Committee on Military Affairs have reported a bill for a large reduction of the pay of those who may continue in the service.

The rank and pay of the general and lieutenant-general were created, not as a permanent part of our peace establishment, but

as marks of national gratitude and honor for great and distinguished service in the late war. Further to reduce the pay of these officers is an attempt to belittle their services and stint the gratitude of the nation. The proposed reduction of the pay of company officers would render it almost impossible for a poor man to serve in any of those grades.

During the last Congress, the House refused to reduce the pay of its own officers, and thus expressed its judgment of the proper relation between service and compensation. Remembering how light are the duties of most of the officers of the House during the recess of Congress, and comparing the qualities and training required for their work (mostly clerical) with the training and service required of regimental and field officers, the following table will be found instructive:

Present Pay of Certain Officers of the House.		Proposed Pay of Army Officers	
Clerk of the House	$4,500	Colonel	$3,500
Sergeant-at-Arms	4,000	Lieutenant-colonel	3,000
Doorkeeper	2,500	Major	2,600
Nine assistant clerks, each	2,500	Captain (mounted)	1,800
Clerk of Document-Room	2,000	Captain (not mounted)	1,600
Distributing Clerk	1,800	First-lieutenant (mounted)	1,500
Messenger	1,440	First-lieutenant (not mounted)	1,400
Upholsterer and locksmith, each,	1,400	Second-lieutenant (not mounted).	1,300

Should this bill become a law, it would be better, so far as pay is concerned, to be a doorkeeper in the House of Representatives than a senior captain of infantry; better to be the locksmith of the House than a second-lieutenant of the line!

The friends of good government and fair dealing will not be slow to condemn these repeated assaults upon the honor and usefulness of the army.

JAMES A. GARFIELD.

VI.

IS MAN A DEPRAVED CREATURE?

I. The Rev. O. B. Frothingham.
II. The Rev. T. W. Chambers, D. D.
III. The Rev. O. B. Frothingham.
IV. The Rev. T. W. Chambers, D. D.

I.

Dr. Moehler opens his "Symbolism" with this sentence: "In proportion as we consider the history of mankind, or even of individual man, from the Catholic or Protestant point of view, very different conclusions will in part be formed respecting our common progenitor, conclusions which will affect the destinies of his whole race, even to their passage into the next life; and even the first degrees of that life take a very different form, according as we regard them in the light either of Catholic or Protestant doctrine." Dr. Moehler then goes on to give reasons for beginning his exposition of the doctrinal differences between Catholics and Protestants with an account of the primitive state of man, his chief reason being that, in the natural progress of human history (he might have said in the logical order of thought), the condition of man comes first. The question proposed at the head of this paper is not only the first in logical series, but the deepest in practical significance. The office of the Redeemer is conditioned on the human need to be met, and is defined by the character of the spiritual desolation he comes to repair. The estimate of the nature, attributes, mission, and work of the Saviour clings closely to the theory of the primitive condition of man, and to the extent of the injury imputed to his fall. The second man balances the first. The law of the spirit counteracts the law of the flesh. The efficacy of grace repairs the ravage of sin.

The question before us may be put thus: Is man a fallen or is he an imperfect creature? Is he ruined, or is he undeveloped? Is he under sin, or under limitation? Has he lost himself, or has he never found himself? The general doctrine of theologic Christendom implies that "human nature," meaning by the

phrase the organic constitution of man, his moral faculty, his heart, conscience, reason, is disabled by a radical infirmity, central, ante-natal, rudimental, deep, and firmly planted below the will—an infirmity which makes it impossible for any child of the race to accomplish his destiny by the unaided power of the mind; renders him dependent on supernatural influence whenever he would make a movement toward the spiritual regions of truth and goodness; and condemns him to impotency, misery, degradation, ruin, eternal and unmitigated death, unless he avails himself of the redeeming help.

The creeds of Christendom convey this idea in different forms of language, but the idea is substantially the same. The invaluable work of Dr. Philip Schaff, on "The Creeds of Christendom," brings the whole case in summary form before us.

Want of space forbids quotation or nice definition. Leaving extreme statements and inferences therefrom, and getting at the common drift of all these confessions, two positions seem to be taken: 1. That there is a native, fundamental, radical disability, a vice, taint, quality of infirmity, in the moral structure of mankind, holding them back, embarrassing them, confusing and misleading them, darkening judgment, perverting affection, hampering will, disturbing conscience, unsettling the substrata and weakening the superstructure of human achievement. 2. That this infirmity eats out the heart of *character*. While leaving the outward form and semblance of life sightly and apparently flourishing, it prevents the virtue that gives genuine nobility and solid worth. Man is not, in consequence of sin, disabled for the ordinary work of existence; he may form societies, institute governments, enact codes of law, build railroads, discover, invent, combine, project, paint canvas, carve stone, construct edifices, multiply useful and ornamental arts, employ his faculties in all the directions demanded by civilization; but his whole achievement may be frustrated by a fatal disease at the root of life which, sooner or later, will bring it to naught, unless the superhuman grace of God renews the original stock of motive. The trail of the serpent will be over all his work. His civilization will be unsound in principle; his government will rest upon force, keeping down the insurgent elements of anarchy; his laws will represent expediency, sagacity, astuteness,

not equity; his social arrangements will be loose and unsteady; his system of domestic life will be disorderly and chaotic; his business administration will be selfish, inhuman, reckless, cruel; his art will glow with a hectic beauty, its very loveliness indicating decay; even his music will be fanciful, eccentric, grotesque, inharmonious; his literature will be unwholesome, his culture superficial, his science delusive, his education shallow and deceitful, his philosophy sophistical, his religion sentimental and visionary. He may seem to go forward, but there will be no advance; he may appear to ascend, but in reality he will be sinking deeper and deeper in the mire.

On this account of the matter, two or three out of the many thoughts that suggest themselves are expressed, simply in order that the issue may be made clear:

1. Every form of this faith assumes the personality of a first man—Adam. Now, Adam is a purely biblical personage, a name, a phrase, a literary designation. He is not a fact, but a fiction; not a man, but a myth. He has no existence in Nature; not a footprint of him has been found. No historian, geologist, naturalist, antiquarian of any sort, has ever come upon the trace of him. He is a creature of speculation, and as a creature of speculation his existence dates back no farther than a century or so before Christ. The cabalists and Talmudists are responsible for him. The theologians, from Akiba and Simon ben Jochai down, are his fathers and godfathers.

2. The theory, under all its forms, assumes the descent of all mankind from a single progenitor, and the organic unity of the human race: two points, the first of which is gravely disputed; the second of which is yet to be proved.

3. The theory further assumes that the race of man has lapsed from an exalted state, has fallen, degenerated, sunk in the scale of being—an assumption that has no antecedent probabilities to sustain it, and, on scientific grounds, is vehemently challenged.

4. The theory rests on no induction of facts in human life. It was neither suggested nor verified by observation, in any age, or under any vital conditions, but is a theological postulate merely.

5. It furnishes no explanation of actual facts. It will not account for or rationally interpret the personal or social phenomena of even the wildest and least humane period of the world. Not

only does it leave unexplained the virtues that have dignified and the graces that have adorned the history of mankind—the heroism, patience, courage, disinterestedness, sweetness, pity, which are everywhere visible if not conspicuous, and which bear the test of close inspection; it leaves equally unexplained the iniquities, turpitudes, inhumanities, and brutishness, of men. It does not account for the shaping, restraining, modifying, stimulating power of circumstances, change of place, climate, employment, association, for the breaking up of vicious habits, the operation of new motives, the stirring of fresh ambitions. It does not account for the regenerating influence of knowledge creating new tastes, opening new prospects, giving preponderating weight to the intellectual faculties, revealing the character of social relations, and calling into being the fresh sense of responsibility. It does not account for the good intentions, the honest purposes, the hopes, anticipations, resolves, that even the worst of people, the most ignorant, stupid, and abandoned, sometimes feel. Hypocrisy has been called "the tribute that vice pays to virtue." But, if vice can pay tribute to virtue, its viciousness is not desperate.

The facts of human iniquity are not disputed, glozed over, or extenuated. Heap them up as high as you will; paint them as black as you please; let Sentimentalism shut its mouth; let Charity fold away its cloak; let fine phrases be dismissed. The injustice, the brutality, the pride, the slavishness, the fraud, the cruelty — admit it all. Say in the language of Scripture: "There is none that doeth good; no, not one." Still, the implication of the theory above described is not justified. Imperfection, incompleteness of development, ignorance, bad nurture, evil associations, narrowness of opportunity, limitation of lot, the stubborn restrictions of circumstance, dearth of moral enlightenment, will fully and fairly account for the actual condition of mankind. Men are what it might be expected they would be, all things considered; neither worse nor better.

6. It is further objected to the above-described theory of human nature that it embarrasses, impedes, and thwarts the efforts of man to improve his social condition and attain to private excellence. The task of improving society and training individual character demands the free exercise of every natural faculty, with sincere faith in the competency of the natural faculties to accom-

plish all that can be required of men. A theory which casts suspicion on the normal condition of the faculties themselves, questions their validity and efficiency, and hints at the essential worthlessness of their endeavors, threatens to restrain ambition, diminish purpose, deaden the springs of resolution, enfeeble conscience, and encourage the indifference, supineness, and skepticism, which are the deadliest foes to progress. Such an account of man may even turn his energies against himself; and, besides exhausting his moral power in the attempt to supply himself with supernatural qualities, may drive him into such morbid discontent and distrust that he will prefer going out of the world to performing a manly part in it. It seems as if the world would get on faster and more satisfactorily, on the noblest estimate, if the doctrine of depravity were discarded.

In view of these considerations, the common reasoner, feeling their force, is compelled to answer in the negative the question propounded at the head of this article, and to say that man is not, in any proper sense, in any form, or in any degree, a depraved creature.

O. B. FROTHINGHAM.

II.

THE foregoing paper is manifestly correct in affirming the great importance of the question which it discusses. The answer any one gives to that question must needs affect his views, not only upon theology, but upon morals, politics, legislation, and all branches of social science. What an accurate diagnosis is to medicine, that, and even more, is a correct view of the present condition of human nature to all attempts at its amelioration. A serious wound must be probed before it can be healed. The common church doctrine on this subject represents the depravity of the race as deep, inborn, and deadly. It accepts the Scripture statements of its extent and character in their natural sense. The rhetorical amplification of it contained in the paper is substantially correct. It is quite otherwise with the reasonings that follow. On these issue is squarely joined:

1. As to the first two points that are made, they may very properly be put out of the discussion, since the inquiry is not as to the origin of the depravity, but as to its existence and char-

acter. I firmly hold that Adam was, as Moses and Paul say, an historical person, and that the existing races of men are descended from him, so as to be all "of one blood." The former of these positions is purely a doctrine of revelation, and must stand or fall with the Bible, of which it is a characteristic feature. Obviously, the limits of this paper are too small to admit even a summary of the argument against the mythical theory. The second position is not only a tenet of Scripture, but a result of investigation. It is true, many scientists deny it, but the weight of authority is in its favor. Mr. E. B. Tylor, in the last edition of the "Encyclopædia Britannica," asserts that "the doctrine of the unity of the mankind now stands on a firmer basis than in any previous ages;" and Mr. Darwin, in his "Descent of Man," speaks much to the same effect. But the church doctrine as to man's moral condition does not depend at all upon monogenism, and therefore I pass at once to the real question.

2. The fall of man is said to be a mere assumption. On the contrary, it is an inference which thoughtful theists in different ages and countries have felt themselves compelled to draw from the existing state of the race. Unable to reconcile the necessary perfections of the Supreme Being with the moral character of man, if he came into existence as he now is, they inferred the intrusion of a disturbing cause. They held the view which was formulated by Solomon in the words, "God made man upright, but they have sought out many inventions." It is also a tradition handed down from the earliest period in many different nations. All are familiar with the classic view of a golden age in the remote past, when innocence prevailed, which was followed by successive and ever-increasing deterioration. Now, the existence and harmony of these traditions cannot be rationally explained apart from the theory which regards them as springing from common reminiscences of an actual occurrence. The simplicity and self-consistency of the narrative in Genesis show that it was the original and authentic form of the tradition. Without fantastic or national vesture, it presents the deep, divine idea in its great outlines with wonderful purity and elevation. Hence its diffusion. As Herder says: "Its sound has gone into all the earth, and its very words into all lands! The remotest nations have knowledge of it; they built on it religions and mythologies:

it is, in fact, the simplest foundation of all their arts, institutions, and sciences."

3. The doctrine of human depravity is said to be merely a theological postulate, unsustained by any induction of facts. This is a very grave mistake. Christian theology merely defines and explains the truth, but the truth itself rests upon its own evidence in Nature, consciousness, observation, and experience. That evidence has been seen and felt in every land, in every generation. All the ethnic religions bear witness of the melancholy fact in their confessions, litanies, and sacrifices. Philosophers like Plato and Aristotle found themselves confronted with this "inborn evil," an evil not produced by imitation or education, but connate. Moralists like Cicero and Seneca spoke feelingly of a depravity which, as the former said, we take in with our mother's milk. Historians like Tacitus declare that "human weakness is of such a nature that the remedies do not act as efficiently as the disease." The prevailing idea of a Divine Nemesis, which runs through the Greek tragedy, rests upon the conviction of human sin, a sin that is guilt. The utterance of Ovid is as familiar as a proverb:

> "Video meliora proboque,
> Deteriora sequor."

Now, how is it possible to explain the general acceptance of this doctrine among men so diverse in character and condition, except upon their conviction of its truth? Men are not naturally pessimists. There is nothing flattering to human pride in the view that we belong to a sinful race, but, on the contrary, much that is repelling. These persons, therefore, did not invent the doctrine. On the contrary, it was forced upon them by the "induction of facts," just as it is forced upon many now who would gladly, if they could, take a more favorable view of man's moral condition.

4. Nor is there anything in the assertion that man is a depraved being inconsistent with actual facts. On the contrary, as has just been said, it grows out of them. It is to be remembered that this depravity, as held by the most rigid adherents to the orthodox creeds, does not deny to men the possession of conscience, of natural affection, of moral agency, of human sympathy, and of the love of reputation. It is therefore not to the purpose

to call up the deeds of heroism, of self-sacrifice, of love and charity, which shine like stars in the dark night of human history. These are sufficiently accounted for by the broken remains of that divine image in which man was originally made. We have no need to follow the great Latin father Augustine in calling them "splendid sins." We might rather say that they are exceptions that confirm the rule. Sin reigns all over the earth. It is the one constant factor in human society. There is a terrible indictment drawn by Paul in the first chapter of Romans against the entire heathen world; yet not only are his words sustained by the testimony of the writers of his own time, but in three several well-authenticated instances in modern times, missionaries in China and India, on reading this chapter to a native audience, have been told by the hearers, "You did not bring that with you, you wrote it after you came here." But, besides the gross wickedness which abounds, one is to consider the conscious and admitted imperfection of even good men, the constant tendency to degenerate in both individuals and communities, the frequent and dreadful lapses of many who are most favorably situated for standing erect, and the failure of all the efforts which have ever been made, whether by political, or social, or moral schemes, to extirpate sin. If it can be said in any sense, as the paper seems to admit, that "there is none that doeth good, no, not one," so constant and universal an effect must have a cause equally constant and universal, that is, in depraved nature.

5. Nor, again, is the influence of the doctrine evil. Like all other truth, it works for good in every direction. It lays the foundation for a large charity, for each man sees all his fellows sharers in his own sad inheritance. It teaches men the true humility which is the first condition of all moral improvement. It saves them from the folly of trying to cleanse the stream while the fountain is polluted. It shows them the necessity of seeking that Divine Spirit which alone can breathe spiritual life into the cold corpse of humanity. The difference in the general tone of morals between Christian nations and the heathen, ancient or modern, is a sufficient testimony that a true doctrine of depravity lies at the basis of the best means of overcoming that depravity. Confessors, martyrs, reformers, the great lights of the Church in all ages, have been men who, because they believed that they had

been rescued from an immeasurable depth by the blood of a Divine Sacrifice, consecrated heart and life to preserve and extend that great blessing to their fellow-men.

Man, then, is a depraved being. He is pronounced to be such not only by the Scriptures, as shown by the *consensus* of the creeds, but by the traditions of all nations, by human experience in every generation, by the testimony of great thinkers, by the confessions of good men, by the manifestations of childhood, by the unconscious evidence of poetry, fiction, and the drama, and by the interior convictions of those whose philosophy leads them to deny it in words.

T. W. CHAMBERS.

III.

THERE is little of the nature of criticism in Dr. Chambers's paper that requires notice, nothing that challenges reply. His rebutting affirmations are too general to afford a basis for argument. His references to Edward Tylor and Charles Darwin are useless to him, in the absence of definition, and even of quotation. His declarations that "thoughtful theists, in different ages and countries, have felt compelled to draw" (the orthodox inference) "from the existing state of the race;" that "there is also a tradition handed down from the earliest period in many different nations;" that "all the ethnic religions bear witness of the melancholy fact" (of depravity) "in their confessions, litanies, and sacrifices;" that "philosophers, like Plato and Aristotle, found themselves confronted with this 'inborn evil;'" that "moralists, like Cicero and Seneca, spoke feelingly of a depravity which, as the former said, we take in with our mother's milk;" that "historians, like Tacitus, declare that 'human weakness is of such a nature that the remedies do not act as efficiently as the disease'"—are of no importance, standing, as they do, undefined and unexplained. The affirmation that "the difference in the general tone of morals between Christian nations and the heathen, ancient or modern, is a sufficient testimony that a true doctrine of depravity lies at the basis of the best means of overcoming that depravity," is a piece of dogmatism on a debated question of fact which might properly be met by similar dogmatism on the other side; and his assertion of "the simplicity and self-consist-

ency of the narrative in Genesis," has a strange look, as coming from a biblical student who must be aware of the fragmentary character which even orthodox scholars concede to that book. The existence of two documents, at least, the "Elohistic" and the "Jehovistic," is a familiar and generally-accepted fact among critics. If my inferences from the doctrine of depravity are unjust, the doctrine loses its practical significance, and is reduced to an unprofitable speculation.

Dr. Chambers's position rests on two supports—the Bible and human consciousness. Let us devote what space we have to these points:

Dr. Chambers admits that the common church doctrine represents the depravity of the race as deep, inborn, and deadly. "It accepts the Scripture statements of its extent and character in their natural sense." But what is their natural sense? It is reasoning in a circle to impose the sense of the church doctrine on Scripture, and then to bring Scripture to the support of the church doctrine. If the Bible be the "Word of God," it is of prime importance to understand what the Bible teaches. In the case of an ordinary book one may tranquilly remain ignorant of its precise meaning, and may allow a special class of dogmatists to fix their own interpretation on it; but an inspired book must not be prejudged or foreclosed, lest some portion of its wisdom be missed. All the arts of scholarship must be called into requisition to disclose the purport of its communications. The "natural sense," as it appears to the churchman, may in the judgment of reason be an unnatural, perverted, and false sense.

Moreover, if the Bible be the "Word of God," it is incumbent on its interpreters to bring to its exposition the faculties which make man appear most like God—the faculties, namely, of reason, the purest sentiments, the most exalted ideas of equity and goodness, the highest knowledge, and the deepest humanity, that they possess.

Dr. Chambers firmly holds that "Adam was, as Moses and Paul say, an historical person, and that the existing races of men are descended from him, so as to be all 'of one blood.'" But does Moses say anything of the kind? By Moses Dr. Chambers means, we may presume, the book of Genesis. But the book of Genesis gives such different accounts of this personage that his

identity disappears. He is described as being made "in the image of God," and as being formed of "the dust of the ground," and then animated with the "breath of life;" that is, as holding a place at the top and at the bottom of creation; as a perfected being and as an animal organism. He is first described as two-fold, male and female, and afterward as male only. In one passage his creation is the final act of the Divine energy, in another he is brought into the foreground as the conspicuous character; the trees of the field are made later, and the beasts and cattle subsequently to them. Such a creature belongs to the world of allegory, not to the world of Nature or man. So far as any distinct conception of him can be formed, he is a negation rather than a person. He has no character; he is without moral consciousness, desire, or will; the knowledge of good and evil he has not attained. He is innocent and undeveloped; vacant of ideas; an embryo; a possibility. He corresponds better with the description of the first man given by Charles Darwin than with that imagined by St. Augustine. Paul's conception of Adam is not far from this in certain respects. He is only "a living soul;" "of the earth, earthy." The fall of such a creature could not shake the earth: it could not hurt even *him;* for he fell from no height. To consider Paul in the light of an anthropologist is a new view. His speculations on Adam are scarcely entitled to consideration on scientific or historical grounds. They belong to the school of the Talmudists, who, whatever their depth and subtilty as mystic theologians, are not cited as authority on questions of race. As Paul, moreover, reasoned like a Jew, from Jewish data, and in the Jewish interest, it is only by a stretch of inference that his language can be made to cover universal propositions.

That the Scriptures contain strong asseverations of human iniquity is freely admitted; so do all sacred writings. But that these asseverations are dogmatical, or general in their scope, may be, with good reason, doubted. Paul affirms the depravity of mankind, includes all men under a law of sin and death, and declares that all are under necessity of regeneration. But Paul dates the fact of sin and death to Adam, the assumed progenitor of a single race, and derives the regenerating power from God through the Hebrew nation. There is no good reason for think-

ing that he went outside of Judaism for the influences that were to redeem the world. Though, as the apostle to the Gentiles, he favored the admission of the outside nations on easy terms, still he seems to have demanded that all applicants for salvation should attach themselves to the stock of Israel. His teaching, therefore, however authoritative, is not conclusive in regard to problems which have been submitted to the world since his day. His doctrine of human depravity in a single race, at a particular epoch, on a single line, at a special geographical point, does not fairly touch the question of the moral constitution of mankind. He, still less than Augustine, is entitled to pronounce on the psychological elements of human nature. For Augustine belonged to the Western world, and was, moreover, a man of practical experience and profound observation; whereas Paul's view was apparently confined to the issues suggested by a small and peculiar race, whose destinies were magnified by imagination.

The strength of the belief in the depravity of man lies in the so-called testimony of consciousness. That the argument from consciousness has been overworked, appears from the fact that this consciousness is shown by history to be *an artificial product of religious institutions.* That there is a general human consciousness of sin, a native sense of iniquity, cannot be proved—can, in fact, be disproved. Men, so far from feeling themselves to be sinners, will not be persuaded or terrified into the notion that they are. It is the effort of the Church to convince them—an effort that succeeds so partially that, even in Christian communities, the effect produced by evangelists is hardly appreciable.

The sense of sin is natural within the circle of Hebrew ideas, and from them has been bequeathed to Christianity. The Hebrew conception of a personal God holding immediate relations with men as creatures and subjects of law, involved principles of personal allegiance, duty, and accountability; and to these corresponded sentiments of loyalty, submission, devotion, love, gratitude; shame and contrition in case of disobedience; self-satisfaction and peace in case of obedience. The immense superiority of Jehovah, his might, his holiness, his bountifulness, his unlimited capability for bestowing good and inflicting evil, kept his subjects in an attitude of awe, fearful or tender—an attitude so

sustained and habitual that the mind was moulded to it, and the feeling controlled by it. Praise and contrition became natural emotions. But the attempt to justify these feelings by psychological analysis, as cardinal elements in the constitution of man, does not succeed.

No theologian will probably be thought more likely to succeed in such an effort than Horace Bushnell; yet the impotence of his endeavor is easily exposed. The fifth chapter of his work, "Nature and the Supernatural," is devoted to this subject. His demonstration of the fact of sin rests on the following assertions: 1. "We do, by inevitable necessity, impute blame to acts of injury done us by others." 2. "We as positively and necessarily blame ourselves on occasions distinctly noted and remembered." 3. "The moment we look upon the race, and take note of mankind as revealed in their most superficial demonstrations, we discover that they are out of rest, plagued by the foul demon of guilt." The universal shyness of God betrays this deep uneasiness; the avoidance of religious themes in conversation attests it. 4. "Mankind are seen to be acting universally on the assumption that wrong is done, or is likely to be done, in the world." Family government "anticipates wrong;" the organization of the state, with law and police, severe and sanguinary punishments, suggests the fact, and confesses the danger of wrong. "The whole superstructure of the civil order rests on the conviction that sin is in the world." Men are afraid of the law. 5. The sentiment or virtue of forgiveness implies wrong. The pleasure we take in satire "supposes demerit, or a blamable defect of virtue." The abysses of the tragic sentiment open the mysterious realms of guilt.

That a clear and keen thinker, a really great writer, a trained theologian of the grand style, should extract such conclusions from such considerations is evidence of the power of prepossession to twist a straight mind. There is not one of these arguments that will bear examination. Such of the "facts" as are admitted to be true, are susceptible of obvious answer on the lightest philosophical inquest. None of them require the solution that he gives. Indeed, the solution that he gives is the most far-fetched that could be offered. These are strong statements; they are made dictatorially, because want of space forbids anything but assertion. Brevity forbids explanation.

The moral import of the doctrine of depravity cannot be mistaken. History reports it; the observation of life reveals it. That in noble minds it may lay the foundations of a large, tender, compassionate charity, is granted. That to wise spirits it teaches lessons of patience and humility need not be doubted. But that, in ordinary natures, it nurtures coarseness, abjectness, austerity, harshness of judgment, self-depreciation and self-contempt, the disposition to take gloomy views of life and destiny, and to interpret character and conduct by discouraging standards, seems, in view of reason and observation, certain. The doctrine is the parent of penitence and sighing. It kindles the altar-fires of expiation; it frames the penitential litanies; it inspires the *miserere*s of the world. It prepares the robe of sackcloth, and spreads the seat of ashes.

The opposite doctrine is brave and hopeful. It encourages self-reliance and self-respect; it sweeps away the vapors of morbid introspection; it places the individual in wholesome relations with Nature and his fellows; it reënforces the present with the experiences of the past, and opens the future wide to anticipation; it substitutes justice for charity, and in place of humiliation a becoming pride; it brings the active virtues to the front, and thrusts into the background deficiency and error; it puts all men on their mettle; it makes every quality useful, and sets every faculty at its best work. As for patience, aspiration, meekness, humility, there will be no lack of demand for these while so much is to be done, and power so perpetually comes short of purpose; and, to use the noble language of John Morley: "The purifying anguish of remorse will be stronger, not weaker, when one has trained himself to look upon every wrong in thought, every duty omitted from act, each infringement of the inner spiritual law which humanity is constantly perfecting for its own guidance and advantage, less as a breach of the decrees of an unseen tribunal, than as an ungrateful infection, weakening and corrupting the future of his brothers; and he will be less effectually raised from inmost prostration of soul by a doubtful subjective reconciliation, so meanly comfortable to his own individuality, than by hearing full in the ear the sound of the cry of Humanity craving sleepless succor from her children."

O. B. Frothingham.

IV.

THE critic of my former statements describes them as "too general," as "useless," as "of no importance." It may be so. Yet at all events they seem to have disposed of the positions that the fall of man is a mere assumption, and that the doctrine of human depravity is a theological postulate unsustained by actual facts.

I respectfully deny the imputation of "reasoning in a circle." Accepting the Church doctrine as taught in the Scripture, I endeavored to sustain it on the ground of general experience and observation. Nor does there seem to be any call for great scholarship to learn what the Bible teaches on this subject, any more than there is to find what it says as to the existence of a personal God. The tenet that man is depraved runs through and through the volume, appearing not only in didactic statements, but in history and biography, in penitential Psalms, in prophetic invectives, in popular proverbs, in the experiences of men of all classes, with never, in a solitary instance, any suggestion to the contrary. The very reason for the revelation which the Bible contains is the fallen condition of those to whom it is sent. There are differences of opinion as to the origin and the extent of human depravity, but that it exists has always been held, even as it now is, by the great body of the readers of Scripture as one of its plainest teachings. To assent to this view is not dogmatism, but the judgment of reason.

The criticism upon Genesis seems rather strained. I am, of course, "aware of the fragmentary character" which has been ascribed to this book by certain scholars who represent it as a mosaic of small, detached portions, originally unconnected, but gradually collected and transcribed as a single work, but I am also aware that this fragment hypothesis is now generally abandoned. Even De Wette, who once advocated it, afterward gave it up. As to the "document theory," while far from admitting that the final word has yet been said on the subject, I maintain that the supposition of two original accounts, one *Elohistic*, the other *Jehovistic*, which, together with other materials, were wrought up by the author into one homogeneous whole, is quite consistent with the orthodox view of the integrity and inspiration of the

first book of Moses. The opening chapters of that book are anything but mythical. They are not hymns, they are not speculations, they are a continuous narrative. That narrative bears not a tinge of pantheism or of polytheism, nor does it pander to the prejudices of any race or age or country. Is there an ancient myth extant of which these things can be said? Nor will any fair treatment of its utterances respecting the origin of man justify the representation given by Mr. Frothingham. In the first chapter and the opening verses of the second it is evident that the author is giving a general cosmogony; then he goes on with a continuation of his narrative with special reference to the human race, for whom the heavens and the earth were made, and restates only so much of the previous account as was necessary to unfold man's superiority and dignity. What he says of Adam is that he was formed of the dust of the earth as to his body, and by the breath of the Almighty became a living soul, and that thus constituted he bore the image of God and had dominion over the creatures. Instead, then, of being the fabulous nonentity which Mr. Frothingham has imagined, he was literally the crown of creation, allied indeed by his physical frame to the beasts that perish, but spiritually akin to the living God, a partaker of the divine nature. As such he was a perfect moral person, all his faculties, reason, will, and affection, being in harmony with each other and with their Maker. And, as he lived in constant fellowship with the Most High, he was able easily and instinctively to be and do and enjoy what none of his descendants can, except occasionally and in a measure, and then only by help from on high. This vast difference between them and him is owing to that fall of which my opponent makes so little.

The allegations respecting the Apostle Paul are so widely astray that it is difficult to speak soberly of them. No reference is made to the place of his birth and early training, and its eminent facilities for the best culture of the time, nor to the traces of a liberal education in the apostle's writings; but he is simply said to have been of the school of the Talmudists. Now, it is true his religious education was strictly Jewish, but his conversion emancipated him forever from all narrow bonds, as may be seen by comparing any one of his epistles with any selected portion of the

Talmud as now in print. The difference is enormous. Was the famous speech at Athens, as admirable as any of the masterpieces of art in sight of which it was delivered, the product of a mere Jewish pedant? Truer philosophy, keener dialectic, larger views, profounder sympathy, never fell from the lips of any of Greece's greatest men. Nor was this an exceptional instance. It was in the line of his whole apostolic career. It is affirmed, indeed, that he required all applicants for salvation to attach themselves to the stock of Israel. Yet this was the very error against which he contended all through his life. To refute it was the motive of the most indignant and intense of all his epistles—that to the Galatians. His motto is contained in the words, "There is neither Greek nor Jew, barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free, but Christ is all and in all." Fidelity to this principle cost him many a sore persecution. He had to fight with wild beasts not only at Ephesus, but all over the Roman world; and, when he drops out of view from Scripture, it is as a prisoner in the imperial city on charges brought by Jews whom he offended by his proclamation of a full and free gospel to all and singular, circumcised or uncircumcised. The assertion that he was a man of a limited range of ideas is contradicted by his native character, his training, his numerous writings, his extensive journeys, his wide and varied experience, his catholic spirit, his fervid philanthropy, his dealings with men of all classes and conditions, and by his influence, both while living and in the eighteen centuries which have elapsed since his martyrdom.

The reply to the argument from Nature in support of the doctrine of depravity is, that the consciousness of sin is an artificial product of religious institutions. I submit that this answer is wholly inadequate. Are the institutions referred to those of the Jewish and Christian faiths? Then it is to be said that the consciousness of sin is found all over the world, among nations who never received, never even heard of, the truths specially revealed in the Scripture. What had Hebrew ideas to do with the humbling confessions of sin contained in the Indian Vedas, and recited from age to age by successive generations of Brahmans, or with similar mortifying acknowledgments in the Avesta of the ancient Persians? Or is it meant that religions in general, with their rituals, their priesthoods, their real or pretended connection

with the unseen world, exerted such an influence upon their followers as to educate them in a sense of sin, and consequent dependence upon those who could free them from their guilt? If so, I answer that this only puts the question a step farther back. Are all religions an invention of priestcraft, or how came all, with one consent, to assume this view of human nature, or, having assumed it, how did they succeed in convincing their devotees of its truth, unless there were a foundation for that belief already laid in human experience and observation? In truth, Mr. Frothingham reverses the order of things. It is not religion that creates the consciousness of sin, but man's conviction, on one hand, of his dependence, and on the other of his moral disharmony with himself, that prompts him irresistibly to seek after God. But, besides, the doctrine of depravity is to be found in all literatures, in the utterances of those who would repudiate any influence from the popular theology of their day and country. Philosophers, historians, moralists, legislators, poets, dramatists, have no temptation to make human nature worse than it is. They would gladly present only the bright side, but they do not and cannot.

It is freely admitted that the whole subject rests upon the conception of a personal God holding immediate relations with men as creatures and subjects of law. They who identify God and the world, or who relegate the Supreme to the otiant ease of Epicurus, cut the nerves of moral obligation. Under such views, law loses its sanctions, and ceases to be felt as a categorical imperative. Man becomes a law unto himself, and he finds little trouble in adjusting his feelings to his circumstances. But a healthy conscience, like the Psalmist, cries out for the living God. It feels that there must be a Power above which takes cognizance of human conduct, and enforces the decisions of the inward monitor. In the Christian religion this want is completely met. It reveals One in whom all conceivable perfections meet, and whose law is a transcript of his own nature, and therefore spiritual, perfect, and inflexible. The intelligent believer, studying the searching precepts of the divine rule, finds all the sad suggestions of his own heart confirmed and outstripped. He sees, he feels, what sin is, and is thoroughly humbled. He is lost, undone, and in himself has no remedy. He can no more renew himself than the Ethiopian can change his skin, or the

leopard his spots. And if this were all, the objections brought against the moral import of the doctrine would be of weight—nay, of far more weight than is claimed for them. For despair is the mother of all evils. No man is so bad as he who thinks that restoration is impossible. All restraining influences perish with the cessation of hope.

But the glory of the Church doctrine of depravity is that it wounds to heal, it kills to make alive. It stains the pride of human glory and exposes the emptiness of an earth-born morality before Him whose eyes are as a flame of fire; but with this it discloses a way of escape and recovery. It reveals a provision for pardon which is not capricious or arbitrary, but agreeable to the deepest ethical convictions of the soul; and it unites with this pardon a spiritual renovation which makes all things new. It is a mistake, therefore, to say that the only concomitants of the doctrine I defend are the wail of penitence, the robe of sackcloth, and an outlook of gloom over all the scenes of coming time. There are, indeed, grief, self-reproach, and shame, but along with these are the joy of forgiveness, the beginning of a better life, the inspiring power of a pure and elevated affection, the coincidence of duty and inclination, communion with God, and a triumphant hope of better things than the best of earth. The right position toward God insures the right position toward man. The believer, remembering the pit whence he was snatched, has a tender sympathy with all his kind, as sharers with him in a common catastrophe. He sees in them the possible recipients of the same blessings which he himself enjoys, and he feels a constant impulse to live, labor, and pray, that what is possible may become actual. The thought of the first Adam with his wretched entail is inseparably blended with that of the second Adam with his world-wide redemption; and these two factors combined have produced the largest, purest, most lasting, and most self-sacrificing humanity the world has ever seen.

TALBOT W. CHAMBERS.

VII.

THE IRREPRESSIBLE CONFLICT UNDECIDED.

I.

It is in politics as in Nature—there is action and reaction; there is ebb and flow; there is the light of the sun in its meridian splendors, and there are eclipses when it is veiled by inferior bodies. During an eclipse, the savage fears that the sun is dead. His experience does not give him faith in the immortality of light. So, also, in the affairs of nations the morally luminous eras are succeeded by epochs of eclipses of faith. At such times the coward is hailed as a prophet, and "rises above party." Mental dyspepsia is regarded as an evidence of intellectual health.

History teaches that he who has faith in his race is always in the right—not always as to times, but always as to time; that intellectual progress is a law of our nature as infallible in its operations as the laws that govern the planets in their orbits; and that the revolutions of mankind, like the revolutions of the earth, never go backward; that human advancement, like the sun, goes on forever, "without haste, yet without rest."

We see to-day an eclipse of faith political. We hear old soldiers of the greatest political army that the ages have ever seen speak despondently of the future of the Republican party. They talk of its career as if its coffin already stood open at the foot of its gallows. Even leaders, who see the folly of surrender, when, hastily snatching off its Ku-Klux robes, it masquerades under the name of conciliation, are heard lamenting on the house-tops that the days of the Republican party are numbered. "The hand is the hand of Esau, but the voice is the voice of Jacob." However scholarly the words of the lament may be, its spirit is the spirit of the savage when the sun is eclipsed. It is the utterance of ignorance, or of forgetfulness of the permanent laws of Nature,

in presence of the fleeting phenomena that seem to contradict them.

Henry Wilson could see no reason why the Republican party should not endure a thousand years. One of his old colaborers has said, in this Review, that he can see no reason for its existence to-day. I think the Vice-President was right. I believe that the Republican party has a greater work before it than the past ever called on it to do; that, however it may have failed in some minor tasks, it has always been faithful in great things; that it has always been true to its primitive principles; that it has always been dutiful to the nation, and to the seminal ideas by whose divine energy the child-republic became a giant among the peoples of the earth. It will endure just as long as it worthily represents the principle of Progress, or, to use the newer phrase, of Evolution, a perennial and elemental power of human nature; just as long as it is confronted by an organization hostile to every phase of human development, whether in the individual or the State or the nation; an organization whose ideal leader is a political Columbus with his eyes in the back of his head—sailing American waters under the American flag, but ever seeking, with a longing unappeasable, for a South-West passage to the lost but loved Laurentian seas of our antediluvian world.

I am not alarmed at the personal or factional dissensions within the Republican party. These are the mere flotsam and jetsam thrown up by the self-moving Gulf Stream of Republican destiny. No man, however gifted, no officeholder, however distinguished, can permanently influence the course of the resistless flow of political power. The war demonstrated the truth that here the people rule—that heroes and leaders are no longer necessary to them. General after general, once the idol of the army and the nation, failed or was deposed; but the irrepressible conflict still went on as if they had never lived. The war-President was slain. There was a ripple, and no more. He who had been looked on as the great civil leader, was found to have been a trusted friend in council, and nothing greater; no more necessary to the success of the nation than the humblest soldier in her ranks. Men die, or fall out of line, or desert to the enemy: Lincoln, or Sumner, or Johnson—excepting as to the verdict rendered on their career—it is all one with the people: the undying, self-disciplined, self-

governed, and ever-faithful army, still marches on. No ambition sways them, no reverses discourage them, no lowering clouds dismay them. *They* have no old harps that they must keep in tune with the songs of to-day. The only consistency they respect is the record of persistent growth. It is these traits that cause some politicians to misconstrue their purpose. It is personal egotism that causes other politicians to follow the will-o'-the-wisp of an ambition to "rule" the people, or to impress on them the brand of their individual beliefs. The only man fit to be the "ruler" of a republic, the only man who can ever succeed as a President, is he who has no policy of his own to enforce against the will of the people—he who has no policy at all, excepting faithfully to execute the laws of the people. Looked at in the light of history, every attempt to "rule" the Anglo-Saxon race in any other sense than as a servant to enforce their own rules, is noteworthy only as the policy of Charles I. is noteworthy—as a startling illustration of the tragical element that lies hidden behind the mask of the ludicrous; or as Mrs. Partington's heroic effort with her broom to arrest the advancing tide of the Atlantic, or Mr. Calhoun's similar effort with his pen to arrest the irrepressible growth of the antislavery sentiment is noteworthy—as ludicrous only in one instance, and ludicrous and tragical in the other instance. Charles I. and John C. Calhoun were both men of excellent intentions and of good personal character, but, like another distinguished successor in the same field of disaster, they were men of narrow views, of a Jonah's-gourd-like vanity, and lacking alike in gratitude and sympathy. Hence, their careers ended in a tragedy; hence, one lost his life, and the other ruined his state; and hence, also, even if they lived to-day, it is questionable whether they would not still "serenely" contemplate the ruin they had wrought, and attribute it to the stubbornness and "corruption" of politicians rather than to their own linear folly.

No one can doubt that the Republican party has been the party of progress. It began its life by driving back the destroying angel of slavery from the Territories. As soon as it came of age it grappled with the demon of treason, and slew him who sought the young nation's life. Beneath its divine displeasure, human slavery disappeared from our land forever. Of four millions of bondmen it made freedmen. Of four millions of freed-

men it made citizens. Divine in its compassion as in its anger, no soldier of slavery was punished for his unmanly crime. He was treated as an erring child. Treason was not made odious by any national decree. One by one, platoon by platoon, State by State, the dastards who fought fiercely in order that they might safely enslave a weaker race; that they might rob the blacks of the fruits of their toil, and sell the fruits of their love, without rebuke or retribution—were rapidly restored to their civil and political rights. The prodigal sons were welcomed home. They were trusted. History has no similar story of magnanimity to tell. No organization of men, whether religious or political, has a more lustrous record than the Republican party. Other parties have blessed their friends; this party alone showered benefactions on its foes. For once only on this planet the loftiest teaching of Christianity was practised by a political organization.

With what result? There is a solid South. That solid South has allied its political fortunes with the Democratic party. They are as Eng and Chang, one and indivisible. Without the solid South the Democratic party would be a feeble faction—a moral night-scavenger's cart, laden with the offscourings of Tipperary civilization, instead of a war-chariot armed with disciplined and exultant soldiers, confident of an early victory over their benefactors.

No man denies or can deny that the South will rule the republic if the Democratic party succeeds at the next presidential election. By "South" I mean the old rulers of the Southern Confederacy—the Bourbon Democracy—not the *people* of the Southern States, but the present controllers of their political organizations. For, the ex-Confederate politicians and the Democratic leaders of the South are the same men, inspired by the same spirit, teaching the same ideas, blighted in heart by the same intolerance, cursed in soul by the same prejudices of race and of creed, which caused the old South to linger so far behind the North in the march of civilization, and flung her at last into the arms of a civil war.

Are these men fit to govern the nation? I answer, No. Is this, then, a time to despair of the Republican party? I answer, No. It is a time to fight, not a time to mourn; a time to unfurl a banner, not a time to prepare a tomb. And to this high duty,

rising far above all personal contests, and removing the conflict far from the malarial regions of the White House, the patriot who loves America because of her freedom, and the philanthropist who loves America because of her humanity, should urge the young men of the nation to prepare at once. For, it is the people's battle once more that is approaching.

I do not say that the South should not rule the republic solely or chiefly because its leaders were traitors to the republic. That, surely, is a sufficient reason. A protest against the rule of the ruiners is the dictate of prudence, not the utterance of hate. Magnanimity becomes imbecility; manly forgiveness becomes eunuchal sentimentality; Shakespeare becomes a Tupper—when it is contended that we have not condoned the colossal crime of the nineteenth century until we shall have subjected ourselves to the rule of its chief confederates. The ablest plea ever made for this policy by the ablest, and now almost the solitary, advocate of it collapses at the slightest pen-prick. A Federal brigadier-general had orders to watch a certain corps of the Southern army. He had discretionary orders. On the movements of the enemy depended his action. If they were dislodged, he was to pursue them; but, if they had held their position (if I rightly remember), he was directed to attack them. He says he eagerly watched the cannonade, and that it gave him pleasure when he saw havoc wrought in their ranks. Why? "Because we were at war." By a logic that transcends all earthly rules, he drew the deduction that the reason why the South calmly looked on at the outrages of the Ku-Klux and such massacres as that of Colfax and of Kemper County was because we were still at war. Hence, according to this super-mundane argument, the rule of two Southern States was justly given over to the armed minority; and Packard and Chamberlain, the choice of the majority, were deposed by a national Executive sin of omission, not as an act of necessity, but "because it was right." Would not the same logic have taught him, in battle, not to fight, but to surrender?—not to coerce, but to "let alone?" We did not let the South go; we cannonaded it back into the Union; we compelled it to lay down its arms. We did not dream of conciliation until resistance ceased. And now, I hold, the cure for all the evils we endure—all of them spawned by rebellion—is not to be found in

conciliating the men who owe their lives and estates to our compassion, and repay the debt by undying hatred and ceaseless obloquy, but in maintaining the ideas and by sustaining the party that restored the Union of the fathers, clad now in the white robes of freedom, unsullied and irreproachable. It is civic blasphemy against the memory of the glorious hosts of young men who went down gladly into their graves that the Union might live, to compare them, even for a moment, with the dark legions who preferred to risk their lives rather than part with their unholy power to enslave and traffic in the flesh and blood of their fellow-men. Such comparisons are odious in the sight of gods and men. They obliterate the distinctions between right and wrong. They abolish all the heroisms of history. They put crowns on the heads of persecutors and martyrs alike. There is only one phrase that correctly describes this theory; and, although it is not classical, it is pictorial: that phrase is, *moral mush*. It is the philosophy of bats and owls—the blindness that comes to the purblind by an excess of light. And whatever the blind leaders of the blind may say, history will record that the great struggle of the rebellion was not a contest of "Greek against Greek," but of the powers of darkness against the powers of light; of ancient barbarism against modern civilization; of a despotism founded (as Alexander H. Stephens stated that the Southern Confederacy was to be founded) on the slavery of the black race against a free republic, based upon the sacred brotherhood of man.

But, apart from its crime of rebellion, the South should never rule this republic, because it has demonstrated its incapacity to govern a republic. Statesmanship is a physical science. A youth asked one of Plutarch's heroes if he could play a flute. "No," was the statesman's haughty reply; "but I can make a little village a great city." That is the test of statesmanship. The South can play on the flute of its own vanity, it can blow the trumpet of its own praises admirably well, for egotism is the distinguishing trait of all semi-civilized and uneducated men and nations. But the perpetual vaunt about Southern "statesmanship" could be silenced at once in any grand inquest by the simple demand for a solitary proof of it. Where is that evidence to be found?

Southern statesmanship had an easy task. Nature gave New England rocks and ice as its chief natural products; and New

England is now fertile, intelligent, and rich. Her colonies are the most prosperous commonwealths that the sun looks down on, and their people are educated, industrious, and humane. Nature gave the South an earthly paradise, with a sweet climate and affluent lands, and royal harbors, and great rivers that arteried every State, and mines of more than imperial wealth. What is the old South to-day as compared with the old North? A howling wilderness, with a people ignorant, indolent, and poor.

If it is answered that the present poverty of the South is the result of the war, Southern "statesmanship" is not thereby acquitted of incapacity, for her "statesmen" created the war, and they are responsible for its results. War, too, is a physical science. It is true that the South was "overpowered" by the North, but it was the duty of Southern "statesmanship" to estimate the forces they provoked. They showed their incapacity to rule by seeking their ends through war, with a calculable superiority of physical power against them. Theirs was the political delirium of the Irish demagogues who overthrew the policy of Daniel O'Connell, the one great statesman of Ireland, in order to seek by violence what they could have gained by peace. The South showed all the hot hardihood, all the useless valor of the Irish insurgents, who (taking Napoleon's estimate of the power of machinery) rushed in 1848 into a contest in which they were sure to be outnumbered about twenty to one. The Southern struggle was magnificent, but it was not war. The Southern soldiers fought with superb courage; but Ajax defying the lightning was not war, nor was their defiance of the nation.

If it is still argued that the war was the chief cause of the present condition of the South, and that the North was equally responsible for it, the answer is, that the South lost far less by the war than is claimed or generally supposed. Individuals in the South lost their property in slaves, but the South itself did not lose their labor. Emancipation did not take one dollar from the capital of the South. As much as the ambitious labor of a freeman is more valuable than the reluctant toil of a slave, just so much is the South richer to-day because of emancipation. The real property destroyed by war was not greater *in* the South than *by* the North—in material of war, in loss of service, and by taxation. The State and municipal war-debts of the South were ex-

punged; the State and municipal war-debts of the North were preserved. Besides, Chicago and Boston lost far more by their fires than the South lost by all the houses actually destroyed in the great conflict.

But the incapacity of the South to rule a republic is demonstrated by the hastiest glance at her condition before the war began; at a time when two centuries of unbroken rule had brought forth the perfect fruits of Southern "statesmanship." At the birth of the nation Virginia held the first place in the relative rank of the States in population. She maintained this position until 1810. In 1860 she held only the fifth rank—New York (which held the fifth place in 1790) now leading the roll, followed by Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Illinois. Virginia held the tenth place in 1870. North Carolina held the third place in 1790—only the twelfth in 1860. She held the fourteenth place in 1870. South Carolina held the seventh place in 1790—the eighteenth in 1860. She held the twenty-first place in 1870. New York had increased her population in seventy years from 340,120 to 3,880,735; Virginia, from 748,308 to 1,596,318 only. North Carolina, in 1790, had 393,751 souls; in 1860 she had only 992,622. South Carolina had 249,073 inhabitants in 1790, and, at the opening of the war, only 703,708. Thus, slowly, in spite of every natural advantage, had the three leading slave States, under Southern "statesmanship" advanced; thus rapidly were they left behind under the statesmanship of the North, in the grand march of the States to prosperity.

They who are faithful and skillful in small things—and they only—can be safely trusted by the nation with greater political duties and responsibilities. Are these Southern bunglers, who could not keep time with statesmen whom they affected to despise in this long march of seventy years, who have been left so far behind that they seem now to be stragglers resting by the wayside—are these hungry braggarts, clad with poverty in a desolation they have made, worthy to be chosen stewards of the nation's wealth? And yet, this is the "practical" remedy proposed for existing evils by men who argue that the Republican party should now abandon its organization!

Tried by Henry Clay's evidence, the South should keep or be kept in a back seat until the work of national recuperation

shall be completed. In one of his popular sophomore discourses—then, in the boyhood of the nation, esteemed eloquent orations—the famous Kentucky politician (for he was in no high sense a statesman) declared that the only light by which his feet could be guided was the light thrown by the lamp of experience. Does that light lead the feet of the republic to the plantations of Virginia and the Carolinas for men competent to govern it? Does it guide us to the wrinkled "Mother of States and statesmen" for successors to the power of Abraham Lincoln, when history tells us that the "statesmen" of whom she so loudly vaunted brought their own State from affluence to beggary? Under the evil eye of Southern "statesmanship," prosperity shriveled up and fled from the South; and Virginia, no longer seeking to win back from New York the proud title of the Empire State, settled down into the ignominy of breeding slaves for the Gulf States, and the deeper ignominy of defending the ignominy.

II.

"Can the leopard change its spots?" The negative of this question would seem to be supported by the greater weight of human testimony. Even in these days of iconoclastic inquiry, it is admitted by scientific men that radical changes need ages in which to complete their evolution. But, in the world of politics, a class of empirics has arisen, whose motto is the declaration of Molière's doctor, "Nous avons changé tout cela." In their creed the hope of the country lies in the rescue of the national Government from the hands of the patriots who saved it, and in placing it in the keeping of the traitors who tried to destroy it. They praise men like the Gulf-State orator who denied that the South had been guilty of treason, but, on the contrary, that the South went out of the Union to save the Constitution, "hugging it to its bosom," as it went out, weeping.

> "True patriots they; for, be it understood,
> They *fought* their country for their country's good!"

These empirics claim that the once untamable "Southern tiger" has totally changed its nature; that it is now as gentle and innocent as a paschal lamb; that there are to-day no vital issues in political life on which Southern "statesmen" cannot be

trusted with as much safety to the national honor as the Republican party could be trusted with them.

Let us call up in review one or two only out of scores of important issues still undecided, and in doing so inquire whether the right decision is likely to be reached by the Democratic rather than the Republican party.

There is one issue—invisible, mysterious, and intangible—which no eye here hath seen, nor hath it entered into the mind of any man to tell whence it came nor whither it hath gone—the name of it civil-service reform. It is like "political corruption" and "total depravity" in two essential traits—it is much talked about, and there is not much of it. Civil-service reform, when it is not a cant shibboleth, at its best is a mere patent-medicine remedy for a disease that only "constitutional treatment" can cure. The remedy for dishonesty in politics lies in the election of honest men only to every elective office. The remedy for incompetent government lies in the election of able men only. It rests with the people to apply these remedies—for men both honest and able abound in every State, and will readily respond to the people who desire them as representatives. Competitive examinations, according to the formulas hitherto devised, would be mere tests of memory—not of executive capacity; and, under its operation, every Government department would be an organized regiment of spies and informers. Establish an inflexible system of promotions in line, and every inferior officer would become the natural enemy of his immediate superior. Piety does not consist of a correct knowledge of the Longer or Shorter Catechism; nor is the capacity to administer affairs to be determined by competitive examinations. A lady may be duly qualified to be an excellent copyist, and still not bowed down with the weight of her erudition concerning the isothermal line. Yet an applicant lost her chance for employment under the civil-service rules by a failure to define this scientific term. All such empiric methods are mere ropes of sand in the hands of expert politicians. They are easily evaded. To apply these tests, whatever literary amateur politicians may say, is *not* to "conduct the departments on business principles."

Until literary men, as a class, show as much capacity for the protection of their own interests as the less pretentious but more

practical business men of *all* classes, their voice will have little weight in moulding national legislation. A distinguished namesake of mine, once Senator from Pennsylvania, has been widely ridiculed for speaking with a certain disrespect of "these literary fellows." Yet the Senator had a reason for his scorn of their dictation. Every inventor, for example, even of a mouse-trap, can secure, through national legislation and international treaties, protection for his mechanical skill in almost every civilized nation. Yet Mr. Longfellow and Mr. Emerson, and all the illustrious authors of the land, cannot protect *their* productions one mile beyond the limits of the country. Are men who do not know how to protect themselves fit teachers of practical statesmanship? Do the literary class marvel that national legislators do not pay a swift homage to their political suggestions? The truth is, that their remedies show an utter ignorance for the most part of existing methods as well as of business rules. No honest attempt within my knowledge has ever yet been made, excepting for a brief period under President Grant, to apply the vaunted principles of civil-service reform to national affairs. It is equally true that, if so applied, they would speedily break down, not from the strength of "corruption" opposing them, but from their own inherent feebleness and folly. No business in the country is conducted so ably as the business of the Government of the United States.

Again, the commercial business of this nation is not conducted so honestly as the business of the Government. Reading the diatribes of "reformers," one would think, if unfamiliar with the facts, that a large majority of the Federal office-holders are dishonest. There were estimated to be about eighty thousand persons employed in civil offices in the service of the United States. Yet, outside of Johnson's Administration (when officers were appointed to inaugurate a "Southern policy"), not eighty dishonest men were ever discovered. Mr. Spinner was Treasurer of the United States for fifteen years, and thousands upon thousands of millions of dollars went through his office. He had a regiment of subordinates. How much was lost and stolen? Less than one ten-thousandth of one per cent., and even this percentage was largely owing to three robberies against which no ordinary precautions could prevail. Of these three robberies, two

of the perpetrators were discovered and punished. Can "legitimate business" present so favorable a record? Let us see. During the three years ending with 1875, or in the beginning of 1876 (the latest returns at this writing within my reach), the aggregate liabilities of the bankrupts in the United States amounted to $585,000,000. Their aggregate assets did not reach 33⅓ cents on the dollar. Commenting on this fact, a commercial journal at the time remarked:

"Is there any one who believes that the greater part of this wide margin is not lost under circumstances little better than plain stealing? After allowing for the shrinkage of values, for losses counted twice, and for inevitable misfortunes, the loss is too great to be incurred honestly. The bankrupts have not only lost every dollar of their own, but two-thirds of all they could borrow; and, as no man knowingly gives credit to an insolvent, it is not an over-estimate to say that the bankrupts of the United States have dishonestly made away with at least $300,000,000 of the means of their confiding creditors within three years. It will hardly do for private life to assume a superior morality, and affect to dread any contagion from political corruption."

Dismissing, then, as literary quackery the civil-service reform panacea, and as ignorant slander the charges of political corruption—asserting and believing that the affairs of the nation have not only been more honestly, but, on the whole, far more ably administered under recent Republican rule than at any other period of our history, and that it is vastly superior in both respects, and in almost every respect, to the government of any nation on the earth—I come to questions of greater importance and of more immediate interest.

But admitting, for the sake of argument—or conciliation—that civil-service reform *is* a vital issue, does any sane man believe that it can be accomplished under national Democratic rule? Let the entertaining history of the Doorkeepers of the House of Representatives answer for me. Every appointment made by them has been governed by the old maxim of the Democracy, "To the victors belong the spoils." I pass on.

Capital and labor, the house of Have and the house of Want, present to us an issue not yet decided.

Would the wealth-holders of the nation be benefited by a

national Democratic victory? Would taxation be less burdensome with the South encamped in the White House and in both Houses of the Congress? Would the national debt be secure under Southern domination?

It is a time to speak the truth in plain words, and "the truth I shall speak impugn it whoso listeth."

The South constantly prates of its honor. The word is its substitute for the Irishman's coat-tail at Donnybrook Fair. Whoso treads on it must fight. But the commercial history of America shows that no section is so utterly devoid of commercial honor as the South has always been in its dealings with its creditors of the North. It is almost impossible to collect debts there to-day, even when the debtors are solvent.

What has been the financial record of the ex-Rebel States since the close of the war? I believe that every one of them—certainly nearly every one of them—as soon as it passed under Democratic control, has "scaled" or "graded" or "compromised" or "repudiated" or silently refused to pay its State and county and municipal debts. The history of their financial action has been an unbroken chronicle of bad faith with their creditors. When these things are done in all the Southern States as separate communities, what can we expect should the South obtain control of the finances of the United States?

The North regards the national debt as a solemn covenant with the creditors of the nation. No property is regarded as so sacred. The shadowy host of all the patriots who died for their country encompasses and protects it. Neither the "greenback heresy" nor the "silver craze," as one class of our citizens were fond of calling certain recent political phenomena, owed any essential element of its popularity to any desire to repudiate the debt or any part of the debt. It was a dispute only as to the interpretation of a contract. The West is quite as honest as the East. The "silver men" were quite as honest as the "gold men." Neither East nor West proposed to refuse to pay every dollar of the debt. It was simply with the West a resolution to refuse to pay more than it honestly believed was honestly due. That was all. Denunciation does not change the facts of history, and the West has shown that denunciation cannot change its convictions. If this issue, in any other form, should arise again, it may be well

for the Eastern press to remember its utter impotency as a "thunderer," so recently proved, and to argue hereafter on the basis that, while the West will listen respectfully to reason, it will *not* consent to take the sandals from off its feet when it enters the Wall Street Gold Exchange.

Does any man, whatever his politics, believe that the South either does or can regard the national debt as the North regards it? To the South the debt is a perpetual Appomattox; a golden monument of its crushing defeat; a cap of Gessler to which it is compelled to pay daily homage. It is not in human nature to love the hand that smites, even when one sees that the blow was deserved—which the South does not admit and can never see. The national credit was the spring of all the Southern woes. It armed our soldiers and disarmed theirs; it pensioned our soldiers and disgraced theirs. Will the South respect it? The Federal Constitution alone cannot protect it; for no constitutional guarantee can prevent repudiation by indirect methods.

Let us remember that to repudiate the national debt does not demand the same quality of bad faith on the part of the South that Northern repudiation would require. Put ourselves in *its* place, and see how the aspect of this question changes. What did we do? We forced the South to repudiate all its war debts—State, county, and municipal. The fiat of conquest took no note of the financial honor of the conquered. The South had bonds and bondholders as well as the North, and their bondholders have memories as well as ours. Will *they* be likely to insist, if they should ever wield the sceptre of the national power, that our bonds shall be regarded as the most sacred of all forms of property?

But the "South-side view" of the national debt is not complete without another glance backward, if we desire to comprehend, correctly and justly, how differently the South can regard the sacredness of property in national bonds. There existed before the war "a species of property" in the Southern States, hallowed by two centuries of continuous tenure, sanctified by the religious training of their people, associated with the sweetest memories of their childhood and of home, rendered dearer to them than any other possessions by the moral warfare that was waged against it by the outer world, and which they had waged

for it in vindication of their own character before Christendom. They believed that God established it; they knew that the nation defended it. It was property in man. We swept it away by one sublime stroke of the pen. They have not forgotten, and they never can forget, this obliteration, alike of their sectional faith and their most sacred property. No other property can ever again seem so sacred to them. It may not be "conciliation" to state these facts of Southern life; but it is unwise to overlook them in calculating the coming forces that must necessarily control the Democratic party if ever it obtains supreme authority.

Again, the national debt, although protected by the ægis of the Constitution, may be repudiated by national bankruptcy. The Democracy have shown, by their congressional action, that they are eager to travel on that broad road leading to national destruction. With every prudential motive for concealing and postponing their plans of assault on the national Treasury, during the present session of Congress, the measures already introduced involve the expenditure of nearly $200,000,000 in the Southern States. If these things are done in the green tree, what shall be done in the dry? If, with the lion of a Republican Senate in their pathway, they venture on such wild expenditures, what would they not dare to attempt with a Democratic Congress and a Democratic Executive? They are blind to all the teachings of history who imagine that the men who did not stop before civil war would falter before national bankruptcy. The South believes that it has nothing to lose by the most desperate financial raids on the national Treasury. During the last Congress the Southern claims actually placed on the records exceeded in amount the entire national debt! Under Mr. Riddle's bill, presented in 1876, the new claims therein recognized would have nearly equaled it in amount. That bill provided that "reasonable compensation" should be paid to "*all* citizens of the United States for the use or occupation of their property by the United States army, or any part thereof, during the late civil war." This bill would have enabled every rebel in the Southern States to present a claim for every tree felled, every fence burned, every house destroyed, every potato eaten, every bushel of corn used during the four years of war! It opened wide the gates for robbery, and perjury, and fraud, to enter, by enacting that the only evidence

required for establishing a claim should be "the affidavit of the claimant, supported by the competent testimony of any reputable citizen!"

It is entirely probable, therefore, that the national debt would at least be trebled under a Democratic Administration. The North, as the wealthy section, would be called to bear this Himalayan debt. It could not do it. The nation would be bankrupt.

What has Labor to expect if the Southern Democracy should triumph? Does any working-man expect justice or relief from the rule of politicians whose traditional creed was that capital should not control the service only, but own the bodies of the laborer? Throughout the Southern States, for ten generations, labor was held to be degrading. No laborer, white or black, was esteemed worthy of honor. Work was not worship, but disgrace. In Southern political articles of faith it was declared that the black laborer was a "chattel," and the white laborer a "mud-sill."

And they "lived up to" their creed.

Taxation was levied with a merciless rigor on labor, while capital was permitted to dictate its own terms. One example will suffice to establish this fact. I select the State that gave the Confederacy its President. By the laws of Mississippi, before the war, and during President Johnson's provisional government—before a negro voted, or the Republican party existed there—the taxation on land was limited to ten cents an acre of the value of the land. The owner was constituted the sole judge of its value! What was the result? In Hancock County, for example, according to Democratic testimony, "not one-half of the taxable lands were assessed at all, and the assessed portion was generally rated at five cents an acre!" In thousands of instances the assessment was only one dollar an acre. In other words, a cultivated plantation of a thousand rich acres paid only one dollar in taxes! Three illustrations will show how this iniquitous scheme actually worked. Colonel Benson Blake and wife own 8,506 acres of the best cotton-lands in the State, including a magnificent house, and the finest improvements, in the county of Warren. Tax, $99.78! Colonel Joseph E. Davis owned 3,793 acres of rich "bottom-lands" on the Mississippi River, including

the famous Hurricane plantation. Tax, $141.14! This estate sold for $50,000. The heirs of General John A. Quitman owned 6,810 acres of the same rich bottom-lands, "handsomely improved." It included a plantation which was rented for $30,000 per annum. It was taxed $184.64! Thus, these three splendid plantations, embracing 19,109 acres of the best land in America, worth at the lowest estimate twenty dollars an acre, paid into the State Treasury only $439.56 in taxes. Thus the lords of the lash were favored. How did the working-men fare? By an act of the Democratic Legislature of Mississippi, in 1865, it was provided that all blacksmiths, bakers, butchers, brick-makers, carriage-makers, carpenters, dealers in timber, lumber, or shingles, gas-companies, contractors of bridges, printers, gunsmiths, sawmillers, shoemakers, tailors, tanners, watch-makers, painters, milliners, and others, shall pay *twenty-five* cents on every hundred dollars' worth of *gross receipts*—not of capital or profit, but of gross receipts or earnings; while innkeepers, apothecaries, and others, *besides their licenses*, shall pay one dollar on every $100 of gross receipts! Under this law, in Vicksburg, a livery-stable keeper, in license, and one dollar on every hundred dollars of gross receipts, paid a tax of $671.03; a firm of apothecaries, $502.85; a butcher, $243.70; a firm of bricklayers, on their own work, $87.76; a shoemaker, $75.28; a clerk in a hardware-store, with no property except a salary of $1,200 a year, $33; a barber, with no assets except his soap, shears, and razor, $107.63; a colored drayman, for his dray and two mules, $33.82; a soda-fountain man, $115.88. Can any record more vividly portray the spirit of the Southern Democratic leaders? Have the Northern labor-reformers anything to hope from these men if they shall ever sit in the seats of national power?

How will such men respect the political rights of labor? Let General Butler, of South Carolina, answer. He was asked by the House committee whether he had said that his colored laborers should not remain on his lands unless they voted the Democratic ticket. He replied:

"I said this: I went down and gave them tickets, and said to them that they had a right to vote the Republican ticket if they pleased; that they were free men, as free as I was; *but if they exercised that right*, and imposed taxes on me which were destroying

my property and prospects, I should throw myself back on some of the rights I had under the laws of the country, *and see that they left my plantations.*"

He had "twenty or thirty" hands.

"Six or seven of them," he said, "voted the Democratic ticket, some of them did not vote at all, and I do not know how the others voted, *but I intend to inform myself.*

"*Q.* With a view of turning them off if they voted the Republican ticket? *A.* Not for voting the Republican ticket if they had an honest ticket, but for voting for these thieves and robbers here I *have done so, and I intend to do it hereafter.*" *

Among the "thieves" and "robbers" on the Republican ticket were two citizens well known in the North—Rutherford B. Hayes and William A. Wheeler; and the head of the State ticket was Governor Chamberlain, a man whose honesty, civic courage, and intellectual capacity, have been more extravagantly extolled in South Carolina than the merits of any one public man since the days of John C. Calhoun! Conversion by starvation was one of the most potent agencies of the Democratic policy in the savage campaign in South Carolina during the summer of the centennial year.

What has the patriot to hope from the triumph of the Democracy? The two hostile theories of citizenship clinched in civil war. The South taught the doctrine that allegiance was primarily due to the State; the North believed that allegiance was due to the nation only. The Southern leaders still preach the old heresy to the rising generation in their public speeches, their histories, their colleges, their school-books. This theory will confront every honest scheme of national improvement. Temporarily abandoned when the South only is to be benefited, it will obstruct all the great measures of national advancement which, as the country grows, must prove too great and too dangerous to be confided to corporations, and therefore must be undertaken by the nation itself. Democracy is the creed of a province; Republicanism the religion of a nation. Democracy grovels in fetid wards; Republicanism creates imperial commonwealths out of desert wastes.

* House Mis. Doc. 31, Part 1, p. 303, last session.

What has the philanthropist to hope from the triumph of the Democracy? The most important duty of national statesmanship, although the problem least debated, is the universal education of the people. Democracy is as deadly a foe to education as the Romish Church is to freedom. Democracy has its roots in ignorance. Where Democracy rules, the education of the people is discouraged. Yet no maxim is now more universally accepted than that intelligence and virtue are the foundations of our institutions and the security of our liberties. The popularity of this idea before the war compelled some recognition of education in the States where slavery existed. There were constitutional enforcements of it and statutory provisions for it; but the schools for the people that were established under them in the larger cities were sneeringly described by Governor Hammond, of South Carolina, as "pauper schools." The relicts of this sentiment are distinctly manifested in the States of Delaware and Kentucky, unreached by the reconstruction measures of Congress. To-day these States provide no fund for the education of colored children, excepting what is derived from a tax on the property or polls belonging to this class, or certain fines or forfeitures set apart for this purpose; and the prejudice against them is so great that administration of this trust is not committed to the officers who administer the schools for the whites.

In Maryland and Virginia exceptional circumstances have made these States exceptional in their attitude to the education of the people. Generally, in the other old slave States the reconstruction constitutions had strong clauses enforcing universal education, and corresponding laws were passed under their early Legislatures. The change of the political control of these States was uniformly marked by some blow at the efficiency of the systems of public instruction, either abolishing them altogether or reducing the taxation for educational purposes, or striking at some form of the supervision or other element of efficiency in the system. In Texas, for instance, the Constitutional Convention weakened the constitutional provisions for public instruction, and the Legislature which followed passed such an act that schools were practically abolished for two years in the State. It was enacted that municipalities could assume control of their

schools only by a "majority vote of the property tax-payers" of the town or city.

It is notorious that there is a wide-spread belief in the South that education is fatal to the usefulness of the negro, and hardly less dangerous to the poor white.

Of the 2,000,000 illiterate voters in the United States, seventeen-twentieths are in the Southern States. These States elect 32 of the 74 Senators and 109 of the 292 Representatives in Congress. Hon. Henry W. Blair, in speaking on this topic, says:

"In Alabama 53 per cent. of the voters are illiterate. Ignorance controls the election of the Legislature, members of Congress, the executive, the judiciary, and composes more than half of every jury; but who controls *ignorance?* The old slave caste of the South. The same is true in Mississippi, Georgia, and Florida. In Kentucky 28 per cent. is illiterate; in Maryland 22; in Delaware 24, or one-fourth of all power is in these ignorant masses, and they are in the hands of the political Jesuits of the South. It is a deadly fact that the ignorance of the Southern masses wielded by an educated caste, if they once get possession of the Government, can govern and enslave the whole country."

The safety of the nation will one day, and ere long, demand that universal education shall be made compulsory. Does any friend of education believe that this reform will be championed by the Democratic party?—

The space allotted to this article will not permit me to enumerate other and equally important issues, still pending or quickly coming, in the decision of each and all of which a Democratic triumph would be a national disaster.

There is the question, for example, of protecting freedom of speech and of the press, and the sanctity of our national shekinah—the ballot-box. Free speech is not tolerated in the Southern States excepting where it is impotent to influence the result of the elections. "Boss" Tweed in his worst estate was an honest defender of fairness in elections as compared with the Democratic leaders of South Carolina and the Gulf States. There is no liberty of speech or of the press in all that region, outside of a few of the larger cities; there are no honest returns ever made of the actual results of congressional elections; everywhere, men are ostracized, or exiled, or starved into silence, on account of

their political opinions, if they are members of that great party through whose clemency the Democratic leaders escaped an ignominious death on the scaffold.

The Republican party must and shall be maintained, to the end that the great nation may continue to prosper; that its honor may be kept above reproach, or even suspicion of reproach; that its laws may guard the rights of labor and foster universal enlightenment; that fraud may be punished and conspiracy suppressed, and liberty for all perpetuated and extended. It can be kept in power for generations yet to come by refusing, under every temptation, to become the party of retrogression; by scorning to stoop to conciliate irreconcilable traitors, whether to the country or to the Republican creed, or to compromise with the enemies or doubters of the American Idea; by quietly ignoring or sternly rejecting every leader untrue to its principles, whom the accidents of political contention may seat for a time in the high places of authority; by rising above all personal and factional strifes, and avoiding petty and irrelevant issues, and becoming the champion of every progressive idea and project; by letting the dead past bury its dead problems—as the old duty, for example, of protecting the negro, now and forever, placed beyond the reach of the national arm; by supplanting the timid and the faithless among its officers with men of faith and of courage; by worthily representing, in brief, every element of honesty, and honor, and intellectual evolution of the national life. Above all, it must be brave. Richard Cobden, on leaving America, said, "You Republicans lack pluck." He found Democrats fearlessly advocating the diabolism of politics; and Republicans timidly preaching the sublimest truths. Such men must be deposed as leaders. For this is not a time to sew shrouds, but to prepare for battle.

ANGUS CAMERON.

VIII.

CHINESE IMMIGRATION.

In common with young communities generally, we are more apt to consider our national problems as questions in morals than as questions in political science. However meagre may be his means for studying any proposed measure in other relations, the most ignorant voter believes himself entirely competent to decide, off-hand, upon its merits as a moral abstraction. It is not surprising, therefore, that American demagogy, and even a class of public men whom this category might not justly include, should devote more efforts to convincing what they are pleased to call the public conscience, than to enlightening the public mind upon the economic or sociological bearings of the question in issue. It is thus a necessary consequence of our system that many questions requiring for their correct determination the nicest expert processes of calculation have finally to be decided by "the popular moral sense," i. e., the congeries of class prejudices, supposed class interests, and the fortuitous bias that may have taken possession of the popular mind at any given time. It is not necessary to call attention to the many grave questions in our history that have been, at least, temporarily, disposed of in this way, or to the serious results that have followed. They are sufficiently numerous to suggest themselves.

However safely the popular conscience might be trusted to decide such questions as that of slavery, it is conspicuously fallible in others, such as tariff, finance, and taxation; and even slavery itself might have reached a more wise and less costly solution, had the Bible and the golden rule figured less conspicuously in its discussion, and the principles of economic and social science been more frequently appealed to. A distinguished writer, who has succeeded to Sumner's grave responsibilities as a statesman, says of that great abolitionist: "He had neither

the taste nor the capacity for philosophical analysis. . . . Sumner planted himself on the most general statements of right, on the simplest maxims of morals and duty—the opening sentences of the Declaration of Independence, the Sermon on the Mount, the golden rule, the beatitudes, the two sublime commandments upon which hang all the law and the prophets. His conclusion was always but one step from his premises. Sumner's decision, in the greatest emergencies, was prompt, instinctive, unhesitating." Unfortunately, however, his decisions were not always sufficiently without error to justify the precipitation with which they were reached; and, had they not been resisted by men who arrived at their opinions by more laborious processes—as in his extravagant notions of civil rights, and his foolish hostility to England in the Alabama case—would have resulted in serious mischief. *Fiat justitia ruat cœlum*, would be a safer maxim in practical government, had we an infallible authority to determine the equity of each case as it arises; but, when men reach their conclusions by such royal roads as that here ascribed, no doubt justly, to Mr. Sumner, they are apt to find the heavens falling just as doubts begin to arise as to the genuineness of the justice whose doing precipitated the calamity. In our conditions, it is wiser to suspect the justice, however obvious it may appear, of any proposed policy which threatens such results.

Besides these moralist statesmen, we have few who apply any expert test but that of the lawyer to public questions. In the tariff debates of half a century ago, even so great a man as Calhoun could think of no other. He resisted protection almost solely on the ground of its unconstitutionality. That it was an economic question, as well as a legal one, never seemed to have dawned upon his mind, and but very few of his successors have discovered that there are any more appropriate methods of measuring the relative merits of protection and free trade than by examining the Constitution, its commentators, and the law-books. In the most important issue that has come before the Congress since the war closed—that of the debasement of the coinage—Senator Thurman was content to measure the Bland Bill with the yard-stick of the constitutional lawyer, and, finding full measure by that standard, to give it his approval. It did not occur to him that the business of Government, even in so purely

economic a question as this, could need light from any other source than precedent and prescription. It would be quite as reasonable to defend a bill for the manufacture of *papier-mâché* cannon, on the ground that such material was not prohibited in the fundamental law.

After this fashion opinion is now crystallizing on the question of Chinese immigration. Arguments are being adduced from morals, from dogmatic theology, from international law; and even a hazy sort of political economy makes its appearance now and then, which, without any very keen examination of the matter, is content to dismiss it summarily with a generalization based on the laws of trade. The burden of defense, however, as well as of attack, is thrown upon the laws and prejudices of men rather than upon the immutable laws of Nature. A succession of assertions and denials regarding Mongolian morals occupies a large space in the controversy, whose value can be better determined when we have found means of measuring moral phenomena, quantitatively and qualitatively. An immediately, and, at present, exclusively interested class, exhibits its special grievance, and demands Chinese exclusion on that showing, forgetting that there may be other classes whose interest may be in the reverse direction, and whose wishes deserve quite as much respect. Philanthropy and sectarian propagandism cite the golden rule and the Biblical command to preach the Gospel, forgetting that, among races as well as among individuals, the law of self-preservation antedates even the behest to love one's neighbor. The decision of all these issues would inevitably be reduced to the republican device of counting noses by means of the ballot, a process quite as likely to result in error as in truth, and almost certain to be followed by an unintelligible and unintelligent policy.

The appeal to economic principles is more intelligent. If the only question were as to the effect of Chinese immigration upon the growth of industry, commerce, and wealth, the natural laws of trade would be applicable; and it would be sufficient answer to the complaining "hoodlum" to tell him the industrious and frugal Chinaman was but another labor-saving machine, like the steam-plough and the cotton-gin, whose cheap energy would more rapidly develop the resources of the country, to the advantage of all its inhabitants. It is, however, one of the vices of the study

of political economy, since it has become popular, that people apply its principles, which are utterly valueless outside its specific and well-defined purpose of explaining the phenomena of wealth, in directions entirely foreign to that purpose, or where that purpose is of minor importance. Writers who have attained a superficial understanding of free trade, and of the meaning of *laissez faire*, hasten particularly to apply the latter in every department of thought with an innocent unconsciousness of the narrow limitations within which the doctrine was confined by those who invented it.

In the present case, as in the case of all immigration, error may come as much from ignoring all but industrial considerations as from the misapplication of economic principles. Political economy is not a *vade-mecum* of universal knowledge. Beneficent and useful as it is to mankind, it is, nevertheless, only a means of eliciting truths of a specific kind. "Chaque science," says one of its most distinguished teachers, "son objet qui lui est propre." Immigration has, of course, intimate relations to trade, and to the development of wealth. These relations are, indeed, its most obvious ones, and are naturally those which are first seized upon as the battle-ground of debate by both sides. As far as these relations go, the laws of trade, as discovered and elucidated by political economy, whose material of investigation they are, will be not only of value, but conclusive.

But are there not other relations which immigration bears, and notably Chinese immigration, and may not these be of equal, if not of greater, concern to this country than any it bears to trade and wealth? This question must be answered before the controversy can be regarded as closed by mere economic arguments. Political economy informs us that the Chinaman will promote the growth of wealth, but where and how are we to ascertain what the effects of unrestricted Asiatic immigration will be upon the growth and distribution of the human race upon this continent? What science or what line of investigation will give us answers to these questions:

1. Will it merely furnish an addition to our industrial classes, or will it result as a substitution, as far as it goes, of Mongolian for Caucasian in the total of our population?

2. If a substitution, how far will it go, and what are the pos-

sibilities and probabilities, as to amount of Chinese immigration to and Chinese multiplication in America?

3. If not an addition, but a substitution, is such substitution desirable; and, if desirable, to what extent?

4. Does it contain the possibility of a complete substitution of Mongolian for Caucasian, as the landing of Columbus, toward the close of the fifteenth century, contained the possibility of the complete substitution of European for Indian.

The startling nature of the possibilities these questions suggest may provoke constitutional optimism to dismiss them with a smile of incredulity, without much careful examination of the facts and principles by the investigation of which alone they can be answered correctly. National vanity will flatter itself that it is the madness of pessimism or sensationalism to suggest that the semi-civilized and stationary Asiatic can drive out the most vigorous and advancing, if not advanced, branch of the great Aryan race, without considering that it is not alone by moral, mental, or physical superiority that species and varieties have succeeded each other upon the earth's surface. Even many of those who endeavor to think and speak with some approach to scientific exactness, and in whose mouths is frequently heard that much-abused and much-perverted phrase, "survival of the fittest," will forget in dealing with the present subject that the "fittest" to which the doctrine of evolution refers is not necessarily what, from moral, intellectual, or æsthetic considerations, would be called the superior. In the struggle of vegetable life between the useful grass and the Canada thistle, it is the thistle which, leaving the skilled and watchful husbandman out of the environment, is the "fittest," and which survives invariably. In animal life evolution is equally regardless, in its selection of the "fittest" and surviving species, of all those moral, æsthetic, or utilitarian considerations which govern artificial evolution, under the operations of human knowledge, human needs, and human skill. Nor is the highest species of animal, man himself, less subject to this inexorable law in the survival or disappearance of his varieties, except where, by legislation, war, or concerted action of any sort, he interposes between races or tribes, as does the husbandman between the grass and the thistle, or the breeder of cattle between the blooded variety and the common stock, and thus substitutes,

to the extent of his power, artificial for natural selection; or, to speak more exactly, introduces into the natural environment the modifying element of his own intelligence.

Taking it for granted, then, that the above questions regarding the possibilities of Chinese immigration are, at least, open ones, and that they cannot be summarily dismissed by any flippant generalization of mere optimism, their discussion, it must be conceded, is vastly more vital to the country than the mere economic or moral phases of the subject which have heretofore, almost exclusively, occupied debate, whether by the "hoodlums" of San Francisco, or by the Congress at Washington. It will also be apparent that, although economic science may furnish *principles* useful to the ethnological discussion, economic *purposes and ends* are not at all material to it. Moral and political considerations are equally foreign. It is not of the slightest consequence to the purpose now in view, whether the Chinaman is a moral paragon, or a moral monster; a model of personal cleanliness, or all that the immaculate hoodlum charges him with being; easily convertible to Christianity, or an obstinate idolater; intending to take an intelligent part in our politics and government, or determined to remain politically inactive among us, but not of us. All we have to do is to determine whether, according to the strict limitations of the natural law of evolution, he is better "fitted" to survive in the environment of this continent than its present Caucasian inhabitant.

The phenomenon of human migration is but a stage in this inexorable process of the survival and disappearance of human types. The "unfittest," from whatsoever cause the unfitness arises, are pushed out of their home, as is a swarm of bees from the parent-hive.

Over-population, as in nearly all the recent migrations; religious persecution, as in the Puritan exodus from England, and the Huguenot exodus from France; an adventurous and enterprising spirit, as in the early Spanish outpouring to America, and the Danish and Norman invasions of the British Islands—any, or all, or any combination, of these circumstances in a community, or in any part of a community, may constitute the "unfitness" which drives it out to seek new conditions in a new home. The migrating body finds a more vacant spot of earth upon which it can settle;

drives out some weaker population, which, in turn, develops the "unfittest;" mixes with some other population, which it merges, or by which it is merged, or by the mixture develops a new type; or finally, through its innate weakness, or through stress of buffeting circumstances in its changing or changed environments, disappears altogether from the earth.

It is not necessary to enter here upon any detail in a statement of how the human race have scattered in various ages, until they have covered the best part of the planet with strongly-marked and highly-developed types. The large and material fact will be accepted that Eastern Asia, very likely China, was the parent-hive where the species increased, and whence swarms went, or were driven forth, periodically, as the pressure of consumption upon production became too severe. The migrating bodies went westward, and not eastward, not because of any occult charm in following the sun, but for the very practical reason that land lay to the west, and that an unknown, impassable, and apparently boundless ocean lay to the east. If the cradle of the race was not near the Asiatic shores of the Pacific, it was not far inland; and, even though the very first migrations might have been in all directions indiscriminately, those toward the east were, at a very early stage, stopped by the Pacific, whose immediate neighborhood first became thickly settled, and whence, not toward which, the human swarms subsequently invariably directed themselves. The very early migrations eastward would have packed the Pacific shores more thickly than the land toward the west, as in that direction humanity found vast, empty continents upon which to distribute and sustain life upon a savage basis. Those who remained behind, from whatever reason—because they could sustain life in their unchanged environment, because they lacked courage or enterprise to change it, or because they had power to push others out—were constantly crowded, as well by the increasing difficulty of pushing the growing weight of humanity before them, and thus relieving themselves of their surplus, as by what might be called the back-flow, or recoil, of the race which wedged itself into the stationary population.

It is not necessary, therefore, to look very far for the reasons why India and China are the most thickly-inhabited portions of the earth's surface, nor for the origin of the fact that the races

now inhabiting those countries have reduced the needs of human life to a minimum. It was in that neighborhood primitive man was first pinched for room, and compelled to give up the chase, and betake himself to more artificial means of satisfying his hunger. It was there he first began eating vegetables, and observed, in a crude way, that he could control their growth. It was there he first discovered the wild beast he hunted could be subdued and propagated for his food. It was there the first rude elements of pastoral and agricultural life developed themselves, because it was there the crowded condition of humanity first made these discoveries essential to human life. Long before he had become capable of very largely differentiated enjoyments and luxuries, or intelligent enough to supply himself with the means of such higher pleasure, there were ages of natural selection which made life impossible among the masses to all but those who could sustain it at the very lowest limit of sustenance. To the tribes that went forth and scattered upon the virgin earth the improvidence of savage life, the alternate gormandizing and starving of the primitive hunter, was possible for many ages; and the variety of his circumstances and his comparative leisure to think, and in his crude way reason upon those circumstances, gave him room to develop a more differentiated character. For the crowded masses in the parent-hive, however, there was no repletion, no leisure. Every energy must be constantly applied to wring from the earth the barest needs of life; and, at best, life was maintained so near the minimum that momentary relaxation resulted in starvation. What wonder, then, that in this part of the earth man's development was all in the line of getting the maximum of sustenance out of the minimum of ground, and of sustaining life on a plane uniformly approximating starvation, with little or no margin for variation? This is the final fate of the masses in all thickly-populated countries; but, among Western peoples, a long period of varied experience, changed circumstances, and comparative plenty, develops a highly-differentiated civilization before mankind is compelled to fall into this rut that lies along the brink of the abyss of starvation. The character of the Western type of man is the product of ages of travel done by his savage ancestors, a wide variety of exigencies by which he has been modified, a latitude of room in which to develop in

many directions. He is the son of Adam who went abroad, or was driven abroad, to seek his fortune. The Mongol is his less adventurous brother, who has stuck to the homestead and its unchanging or slowly-changing circumstances. To speak of him as stationary and unprogressive is inexact. He grows, but with less rapidity than other races, because he has less room. From the infancy of our race his environment has pressed upon him, as the Chinese shoe presses upon the foot, crushing him into a narrow mould of custom, where he has been set for ages. As constant over-population abnormally developed his industry and frugality, and his capacity to live where all other races would starve, these qualities in turn, as civilization progressed, and enabled man to get more and more food out of a given quantity of ground, resulted in making possible a multiplication of the species which the appetites of other races would render them unable to sustain.

It would be interesting to follow the train of thought suggested by the various swarms of humanity which poured westward from this hive from age to age—how one wave succeeded another, overwhelming it, mingling with it, or being overwhelmed itself, until all the earth was full, and the pickets of our race stood upon the shore of the Atlantic, peering over its mysterious waters, and believing them boundless or impassable; how long they paused there, still pushed forward from behind by later swarms, until they found means to venture out upon the waste of waters, and discovered empty land upon the other side; how they found a few scattered savages—perhaps autochthones, possibly descendants of a few waifs from Asia, who drifted across the Pacific without means to return, and were forgotten by those they left behind, as their descendants forgot them and the last traces of their origin; how the vigorous European brushed aside this weak variety of man, and, multiplying upon the eastern edge of the new continent, very much as his Asiatic ancestors multiplied on the eastern edge of the old, sent new swarms still westward, until the circuit of the earth was completed. The adventurous brother who left the old Asiatic homestead, thousands and thousands of years ago, upon the western shores of the Pacific, stands now upon its eastern shore, and looks across, changed beyond recognition by travel and adventure, upon his elder broth-

er who remained at home, and upon whose character and habits ages of time have made little effect. The causes impelling these repeated swarms westward, the laws by which they were controlled, the modifying influences with which they came in contact and which developed from the original type so many and so various races, present an inviting field of thought, which it is not the design of this article to enter upon, but the main facts of which the intelligent reader will bear in mind through what follows.

Setting aside the merely incidental, and regarding the phenomenon of emigration in its most general aspect, it is only necessary for the present purpose to consider its great general cause—hunger. Individuals and small aggregations may change their homes for other reasons, but mankind, as a species, has gone abroad only for food.

The process has continued in a westward direction, impelled by starvation in Asia, until it has filled the temperate zone with as crowded a population as it can well sustain according to the Caucasian manner of living. The pressure of the starving horde in Asia has forced forward, and added to, the mass it drove out, until the latter has filled all the vacant space in that direction, and become heavy enough to resist the further efforts of the former.

It may be assumed, then, that Eastern Asia can no longer relieve itself of its surplus population by those westward tidal waves the last ripples of which broke upon the Atlantic shores in the beginning of our era, and submerged and almost annihilated Græco-Roman civilization. There can be no escape by land to the south, for India and the lesser peninsulas in that direction are already packed as closely as China. To the north, the barren waste of Siberia has already been encroached upon as far as its sterile soil will sustain life. The human race have increased to such a multitude in China—where one-fourth the planet's inhabitants are packed upon a territory no larger than the United States—that the earth has been made bare for food. In the intense war with Nature for the sustenance of this vast horde, the forests have been swept away, and the terrible consequence has come of an appalling decrease of moisture, and a growing sterility in the soil, where every foot of ground, at its best, had to be worked with tireless industry to sustain its teem-

ing population. At last, exhausted Nature refuses to follow any further the increasing demands upon her fruitfulness, and a calamity stares the world in the face, to which even the fabled history of the race furnishes no parallel. It is easy to write down the fact that 70,000,000 Chinese are starving, but it is impossible for the mind to contemplate the dimensions of such a fact with any approach to appreciation of its stupendous character. A mass of human beings equal to the combined population of the British Islands and the United States, nearly equal to the total population of North and South America, packed into the northern provinces of China, have eaten the green earth bare, and are now in the throes of starvation. They have devoured the last traces of vegetation, have eaten the dry wood of fences and houses, have gnawed and swallowed their own wretched clothing, and have even fed upon the very soil itself, which no longer gives forth its vegetable treasures! What this calamity means is no secret to the reader of history, nor to the correct thinker, accustomed to consider social phenomena as the material of a science. It means migration, and migration on such a scale as the historical period of man's existence upon earth has never witnessed. Like a volcano inclosed by the hardened lava of its former eruptions, China has been quiescent for many centuries, gathering force from Nature's fires to break the crust again wherever it may be weakest, and pour forth another flood.

On which side, then, are the barriers weakest? is a most vitally interesting question. If it were five hundred years ago, the answer would be, "On any side but that of the Pacific." But our inventions have broken down this barrier, and taught the Chinaman to cross it without fear. He has not been slow to learn, either. The present generation remembers when the Mongol was seen, in exhibitions of curiosities, in this country. He already numbers nearly 200,000 in the United States.

It is said that those who have come intend returning, but that is an incident of the inception of all emigrations. Thirty years ago, the European who came to the United States almost invariably intended to return, when he had made the fortune which he expected could easily be found in this favored land. The same might be said of the early emigration to Australia, and of nearly all colonization. But, as the emigrants increase in number, they

gradually find the conditions of the new country approximating to the old. Their friends have followed them. All that constitutes home has been transferred to the colony, and to return would be to leave home again. It required much less to make this change for the German or the Irishman, because the community he left behind was a smaller one and not so unlike ours. To the Chinaman, the 150,000 of his fellow-countrymen in San Francisco are no more than the three ship-crews who came with Columbus were to the Spaniards, the small settlement at Jamestown to the Englishman, or the first landing in the St. Lawrence to the Frenchman. But even already the Chinaman is beginning to give manifestations of the change from adventurous fortune-hunting to permanent colonization. He is monopolizing "quarters" in the large cities, bringing out his women, setting up his joss-house, his opium-den, his theatre, his gambling-place, and other institutions of Chinese civilization, which are rapidly reconciling him to America as a home. He is even beginning to bury his dead here, and to look forward with complacence to his own sepulture on this side the Pacific. That he is subjected to mob-violence will no more frighten him than it frightened the Irishman when Know-nothing crowds burned his churches in Philadelphia. He has come to stay, and he has only just commenced to come. The first ripples have struck our shore. The tidal-wave is now forming in interior China, which may overwhelm us.

In what numbers will they come?

In 1840 there were 8,000,000 souls in Ireland. In 1845 the potato-famine began, which culminated in 1847. In 1855 the population had been reduced nearly one-half. Two millions had starved. The rest of the reduction was accomplished by emigration in spite of the well-known fecundity of the race.

China contains, in round numbers, 450,000,000 inhabitants—about eleven times the population of the United States, on about one-fifth more ground. The famine is nearly in the same proportion to the whole as that of Ireland was. If the parallel were continued, there would be nearly 100,000,000 deaths by starvation, and another 100,000,000 emigrants within the next twenty years.

It would be absurd, of course, to carry the parallel to the

matter of emigration, as the limitation of the carrying-power of available vessels, if nothing else, would prevent such an exodus over the Pacific. It is easy to believe, though, that the arrivals, when the exodus fairly begins, will only be limited by the means of transportation, and not by safe or convenient transportation either. The rotten hulks that were pressed into service to bring emigrants across the Atlantic, during the flood-tide of European emigration, will find their counterparts, no doubt, upon the Pacific. It would, of course, be hazardous to anticipate by figures, where a few millions, more or less, would make so little impression upon the mass left behind. As far as China is concerned, to send us ten, or fifteen, or even twenty millions, would be a small matter.

What would this or half or quarter of this involve?

To the immigrating horde, doubtless, a greatly-improved condition upon that of China, and such reports sent home as would keep up the flow eastward.

But to America?

Which brings us to the questions asked some pages back: Would this be an *addition* to our population, or would it be merely a *substitution* of so many Mongols for what, in their absence, would be in time a Caucasian increase?

At this point a well-established law of population, revealed by the researches of political economy, will be valuable aid to further progress. There is no generalization of that science, which has held its own against attack from so many quarters and for so long a time, and which is now so generally accepted, as what is called the Malthusian theory of population. To state it as its discoverer understood and declared it is to carry conviction with the statement to every mind not obstinately resolved to misunderstand. It will, therefore, be unnecessary to elaborately explain the operations of that law here, or to defend the solid ground upon which it rests. It is, in the language of Malthus, that there is a "constant tendency in all animated life to increase beyond the nourishment prepared for it." Or, as applied especially to man, in the more elaborate and analytical words of one of Malthus's most intelligent commentators, Prof. Cairnes—"that, regard being had to the powers and propensities of human nature on which the increase of the species depends, there is a constant

tendency in human beings to multiply faster than, regard being had to the actual circumstances of the external world and the power which man can exercise over the resources at his disposal, the means of subsistence are capable of being increased."

A careful examination of the instances of natural human increase under the most favorable conditions of sustenance has demonstrated that population can, at least, double itself every twenty-five years. That it would exceed even this rate, under still better conditions of sustenance, there is no reason to doubt; and that this rate of increase could be kept up indefinitely, if the means of sustaining life could be indefinitely increased in the same ratio, is a perfectly safe deduction. It is a fair corollary, then, of the law of population that, wherever the natural increase of the human species does not maintain this ratio, it is not because of what might be called a subjective decadence of virility and fecundity, but on account of the objective impossibility of increasing the food-supply to keep pace with it. Where there is no food there can be no animal life is as self-evident a proposition as that where there is no fuel there can be no fire; and it is equally true to say that animal life can only be increased so far as the food necessary to sustain it can be increased. Population will always keep pace, by natural increase, with the increase of sustenance, and will be kept within that limit, where the natural propensities tend to pass it, by starvation, disease, war, and, among a very provident people, a decrease in the number of marriages, and a tendency to smaller families.

It follows from these laws that immigration, as a means of increasing the population of a country already *stocked* with the human species, is unnecessary, and does not result in such increase except as follows:

1. Where the new stock, by reason of greater intelligence or industry, is capable of producing a greater surplus over its consumption than the old, that surplus being then available for a further increase.

2. Where the new stock, with industry equal to that of the old, produces a quantity of food equal to that produced by the old, and, by reason of greater frugality, consumes less.

The surplus of food produced in either case provides for so many additional mouths, and the mouths will follow very quickly.

The first case was illustrated by the arrival of Europeans in America. The native savages, being incapable of getting food by any other means than the chase and a very rude agriculture, required immense tracts of land for a very small population, and their number was, therefore, almost stationary, or very slowly increasing. How many long ages it would have required to develop them to equality in food-producing power with the white, if the white had not come, is not pertinent. But the white came, and, being able to get more sustenance out of an acre of land than the Indian got out of one hundred, he increased more rapidly. The Indian, being unable either to make a slave of the white and appropriate the product of his labor, or to imitate the industry of the white, and compete with him for the food that was locked in the bosom of the earth, gradually disappeared as the white man occupied his hunting-grounds and turned them into farms.

The second case was illustrated by the subsequent wholesale emigration of Europeans which began between 1840 and 1850, and has continued with more or less force ever since. The Irishman, German, or Scandinavian, being accustomed to a much more meagre way of living than the native American, for a time only supplanted him in the lower grades of labor; but, being nearly his equal in productive capacity, and requiring much less to sustain himself, produced a surplus upon which both increased.

In both cases, however, there was a substitution of the new stock for the old, as well as an increase in the total. The Indian disappeared altogether, because he could not get sustenance in the conditions which the white man made. The native American, accustomed, as he was, to the abundance of a new country, was nevertheless capable, by his superior intelligence, of appropriating, as capitalist, enough of the surplus product of the new immigrant to sustain himself for a time on his accustomed liberal standard of living. It was only for a time, however. The market for his enterprise was limited, and he was soon compelled to move westward in large numbers; while among those who remained on the seaboard marriages gradually became rarer, and families smaller. The new immigrant, accustomed to the hardships of peasant-life in Europe, was capable of maintaining a large family on the income with which the native would not have dared to marry. The immigrants have, accordingly filled

up the seaboard cities, and are repeating the process in the West. Had European immigration ceased altogether in 1800, the 4,000,000 whites then in the country might not have increased to 40,000,000 by the centennial year; but, granting them equal industry with the later immigrants in the production of the needs of life, they would certainly have fallen short of it only inasmuch as it would have required a smaller number of them to consume the product of that industry. They would have required a longer time to increase to that number only because they would have required a longer time to produce the greater quantity of the needs of life required by that number of their breed.

The influence of the later European immigrant upon the number and character of the population was, of course, much modified by his community of race with the first settlers, and the readiness with which he enlarged his needs and liberalized his habits to the standard he found here, as well as by the capacity of the native to meet him half-way in a contraction of his own, where it became necessary by reason of poverty. But, allowing for these modifying influences, a large margin remains upon which the immigrant and his descendant have been *substituted for*, not added to, the otherwise possible increase of the native American.

Although this conclusion is reached by an argument from the nature of things, it does not lack the confirmation of fact, as witness the daily-increasing complaints of those who have the best opportunity for observing, that the native American, in New England cities particularly, is no longer increasing in number, but is content with a family of two or three, where he has any at all, while the German, the Scandinavian, and the Irishman, are filling the land with their large broods of sons and daughters. Immigration, therefore, can be regarded, with the exceptions which have been pointed out, not as an increase of the population, but as a change of stock. Inasmuch as it has operated in this way, European immigration may be considered as a good or an evil, according to the individual preference for Celt, Teuton, or Anglo-Saxon.

It is not so much the present purpose to discuss the merits of the respective European breeds as to show the laws by which they tend to displace each other. These laws operate with much greater force in the case of the Chinaman, compared with whose

standard of population this country seems almost as empty now as, by the European standard, it seemed when it contained none but aborigines, and compared with whose standard of living the present white inhabitant neglects almost as many sources of food, and lives almost as improvidently as did the savage. As the white was able to support large communities on grounds which the Indian required for his game, as the recent immigrant from Europe was capable of raising a large family upon an income which would not justify a native American in marrying at all, so the Chinaman can live and accumulate a surplus where the Caucasian would starve. His geographical position upon the earth's surface, his peculiar relations in time and in space to the processes by which the human species were spread over the earth, have surrounded him, as we have seen, with an environment peculiarly favorable to the development of food-getting and food-saving faculties to a degree which the American Caucasian neither envies nor is capable of imitating.

A conspicuous factor in the battle of life is omnivorousness, or diversity of feeding. That animal which has but a single plant, for instance, it can use for food, may be annihilated by a frost, or grub, or any other cause which would remove that plant for a single season. That which feeds indiscriminately on all plants will find abundant sustenance under more adverse circumstances. That whose stomach receives vegetable or animal food with equal favor has a still better chance of surviving under unfavorable conditions; and that which can catch the most various sorts of prey is more apt to have prey always at its command than that whose powers in the chase, whose courage, or whose strength, can only overtake or overcome the most slow-moving or weakest animals. Man, the most perfect of animals, the most numerous of large animals, the one who, in the present conditions of the earth, could survive all others, has attained to this position of mastery largely because he is, of all animals, the most omnivorous. It would be a tremendous catastrophe indeed that would sweep all his thousand sources of food from the earth. It would have to involve nearly the entire destruction of animal and vegetable life. This law governs in the competition between his varieties, as well as in the competition between animal species. Where he has learned to get food from the most various sources,

there he multiplies as nowhere else, for there the chances of the exhaustion of his food-supply are least. It was because the American Indian must get wild game, or starve, that he had to move west and disappear. He knew practically nothing of satisfying his hunger in other ways, and was incapable of learning. The Irish grew to a multitude of 8,000,000, on their little island, by a long succession of abundant potato-crops—almost their only food. Two or three bad seasons came, and half of them disappeared. That they could not obtain anything but potatoes, subjected them to the same law as the Indian, who knew nothing of any other staple food but game. Of all the varieties of man, the Chinaman is the most diverse in his food. All is meat to him; animal or vegetable, in the air, on the earth, or in the waters under the earth. He can gorge himself with joy upon the abundant meat-diet of the Englishman; he can dine comfortably and happily upon a brace of mice, or eke out life, for weeks, upon a few handfuls of rice. He has carried epicureanism as far as the ancient Roman or Greek, or the modern Frenchman, and can serve a feast whose complexity would puzzle, if not charm, a Parisian *chef de cuisine;* or he can drive the vulture from his prey, or devour the unclean bird itself. And all the time he can work without ceasing. He can pack more of his kind upon an acre of ground than any New York tenement-life can show, and live there in what he regards as tolerable comfort. In this he has exactly the same advantage over the "Melican" man as the European had over the aboriginal inhabitant of this country, and as the Englishman had over the Australian savages. On the other hand, the Englishman will never succeed the Hindoo, for the reason that the Hindoo, on account of his extreme abstemiousness, can support a larger population on a given space. He may govern him for a time, as the Arabian did, until the Hindoo has learned the modern mode of warfare, which he has been too busy getting food ever to have discovered for himself. That the latter will finally absorb the Englishman as he did the Arabian, and as the Saxon did the Norman, there is little chance for doubt, the popular notion to the contrary. It is by no means the most vigorous and most courageous or most enlightened type of man that always survives. He may conquer an inferior people, and govern them for some time, but, if they can produce as much

as he by their labor, and are content to live on much less, he will either become like them in course of time, or disappear.

It is really, therefore, those characteristics of the Chinaman which we most despise—his miserable little figure, his pinched and wretched way of living, his slavish and tireless industry, his indifference to high and costly pleasures which our civilization almost makes necessities, his capacity to live in swarms in wretched dens where the white man would rot, if he did not suffocate—all these make him a most formidable rival for ultimate survival as the fittest, not only in America, but wherever he may find a footing. If he were a large-bodied and large-stomached man of refined tastes and varied necessities, we should have little to fear from him. Such a type would find more difficulty in supplying its large wants than we in supplying ours, and would, therefore, either descend to our level, or disappear. We might, by sending a million of men, or a lesser army, to China, succeed in conquering it, and governing it as the Tartars did; but our army would become like the Chinese in course of time, and be entirely lost in their mass, as the Tartars were. If we sent ten millions, it would be only a question of time when they should wholly disappear.

The treatment the Chinaman has received from the white population of California is kindness itself compared to that which has been accorded him in Australia, where the competition of the races is far from being so intense; and, if the Californians are becoming more bitter in their warfare of late, it is only because the difficulties of life have so increased within the last few years as to become wellnigh intolerable to a people accustomed to such generous habits as ours. The swarm of Chinese, in San Francisco particularly, and their monopolization of many branches of industry, from which, by their wonderful manual skill, their highly-developed and intelligent imitative faculties, their tireless industry, and their abnormal frugality, they have driven out the white, bring the latter face to face with the possibilities of the future. He needs no knowledge of the methods of scientific and philosophical reasoning to perceive the irreconcilable antagonism between himself and the new-comer. He feels as the aboriginal Indian felt when he came in contact with the early white immigrant, and began to observe his mode of life, that he

cannot live beside the stranger without becoming like him; and, if that were desirable, it is impossible. There is as wide a gulf between him and the Chinaman as there was between the red warriors of Powhatan and his fathers. The differences which have been growing in the heredity of ten thousand years cannot be wiped out in a generation.

It is another matter altogether with the free negro. In that case, the industrious white has as great an advantage as the Chinaman has in this. The negro is as far behind us in the art of sustaining life as we are behind the Mongol. The environment in the evolution of his race has always offered room for the preservation of life in savage conditions, and by the simple rudimentary industry of a savage people. He has all the thoughtlessness of the morrow, all the propensity to liberal feeding of the savage, and has learned only in slavery to support the needs of life in the conditions of our civilization. As a consequence, when thrown upon his own resources in a civilized community, he begins to disappear. Our ancestors emerged from the broad and roomy environment of pastoral and savage life only a few centuries ago, and our life-sustaining faculties represent what has been stored up by heredity in the period which has since elapsed. The Eastern Asiatic emerged from those conditions at a period so remote that no human record or tradition can be found so old as to refer to a time when China and India were not too populous for the conditions of savage life. The accumulated experience of countless ages is, therefore, stored up in the Chinaman's food-getting and food-saving capacity, and those ages properly and fairly represent his advantages over our race in the battle for the survival of the fittest.

The Californian laborer sees only the present aspect of it. It is the duty of the statesman to see the future. The hoodlum's vision views only the preliminary skirmish in which himself, as the picket of the Caucasian race, is engaged. It is the province of the philosopher to embrace in his views, as in that of a Moltke, not only the smallest details of reconnaissance, but the broadest possibilities of the battle, the campaign, and even the great war itself. To satisfy himself with the small range of facts and principles within the narrow vision of the hod-carrier or mechanic, would be as short-sighted as for the farmer who

discovered a single Canada thistle in his clover-field to rest satisfied with the consideration that, after all, it occupied but little space, without a thought of the potentialities in its spreading power.

Is not the Mongol a thistle in our field? Shall we pluck it up, as does the wise husbandman, or shall we withdraw the intelligence of artificial selection from the environment, and leave the battle to the chances of natural selection alone?

M. J. Dee.

IX.

THE PHONOGRAPH AND ITS FUTURE.

Of all the writer's inventions, none has commanded such profound and earnest attention throughout the civilized world as has the phonograph. This fact he attributes largely to that peculiarity of the invention which brings its possibilities within range of the speculative imaginations of all thinking people, as well as to the almost universal applicability of the foundation principle, namely, the gathering up and retaining of sounds hitherto fugitive, and their reproduction at will.

From the very abundance of conjectural and prophetic opinions which have been disseminated by the press, the public is liable to become confused, and less accurately informed as to the immediate result and effects of the phonograph than if the invention had been one confined to certain specific applications, and therefore of less interest to the masses. The writer has no fault to find with this condition of the discussion of the merits and possibilities of his invention; for, indeed, the possibilities are so illimitable and the probabilities so numerous that he—though subject to the influence of familiar contact—is himself in a somewhat chaotic condition of mind as to where to draw the dividing line. In point of fact, such line cannot with safety be defined in ordinary inventions at so early a stage of their development. In the case of an invention of the nature and scope of the phonograph, it is practically impossible to indicate it to-day, for to-morrow a trifle may extend it almost indefinitely.

There are, however, certain stages in the developing process which have thus far been actually reached; certain others which are clearly within reach; and others which, though they are in the light of to-day classed as possibilities, may to-morrow become probable, and a little later actual achievements. It is the intention of the writer in this article to confine himself to the

actual and the probable, to the end that a clearer conception of the immediate realizations of the phonograph may be had. He concedes to the public press and the world of science the imaginative work of pointing and commenting upon the possible. It is in view of the liberal manner in which this has already been done, and the handsome treatment he has received at their hands, that he for the first time appears *in propria persona* to discuss and comment upon the merits of one of his own inventions.

In order to furnish a basis upon which the reader may take his stand, and accept or combat the logic of the writer in his presentment of the probabilities of the phonograph, a few categorical questions are put and answers given upon the essential features of the principle involved:

1. Is a vibrating plate or disk capable of receiving a complex motion which shall correctly represent the peculiar property of each and all the multifarious vocal and other sound-waves?

The telephone answers affirmatively.

2. Can such complex movement be transmitted from such plate, by means of a single embossing-point attached thereto, to effect a record upon a plastic material by indentation, with such fidelity as to give to such indentations the same varied and complex form; and, if so, will this embossing-point, upon being passed over the record thus made, follow it with such fidelity as to retransmit to the disk the same variety of movement, and thus effect a restoration or reproduction of the vocal or other sound-waves, without loss of any property essential to producing upon the ear the same sensation as if coming direct from the original source?

The answer to this may be summed up in a statement of the fact that, by the application of power for uniformity of movement, and by attention to many seemingly unimportant and minor details, such as the *form* and material of the embossing-point, the proper *dampening* of the plate, the character of the material embossed, the formation of the mouth-piece over the plate, etc., the writer has at various times during the past weeks reproduced these waves with such degree of accuracy in each and every detail as to enable his assistants to read, without the loss of a word, one or more columns of a newspaper article unfamiliar to them, and which were spoken into the apparatus

when they were not present. The only perceptible loss was found to be in the quality of the utterance—a non-essential in the practical application of the apparatus. Indeed, the articulation of some individuals has been very perceptibly improved by passage through the phonograph, the original utterance being mutilated by imperfection of lip and mouth formation, and these mutilations eliminated or corrected by the mechanism of the phonograph.

3. Can a record be removed from the apparatus upon which it was made, and replaced upon a second without mutilation or loss of effective power to vibrate the second plate?

This is a mere mechanical detail, presenting no greater obstacle than having proper regard for the perfect interchangeableness of the various working parts of the apparatus—not so nice a problem as the manufacture of the American watch.

4. What as to facility of placing and removing the record-sheet, and as to its transportation by mail?

But ten or fifteen seconds suffice for such placing or removal. A special envelope will probably be required for the present, the weight and form of which, however, will but slightly increase the cost of postage.

5. What as to durability?

Repeated experiments have proved that the indentations possess wonderful enduring power, even when the reproduction has been effected by the comparatively rigid plate used for their production. It is proposed, however, to use a more flexible plate for reproducing, which, with a perfectly smooth stone point—diamond or sapphire—will render the record capable of from 50 to 100 repetitions, enough for all practical purposes.

6. What as to duplication of a record and its permanence?

Many experiments have been made with more or less success, in the effort to obtain electrotypes of a record. This work has been done by others, and, though the writer has not as yet seen it, he is reliably informed that, very recently, it has been successfully accomplished. He can certainly see no great practical obstacle in the way. This, of course, permits of an indefinite multiplication of a record, and its preservation for all time.

7. What are the requisite force of wave impinging upon the

diaphragm and the proximity of the mouth to the diaphragm to effect a record?

These depend in a great measure upon the volume of sound desired in the reproduction. If the reproduction is to be made audible to an audience, considerable force is requisite in the original utterance; if for the individual ear, only the ordinary conversational tone (even a whisper has been reproduced). In both cases the original utterances are delivered directly in the mouthpiece of the instrument. An audible reproduction may, however, be had by speaking at the instrument from a distance of from two to three feet in a loud tone. The application of a flaring tube or funnel to collect the sound-waves and the construction of an especially delicate diaphragm and embossing-point, etc., are the simple means which suggest themselves to effect this. The writer has not as yet given this stage of the development much attention, but sees no practical difficulty in gathering up and retaining a sectional part of the sound-waves diffused about the original source, within a radius of, say, three feet (sufficiently removed not to be annoying to a speaker or a singer).

The foregoing presentment of the stage of development reached by the several essential features of the phonograph demonstrates the following as *faits accomplis:*

1. The captivity of all manner of sound-waves heretofore designated as "fugitive," and their permanent retention.

2. Their reproduction with all their original characteristics at will, without the presence or consent of the original source, and after the lapse of any period of time.

3. The transmission of such captive sounds through the ordinary channels of commercial intercourse and trade in material form, for purposes of communication or as merchantable goods.

4. Indefinite multiplication and preservation of such sounds, without regard to the existence or non-existence of the original source.

5. The captivation of sounds, with or without the knowledge or consent of the source of their origin.

The probable application of these properties of the phonograph and the various branches of commercial and scientific industry presently indicated will require the exercise of more or less mechanical ingenuity. Conceding that the apparatus is practi-

cally perfected in so far as the faithful reproduction of sound is concerned, many of the following applications will be made the moment the new form of apparatus, which the writer is now about completing, is finished. These, then, might be classed as actualities; but they so closely trench upon other applications which will immediately follow, that it is impossible to separate them: hence they are all enumerated under the head of probabilities, and each specially considered. Among the more important may be mentioned: Letter-writing, and other forms of dictation books, education, reader, music, family record; and such electrotype applications as books, musical-boxes, toys, clocks, advertising and signaling apparatus, speeches, etc., etc.

Letter-writing.—The apparatus now being perfected in mechanical details will be the standard phonograph, and may be used for all purposes, except such as require special form of matrix, such as toys, clocks, etc., for an indefinite repetition of the same thing. The main utility of the phonograph, however, being for the purpose of letter-writing and other forms of dictation, the design is made with a view to its utility for that purpose.

The general principles of construction are, a flat plate or disk, with spiral groove on the face, operated by clock-work underneath the plate; the grooves are cut very closely together, so as to give a great total length to each inch of surface—a close calculation gives as the capacity of each sheet of foil, upon which the record is had, in the neighborhood of 40,000 words. The sheets being but ten inches square, the cost is so trifling that but 100 words might be put upon a single sheet economically. Still, it is problematical whether a less number of grooves per inch might not be the better plan—it certainly would for letters—but it is desirable to have but one class of machine throughout the world; and as very extended communications, if put upon one sheet, could be transported more economically than upon two, it is important that each sheet be given as great capacity as possible. The writer has not yet decided this point, but will experiment with a view of ascertaining the best mean capacity.

The practical application of this form of phonograph for communications is very simple. A sheet of foil is placed in the phonograph, the clock-work set in motion, and the matter dictated into the mouth-piece without other effort than when dictating to

a stenographer. It is then removed, placed in a suitable form of envelope, and sent through the ordinary channels to the correspondent for whom designed. He, placing it upon his phonograph, starts his clock-work and *listens* to what his correspondent has to say. Inasmuch as it gives the tone of voice of his correspondent, it is *identified.* As it may be filed away as other letters, and at any subsequent time reproduced, it is a perfect *record.* As two sheets of foil have been indented with the same facility as a single sheet, the "writer" may thus *keep a duplicate* of his communication. As the principal of a business house, or his partners now dictate the important business communications to clerks, to be written out, they are required to do no more by the phonographic method, and do thereby *dispense with the clerk,* and *maintain perfect privacy* in their communications.

The phonograph letters may be dictated at home, or in the office of a friend, the *presence* of a stenographer *not being required.* The dictation may be as rapid as the thoughts can be formed, or the lips utter them. The recipient may listen to his letters being read at a rate of from 150 to 200 words per minute, and at the same time busy himself about other matters. Interjections, explanations, emphasis, exclamations, etc., may be thrown into such letters, *ad libitum.*

In the early days of the phonograph, ere it has become universally adopted, a correspondent in Hong-Kong may possibly not be supplied with an apparatus, thus necessitating a written letter of the old-fashioned sort. In that case the writer would use his phonograph simply as a dictating-machine, his clerk writing it out from the phonograph at leisure, causing as many words to be uttered at one time as his memory was capable of retaining until he had written them down. This clerk need not be a stenographer, nor need he have been present when the letter was dictated, etc.

The advantages of such an innovation upon the present slow, tedious, and costly methods are too numerous, and too readily suggest themselves, to warrant their enumeration, while there are no disadvantages which will not disappear coincident with the general introduction of the new method.

Dictation.—All kinds and manner of dictation which will permit of the application of the mouth of the speaker to the

mouth-piece of the phonograph may be as readily effected by the phonograph as in the case of letters. If the matter is for the printer, he would much prefer, in setting it up in type, to use his ears in lieu of his eyes. He has other use for them. It would be even worth while to compel witnesses in court to speak directly into the phonograph, in order to thus obtain an unimpeachable record of their testimony.

The increased delicacy of the phonograph, which is in the near future, will enlarge this field rapidly. It may then include all the sayings of not only the witness, but the judge and the counsel. It will then also comprehend the utterances of public speakers.

Books.—Books may be read by the charitably-inclined professional reader, or by such readers especially employed for that purpose, and the record of such book used in the asylums of the blind, hospitals, the sick-chamber, or even with great profit and amusement by the lady or gentleman whose eyes and hands may be otherwise employed; or, again, because of the greater enjoyment to be had from a book when read by an elocutionist than when read by the average reader. The ordinary record-sheet, repeating this book from fifty to a hundred times as it will, would command a price that would pay the original reader well for the slightly-increased difficulty in reading it aloud in the phonograph.

Educational Purposes.—As an elocutionary teacher, or as a primary teacher for children, it will certainly be invaluable. By it difficult passages may be correctly rendered for the pupil but once, after which he has only to apply to his phonograph for instructions. The child may thus learn to spell, commit to memory, a lesson set for it, etc., etc.

Music.—The phonograph will undoubtedly be liberally devoted to music. A song sung on the phonograph is reproduced with marvelous accuracy and power. Thus a friend may in a morning-call sing us a song which shall delight an evening company, etc. As a musical teacher it will be used to enable one to master a new air, the child to form its first songs, or to sing him to sleep.

Family Record.—For the purpose of preserving the sayings, the voices, and *the last words* of the dying member of the family —as of great men—the phonograph will unquestionably outrank

the photograph. In the field of multiplication of original matrices, and the indefinite repetition of one and the same thing, the successful electrotyping of the original record is an essential. As this is a problem easy of solution, it properly ranks among the probabilities. It comprehends a vast field. The principal application of the phonograph in this direction is in the production of

Phonographic Books.—A book of 40,000 words upon a single metal plate ten inches square thus becomes a strong probability. The advantages of such books over those printed are too readily seen to need mention. Such books would be listened to where now none are read. They would preserve more than the mental emanations of the brain of the author; and, as a bequest to future generations, they would be unequaled. For the preservation of languages they would be invaluable.

Musical-Boxes, Toys, etc.—The only element not absolutely assured, in the result of experiments thus far made—which stands in the way of a perfect reproduction at will of Adelina Patti's voice in all its purity—is the single one of quality, and even that is not totally lacking, and will doubtless be wholly attained. If, however, it should not, the musical-box, or cabinet, of the present, will be superseded by that which will give the voice and the words of the human songstress.

Toys.—A doll which may speak, sing, cry, or laugh, may be safely promised our children for the Christmas holidays ensuing. Every species of animal or mechanical toy—such as locomotives, etc.—may be supplied with their natural and characteristic sounds.

Clocks.—The phonographic clock will tell you the hour of the day; call you to lunch; send your lover home at ten, etc.

Advertising, etc.—This class of phonographic work is so akin to the foregoing, that it is only necessary to call attention to it.

Speech and other Utterances.—It will henceforth be possible to preserve for future generations the voices as well as the words of our Washingtons, our Lincolns, our Gladstones, etc., and to have them give us their "greatest effort" in every town and hamlet in the country, upon our holidays.

Lastly, and in quite another direction, the phonograph will *perfect the telephone*, and revolutionize present *systems of teleg-*

raphy. That useful invention is now restricted in its field of operation by reason of the fact that it is a means of communication which leaves no record of its transactions, thus restricting its use to simple conversational chit-chat, and such unimportant details of business as are not considered of sufficient importance to record. Were this different, and our telephone-conversation automatically recorded, we should find the reverse of the present status of the telephone. It would be expressly resorted to *as* a means of perfect record. In writing our agreements we incorporate in the writing the summing up of our understanding—using entirely new and different phraseology from that which we used to express our understanding of the transaction in its discussion, and not infrequently thus begetting perfectly innocent causes of misunderstanding. Now, if the telephone, with the phonograph to record its sayings, were used in the preliminary discussion, we would not only have the full and correct text, but every word of the whole matter capable of throwing light upon the subject. Thus it would seem clear that the men would find it more advantageous to actually separate a half-mile or so in order to discuss important business matters, than to discuss them verbally, and then make an awkward attempt to clothe their understanding in a new language. The logic which applies to transactions between two individuals in the same office, applies with the greater force to two at a distance who must discuss the matter between them by the telegraph or mail. And this latter case, in turn, is reënforced by the demands of an economy of time and money at every mile of increase of distance between them.

"How can this application be made?" will probably be asked by those unfamiliar with either the telephone or phonograph.

Both these inventions cause a plate or disk to vibrate, and thus produce sound-waves in harmony with those of the voice of the speaker. A very simple device may be made by which the one vibrating disk may be made to do duty for both the telephone and the phonograph, thus enabling the speaker to *simultaneously transmit and record his message.* What system of telegraphy can approach that? A similar combination at the distant end of the wire enables the correspondent, if he is present, *to hear it while it is being recorded.* Thus we have a mere passage of words for the action, but a complete and durable record

of those words as the result of that action. Can economy of time or money go further than to annihilate time and space, and bottle up for posterity the mere utterance of man, without other effort on his part than to speak the words?

In order to make this adaptation, it is only requisite that the phonograph shall be made slightly more sensitive to record, and the telephone very slightly increased in the vibrating force of the receiver, and it is accomplished. Indeed, the "Carbon Telephone," invented and perfected by the writer, will already well-nigh effect the record on the phonograph; and, as he is constantly improving upon it, to cause a more decided vibration of the plate of the receiver, this addition to the telephone may be looked for coincident with the other practical applications of the phonograph, and with almost equal certainty.

The telegraph company of the future—and that no distant one—will be simply an organization having a huge system of wires, central and sub-central stations, managed by skilled attendants, whose sole duty it will be to keep wires in proper repair, and give, by switch or shunt arrangement, prompt attention to subscriber No. 923 in New York, when he signals his desire to have private communication with subscriber No. 1001 in Boston, for three minutes. The minor and totally inconsequent details which seem to arise as obstacles in the eyes of the groove-traveling telegraph-man, wedded to existing methods, will wholly disappear before that remorseless Juggernaut—"the needs of man;" for, will not the necessities of man surmount trifles in order to reap the full benefit of an invention which practically brings him face to face with whom he will; and, better still, doing the work of a conscientious and infallible scribe?

THOMAS A. EDISON.

X.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

1.—*The Life of John Milton:* Narrated in Connection with the Political, Ecclesiastical, and Literary History of his Time. By David Masson, M. A., LL. D., Professor of Rhetoric and English Literature in the University of Edinburgh. Vol. IV., 1649–1654 (pp. 642). Vol. V., 1654–1660 (pp. 707). London: Macmillan & Co. 1877.

Were Prof. Lowell on this side the Atlantic, we should hope to give him occasion, in these two volumes, for a supplement to that essay upon Milton with which, when the three preceding volumes appeared, he enriched our critical literature. At least, it is needless for us now to repeat the sufficient objections made by so accomplished a critic to the faults in Prof. Masson's plan, method, and manner, although we find new warrant for the praise he bestowed upon this most exhaustive biography. It may be true that too many chips from the workshop hang about Dr. Masson's work, that he follows too far Milton's remoter relations to the political, ecclesiastical, and literary history of his time; and, if 3,466 octavo pages conduct the reader no further than the threshold of "Paradise Lost," that the long life and the vast leisures of Methuselah would alone suffice for reaching its end. Nevertheless, we venture to think that any modern Ephemeros, addicted to the newspaper and the novel, might find briefer and better employ in this copious theme. Certainly the full knowledge of a cardinal epoch in the history of the strife and growth in England of what we now enjoy as English liberty is its own reward; and few indeed are the superior beings whose time would be wasted either in a microscopic study of John Milton's doings, day by day, during the Commonwealth and the Protectorate, or at gaze on him whose "soul was like a star and dwelt apart."

The charge of redundancy, at any rate, drops to its minimum while Dr. Masson, in these two volumes, labors the period from 1649 to 1660, which is the period from the first constitution of the Com-

monwealth to the final restoration of the monarchy, precisely covering Milton's service in an office of high trust and dignity, in attendance upon its founder and chiefs—the Latin secretaryship (for Latin was then the language of diplomatic communication). This office he held during the Rump, under five successive councils of state; during Cromwell's interim dictatorship and the Barebones Parliament, under three successive councils of state; during Oliver's first protectorate, under his council, and, during his second protectorate, under the privy council; during the brief protectorate of Richard, the restored Rump, the Wallingford House interregnum, and the second restoration of the Rump, under the successive state councils; till Monk's dictatorship prepared the recall of Charles. For, whether the life of Milton or the history of England during that decade be the particular question, not a line the less of this ample page would we wish unrolled; for here, if nowhere else, that life and that history intermix and flow along, a common stream. The biography of Milton would be unintelligible, did it not comprise a narrative of the great proceedings which his pen supported at home and defended abroad. That history would be defective and obscure did it not include the occasions when the governors of England, indignant at the massacre in Piedmont, committed their protest before the sovereignties of Europe to his large utterance, as thrice they committed their declarations of the causes of war, against the Scots, against the Dutch, against the Spaniard; or when thrice they summoned him, as the best publicist of all England, to vindicate the regicide and the republic "to foreign nations and the next ages."

Besides, the life of Milton and the history of England during the time of Cromwell and the Charleses are but now beginning to be fully written. It is little more than half a century since the accidental discovery, in the State-Paper Office, of John Milton's "Treatise on Christian Doctrine" gave Macaulay occasion for that dashing *Edinburgh Review* essay on the great English epic poet, which displaced Dr. Johnson's surly and coarse, but masculine, performance in the "Lives of the Poets," as the popular summary of Milton's gifts and achievements, and which in a morning made its author famous, and foreshadowed his brilliant career. But Macaulay's essay, like Johnson's life, like the biographies of Toland, Todd, Mitford, and Keightley, can hardly be read with patience now. Nothing better may have been possible then. All the more does one wish that Macaulay were alive to-day, to follow Dr. Masson in his furthest research, to fill himself full of his theme, and

then to enshrine, in that style of his which Jeffrey could "not conceive where he had picked up," a true, unfading portraiture of Milton. Was not such the prayer of the Lycidas?

> "So may some gentle Muse
> With lucky words favor *my* destined urn,
> And as he passes turn,
> And bid fair peace be to my sable shroud."

Not that critics, like Coleridge, Hazlitt, Landor, Hallam, Channing, and Matthew Arnold, have left everything to be said in appreciation of the masterpieces of his prose or verse; not that the regret of Southey, in 1827, that a life of Milton should still be a desideratum in our literature, has been for yet another half-century any reproach. The fact is, that the materials for such a portraiture, based upon an ample and final life of Milton, and the materials for a dispassionate history of England itself in the seventeenth century, have been lately brought to light in such abundance, from sources hitherto unknown or unsearched, that the postponement has been no loss, but a gain, to English literature. The calendar of events during this period, and their broad outlines, and many details, were not lacking, of course; but critical documents, lifelike incidents, turning speeches, the springs of partisan combinations, the secrets of English politics and interests, at a day when these were interfused in Continental interests and politics, were, as often as not, undiscovered or misunderstood. And they who know not these in the full vividness of detail, and in the color, line, and life, of authentic contemporary chronicle, are condemned never to know the majestic Milton as he was, when his pen was the pen of the Commonwealth and of Cromwell, and his voice the chosen voice of the passion, the pride, and the power of England.

The researches and discoveries of Bruce, of Masson himself, of Spedding, of Forster, and especially of Gardiner, have darted unexpected beams of light among the knots and crises of this period of English and European history, much as if some one had turned up among the treasures of the British Museum a file of the London *Times*, from 1617 to 1660. The daily newspaper did not indeed appear till 1702; nor till long thereafter did its pages disclose the secrets of state councils, and show "the very age and body of the time, his form and pressure." But the sagacious historians whom we have named, exploring the dusty archives of Simancas, Venice, and Brussels, have found the notes of reporters as observant and astute as any that are detailed by the great journals of our day to

reside in Washington or in London, at Berlin or on the Bosporus. And in truth, Russell with the Prince of Wales in India, Oliphant in Paris under the Commune, Hurlbert in Rome at the Œcumenical Council, McGahan at Khiva, Stanley at Coomassie and Magdala, Forbes with the armies of the Czar in Bulgaria, are, in a changed world, the lineal descendants of Gondomar and Zen and Soranzo, of Coran, Joachimi, and Salvetti. Moreover, besides these dispatches of the Spanish, the Venetian, the Dutch, and the Florentine embassadors, now reperused in the originals, or accessible in transcript or translation made of late for the Museum Library or the Master of the Rolls; besides the correspondence of the archdukes with the kings of Spain, with the emperor, and with Maximilian of Bavaria, which reveal the most confidential designs of the leaders of the Catholic party; and besides the greater and increasing treasures of the Record-Office for these and earlier periods lately calendared and indexed; also, during recent years, there have been discovered, in country-houses and castles, other and domestic records of those stirring times no less precious and authentic. For an instance or two: the papers of the first Earl of Bristol; the Fawsley MS., edited by Gardiner for the Camden Society; the Elsynge MSS., unearthed at Crowcombe Court, comprising full official notes of debates in the House of Lords, hitherto unknown save by some passing reference in a contemporary letter, during the last two Parliaments of James and the first three Parliaments of Charles; and those priceless relics of an imperishable name, published by John Forster, or preserved by Lord St. Germans, the speeches, documents, and notes of Sir John Eliot.

Who shall sketch a tithe of the partial restoration which, here and there, accepted English history, like the defaced or patched architecture, encasing and incongruous, of some venerable cathedral, is to undergo? Let us not even glance at the figure of Henry VIII., now revealed in his true purposes and character, nor at Thomas Becket; let us not even stop to wonder at the plot of James and Buckingham, in 1620, to invade and partition the territory of the Dutch Republic; nor pause, save for a moment, to be glad that the charge against Bacon of having knowingly and corruptly sold or delayed justice has been shredded and consumed. It is enough, in this scanty notice, to indicate where that historic edifice must be rebuilt, on one or two lines not outside the term of Milton's life.

The last edition of the best English cyclopædia did not, the latest of the best American cyclopædia does not, record in its alpha-

bet the name of one who is now known for the proto-martyr of English political liberty—of him who at least was the first to fall in the long duel between crown and Parliament, giving his life for the "sanctuary of liberty, the guardian of the rubrics of the law." Sir John Eliot was the first of England's parliamentary statesmen. Buckingham was his quarry. "The minister, not the king, was responsible." Had he lived to guide his party, it is possible to imagine that Charles might have escaped the block, James II. avoided exile, Cromwell gone "guiltless of his country's blood," and that something less than a revolution might have conciliated that fading tradition which justified the King of England in claiming the supreme regulative power in the nation, with that tradition which forbade him from claiming to be the source of its law. While Sir John Eliot lived and led his party, Pym and Hampden followed, inferior in rank. When his noble and unconquered spirit passed, it left liberty in things spiritual, intellectual, and political, still to be learned in England's and New England's suffering, and taught in Milton's prose and song. But the issue which he made in Parliament and in the Tower, and to which, though a Selden blenched, Eliot was faithful unto death, predestined for English-speaking peoples the ultimate victory of that safest rule of government, the free utterance of the thoughts of the representatives of the people, and the ultimate justification, too, of his faith in the common-sense of the common people, not indeed to govern directly, but to compel satisfaction and reform from those who do, by shifting their task to abler and purer hands.

Charity for Laud, honor for Wentworth as no apostate—these are not quite the pigments of partisans like Macaulay, Goldwin Smith, Forster, or Green. But who could have expected that our last official eulogist of Roger Williams, not blushing before his bronze image and upon the soil of Rhode Island to extenuate the unequivocal, just fame both of him and of Milton, would leave Dr. Masson to relate how the transatlantic friend of Vane, at the very nick of time, was the central champion in England of absolute voluntaryism, against the Independents and the famous fifteen proposals for a state Church on their sort of "Christian Fundamentals"—"preaching to the contrary illegal." Finally, who could have believed, till Milton's biographer exhumed the proof, that the last year of his fading eyesight was spent by the author of the "Areopagitica" as an official licenser of the press—that as such he stood for editor-in-chief to the once notorious Mercurius Pragmati-

cus, of the royalists—Marchamont Needham, then Mercurius Politicus, in defense of the Commonwealth? It was an incident of this employment that he "ordered in" a morally "double-leaded leader" on Cromwell's "crowning mercy," if perchance his own hand did not itself thus sprinkle "Worcester's laureate wreath." Let this fact pique our readers' curiosity enough to send them to Prof. Masson's volumes. Albeit let no man venture the treasonable imagination that any restorations or disclosures of the truth of history have erased, or can erode, the epitaph of John Milton as, of all liberties—religious, intellectual, and political—the foremost advocate and ever-faithful defender. His ardent and magnanimous nature throbbed with such divine amplitude and energy, that it could involve in its own vibrations the agitated soul of a nation, and transmit, redoubled, to distant thrones and peoples, the deep tones of her deliberate valor, or the terrible tocsins of her wrath. But the overtones, never silent in that magnetic resonance, were those which sang the august and sacred aspirations of civilized man for the pure atmosphere of perfect freedom.

2.—*A History of England in the Eighteenth Century.* By William Edward Hartpole Lecky. Vols. I. and II.

There are several ways of writing history. The earliest method, or that exemplified in the classics of Greece and Rome (Herodotus, perhaps, excepted), gave us scarcely any notion of the condition of the people, either morally or economically, the state of religion and philosophy, and the progress of art, science, and literature; but concerned itself solely with political and military matters, with great rulers and great generals, with the rise and fall of governments and dynasties, with invasions and conquests, with the march of armies and stirring descriptions of battles, with the triumphs of victorious hosts, and the difficulties, dangers, and horrors of retreats. It admitted, nay courted, the composition of speeches which were real only in so far as they corresponded with the character, or supposed character, of the personages whom the historian was describing; and the writer's talent was displayed in nothing more than in depicting such scenes as the plague at Athens, and Hannibal's crossing the Alps, or in furnishing heroes with harangues that rival the orations of Demosthenes.

In more modern history, we have discarded these specimens of eloquence as approaching too near to fiction; but for a long period the moderns took no more interest than the ancients in the state of

the whole people, and made no effort to learn their condition, thinking everything beneath the dignity of their art except things belonging to princes and potentates—the campaigns of illustrious soldiers, the negotiation of treaties, and the union or separation of nations.

After a time, however, it began to be seen that this course did not give the real history of a people, and afforded no sufficient means for the composition of a truly philosophical narrative, through which a clear train of causation might be perceived to run. This new idea was first elaborated by the late Lord Macaulay in his celebrated essay, and the "History of England," in which he reduced his theory to practice. The earliest author, however, who viewed historical composition in this its true light was Sir Walter Scott. Although not a professed historian till after he had become the foremost of romance-writers, he evinced in his works of fiction a genius for reanimating the past, and set an example to future annalists of making history at once more picturesque and more true to real life than the productions of their predecessors. This praise is accorded to Scott by Thierry in his account of the Norman conquest, and by Macaulay himself when he tells us that Clarendon left us only half a picture of his times, and that, if the historian of the Great Rebellion had adopted the right method, we should not have had to look for the votes and wars of the Puritans in his work, and for their phraseology in "Old Mortality." It has often been remarked that Raphael's great painting of "The Transfiguration" is really two pictures: one celestial, on the mountain-top, the other terrestrial, at its base; but, before Macaulay's time, historians did not trouble themselves with the lower half of things. The upper half they delineated, leaving novelists and biographers to supply the lower. Hence it is that we find "one half of King James in Hume, and the other half in 'The Fortunes of Nigel.'"

Attempts have also been made to evolve the history of a people from their literature and philosophy, as in the late Lord Lytton's "Rise and Fall of Athens"—an ingenious and elaborate work, which deserved a better fate than never to have been finished.

But Mr. Lecky, in the history before us, has pursued a method of his own. It is, in fact, a civil and political philosophy of the eighteenth century. In a period filled with wars and fighting, he does not enliven his pages with a single battle-piece, nor even a description of a campaign. Marlborough's great victories, which proved him as truly England's most illustrious captain as Nelson was her most illustrious admiral, are mentioned simply by name.

The two Jacobite rebellions in Scotland, of which Scott has made so much in "Waverley" and the "Legend of Montrose," are passed over with very brief notices; and even the famous battle of Fontenoy, which led to the second, occupies but half a page. One would have expected some military pageantry during the reign of Frederick the Great, but that portion of the book is as peaceful as the rest. It is evident, in short, that Mr. Lecky feels no need of such attractions to float his history.

If, however, one is more enamored of thought than of sensation, of ingenious disquisition than of brilliant narrative, Mr. Lecky's volumes will prove most attractive; while the vast variety of topics discussed, extending from changes of national policy and the vicissitudes of national parties to the rise of sea-bathing, or from the sad and cruel history of the Irish penal laws to the history of drunkenness, will keep his attention continually occupied. So fully fraught with matter are Mr. Lecky's pages that a previous acquaintance with the facts, not only of English but of European history, is necessary to follow and understand him. But, with this amount of preparation, the reader has an immense treasure before him: the Whig and Tory parties, the aristocracy, the Church, the Dissenters, the decay of the doctrine of the divine right of kings, commerce, corruption and reform, art and science, religious laws, the growth of the military system, national tastes and manners, music and the drama, medicine and sanitary improvement, the English colonies, Scotland, Ireland, Hindostan, America. All these topics, and many more, are discussed with remarkable penetration and varied knowledge, and, though we have arrived at the end of two volumes, not a word has yet been said on our War of Independence nor the events that led to it. George Washington is just introduced as a young officer in the British service.

We have already said enough to convey our opinion that the style of this work has no pretensions to rival the brilliant rhetoric of Macaulay or Motley, or even of Froude. The subjects did not admit of such treatment, and the frequent retroversions in chronology necessitated by a theme so varied precluded the possibility of continuous evolution in the narrative. Many of the topics may be studied separately, such, for example, as Methodism; but we cannot see how the plan of the work could have been other than it is. We shall wait with impatience for the concluding volumes, because we desire to see our own Revolutionary War handled by an author of such power and impartiality.

3.—*On Actors and the Art of Acting.* By GEORGE HENRY LEWES. (Amateur Series.) New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1878. 12mo, pp. 237.

THIS is the most important book in English on the subject to which it relates (indeed, we may say the only important book) that has appeared for many years. Mr. Lewes is not merely an "old stager" familiar with the best acting of the last forty years, but an accomplished dramatic critic as well; and we could not wish anything better for our stage than that every actor connected with it might take to heart the valuable hints contained in this book. It is a collection of ephemeral papers on noted actors, from Edmund Kean to Salvini, with essays on the French, German, and Spanish stage, and some points connected with the art of acting, republished and expanded. It makes its appearance at a time, as Mr. Lewes frankly says, of dramatic degradation—a degradation peculiar to no country—but most marked in those of Anglo-Saxon origin. Of course he knows little or nothing of the drama in America, but almost everything that he has to say applies to this country as well as England, except, possibly, that we have made more vigorous attempts to keep alive what he calls the "poetic drama," or, in other words, tragedy and high comedy, than have been made in England. But these attempts, as witness the failure of Mr. Edwin Booth to maintain a theatre devoted exclusively, or mainly, to Shakespearean plays, and of Mr. Lester Wallack to keep alive English comedy at another, have not been crowned with success. We are overwhelmed in the rushing tide of French adaptations, and we may candidly admit that, with their resources, the managers do better to give us these than fine English plays poorly acted.

We have but little criticism to offer as to the theories on the subject of acting advanced by Mr. Lewes. Most of them are at least as old as Hamlet's "advice to the players," and many of them would, in any flourishing period of the drama, be justly considered trite. That we read them with a refreshing sense of novelty and conviction, is one more proof of the degradation of the stage which Mr. Lewes laments. His remarks about "natural acting" are particularly true, and we wish that our actors who are engaged in studying French models would take them to heart. Every real actor knows that a simple imitation on the stage of what the actor believes would be the behavior natural to the situation off the stage is impossible. It is not an imitation of real life that we

go to the theatre to see ; but something that, under the conditions of the stage (e. g., the presence of an audience, and the actual knowledge on the part of everybody that it is all unreal), shall produce that semblance of reality which we call a theatrical illusion. The notion that this is to be got by an actor's turning his back to the audience, or talking in the same tone he would use in the street, is a great mistake. All that Mr. Lewes has to say on this subject is excellent. In reading his book, however, it has occurred to us that he has not made sufficiently clear the distinction between the various meanings which the word "natural" may have when applied to acting. It may mean according to the nature of the character represented ; it may mean according to that nature *under some* of the conditions ; it may mean according to the character represented *under all the conditions ;* it may mean according to the nature of the speaker himself. In the case he refers to, for instance, the appearance of the ghost in "Hamlet," to say that the manner of the actor who takes the part is "natural," may mean that the speaker thinks that his behavior is exactly what his own would be under the circumstances ; or that his behavior is exactly what he imagines Hamlet's would be in meeting a ghost— or what he imagines Hamlet's would be on meeting the ghost of his father ; or he may mean that the *Hamlet* of Shakespeare, meeting the ghost, under all the given circumstances of the play, would behave just as the actor does. If competent judges form the last impression, we call the acting good ; if not, it is certainly bad ; though it may clearly, in some sense, be "natural" in all the supposed cases. This may seem like merely verbal criticism ; but in talking about the drama, as in talking about any other art, criticism is impossible without an exact use of language. In conclusion, we may say that we have found every line of Mr. Lewes's book interesting and instructive, and hope that its success may lead him in future editions to enlarge and develop it into a systematic treatise on the art. We are satisfied that such a work as this would do something to lift the English drama out of the slough in which it is now lying.

4.—*Thoreau: His Life and Aims. A Study.* By H. A. Page, author of "Life of Thomas De Quincey," "Memoir of Hawthorne," etc. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. 1877. 24mo, pp. x.–234.

Till within a few years, Mr. Page tells us in his preface, the name of Thoreau stood to him for "morbid sentiment, weak rebellion, and

contempt for society." A particular study on which he was engaged led him into frequent contact with Thoreau, and he became a convert to the Thoreau cult. Like all converts, he is an enthusiast in his new religion, and he desires, through this book, to lead the rest of the world to the knowledge of the true faith. The appearance of any new study on this subject naturally suggests a comparison with Mr. Lowell's masterly criticism published a few years since, and Mr. Channing's rhapsody, called "Thoreau: the Poet-Naturalist." Mr. Lowell's estimate of the poet-naturalist was that he was neither a poet nor a naturalist, but an egotist, and, if any one wants to see this undoubtedly strong aspect of Thoreau's character strongly painted, he will find it done for him in Mr. Lowell's criticism; on the other hand, any one, who wants to know to what injudicious lengths of admiration friendship may carry a critic, has only to consult Mr. Channing's volume. Mr. Page has avoided these extremes, and attempted a picture of the recluse of Walden in such colors as shall not revolt the common-sense of the reader, but shall at the same time stimulate his interest. We confess to finding the picture, on the whole, a little tame; we do not discover in the man much that, if he had not lived in the woods, and talked the Emersonian dialect, would attract our attention. Mr. Page has certainly presented him at his best, and yet his best is, after all, but ordinary. His English is bad English; his thoughts the thoughts of an uneducated man, unpardonable in a man really cultivated. What can be thought of a man who returned Kane's "Arctic Voyage" to a friend with the remark that "most of the phenomena noted might be observed in Concord?" Mr. Page thinks this was merely a "playful expression" of his conviction of "the indifferency of all places;" but there seems to be no reason for such a supposition. Thoreau was really indifferent on the subject, or rather he was so thoroughly convinced of the superiority of any place which he had happened to select as a domicile, to all other places, that he probably really persuaded himself that he knew as much already on the subject of polar phenomena as it was necessary for anybody to know. Otherwise it is impossible to explain his life. If he thought that the world had anything to teach him, why did he undertake to instruct the world without studying it, without traveling, or acquainting himself with other parts of it than were to be found on the shores of Walden Pond?

It is difficult to prove, even by extracts, that what other people admire is not worthy of admiration; and no doubt for another generation there will be persons here and there who will continue to find

matter for study in Thoreau's writings. But we fancy the number will steadily diminish as time goes on, and it becomes more and more manifest that he was, after all, but an eccentric imitator of Emerson. He procured a distinction during his life, as any one might now, by oddity. Diogenes in his barrel, reducing his wants to a little sunlight, is the great progenitor of the eccentric school of all ages; and it is a school that always attracts attention, because it is always a surprise to the generality of mankind that people can live in barrels and deny themselves everything that the world holds dear. But for a complete success there must be something more than a barrel and a man.

5.—*The American Decisions*, containing all the Cases of General Value and Authority decided in the Courts of the Several States from the Earliest Issue of the State Reports to the Year 1869. Compiled and annotated by JOHN PROFFATT, LL. D. Vol. I. San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft & Co.

IT is difficult to conceive a more important or useful work to the bar of the United States than this, which has been undertaken by an editor of considerable experience and reputation, and the publication of which is in the hands of the most important and enterprising among the publishers of the Pacific coast.

The plan, in a word, is to give the whole body of the American law, as created and preserved in our reports from 1764 to 1869, in one series of volumes, probably not exceeding one hundred in all, and in this comparatively small compass that there shall be found all that is useful and interesting to the bench or the bar, and which is now only to be found in some two thousand volumes of American reports, some of which are out of print, or so nearly so as to command an almost fabulous price when offered for sale, and which, apart from the difficulty of collecting them as a whole in one library, have become so expensive as to utterly forbid their ownership except by the few older and more successful lawyers of our great cities and by a few of the public libraries of the United States. And yet in these reports of the various States, and not elsewhere, is to be found that unwritten Code of Common Law which we derived from Great Britain, and which has, through the decisions of our courts, for more than one hundred years, been extended and altered to suit the necessities and changes of our commerce and the increase of our business, population, habits, and wealth, until, as a Commercial Code, governing the every-day transactions of business-men, it has become

as nearly perfect as any work of the human understanding is likely to be. But this same code of laws, while it is equally the Common Law of England, in most particulars has been changed to meet the exigencies of our peculiar necessities from time to time, and these divergences from English rules can only be seen by carefully following the reported cases from the beginning.

The success of such a work, if it be carefully edited, as this first volume seems to be, is assured in advance. We shall look with much interest to the succeeding volumes to see that they maintain the high standard which the first volume indicates—that such a cautious and wise discrimination shall be exercised by the editor, as well in regard to omissions as to what shall be inserted, as to make the work, as a whole, a series of reports, and not a mere digest; and, on the other hand, that purely technical and obsolete law, to be found in all of our State reports, shall be omitted, so as to keep the work, as the scheme of publication promises it shall be, within reasonable bounds.

Important as this work will be, it is not intended to supersede the original reports. They will exist as now, and will occasionally be referred to; but, for the ordinary study and practice of the law, this truly great work will suffice. In the century that has passed since the first of our State reports was published, the practice of the law has changed even more than the law itself. Cases are tried and decisions given in a few hours, which, under the practice that formly existed, would have occupied the court and the bar for weeks. The time has passed when orations, filled with similes from the antique lore of Greece and Rome, can be useful. The courts have no time for mere oratory. Both in the argument of cases in our higher courts and even before juries, the flights of the great men of the early reports, such as Pinckney, Marshall, Wirt, Wells, Emmet, and a host of others, are now almost unknown. Lawyers as well as judges are too busy to admit of such a waste of time. Our best lawyers are our best men of business, and he who can state his case most clearly, in the fewest words, and in the shortest time, is now the successful advocate, and to such men, and to our courts, to be thus influenced, "The American Decisions" must be not only useful, but absolutely necessary.

6.—*The Last Years of Daniel Webster.* A Monograph. By George Ticknor Curtis. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1878. 8vo, p. 55.

Mr. Curtis, in this *brochure*, has undertaken the task of rescuing Mr. Webster's name from the obloquy which for a quarter of a century has been heaped upon it for his alleged desertion of the anti-slavery cause in 1850. The charge made against him was that, in the support of the "compromise measures" of that year, he sacrificed the interests of liberty, and did so with a base and selfish motive—that of securing the presidency for himself by the aid of Southern votes. The accusation, therefore, divides itself into two parts, and as to the latter half of it Mr. Curtis has comparatively easy work. He shows that there is not a particle of evidence of its truth, except the well-known desire of Mr. Webster for the presidency; but if such evidence as this is to be admitted in the case of public men, then all active support by them of measures about which there is a difference of opinion on the eve of important elections, they being candidates, must be considered evidence of interested motives. In the case of a man of such eminence as Mr. Webster it is at least fair to assume—in the absence of positive evidence to the contrary—that his view of public questions is dictated by a desire for the general good rather than the petty pursuit of personal ends. Mistaken as his ideas on the subject of the extension of slavery may have been, we have little doubt that they were honest ideas. Indeed, they were the views generally taken by the profession of which he was at the time the most distinguished leader; and it would not be difficult, had we space at our command, to justify from a professional point of view the bias of mind which led almost all the eminent lawyers of that time to distrust the Antislavery party; to regard it, equally with that of States rights, as a party of disunion, and to hope—even against hope—that some *modus vivendi* might be found for the Union on terms of toleration for slavery. They saw clearly that the alternative was a bloody war, and possibly a perpetual dissolution of the political bond which was the foundation of the prosperity of the country. They may certainly be excused for not having seen that the war, with all its risks, was inevitable.

When Mr. Curtis undertakes to show that Mr. Webster was in the right, however, and that, if his advice had been followed, North and South, the Union would have been preserved without a war, he fails—to our mind he comes nowhere near proving his case. He

seems to be impressed with the idea that the principal cause of the war was the abolition agitation, and that if the abolitionists could only have been kept quiet there would have been no trouble. But the difficulty was, that the abolition agitation was part of the disease, and could not be arrested so long as the abolitionists believed that slavery was growing in power. Mr. Curtis endeavors to show that the "compromise measures" of 1850 were in reality in the interest of abolition; but this is contrary to the belief of all those most interested in the matter at the time. These measures were regarded as, and actually were, a distinct Southern triumph; they were a concession to the South in the interest of peace. They were, we have no doubt history will adjudge, a profound mistake, and, so far from retarding secession, they hastened it by convincing the South that no demands it could make would at the last be resisted. That it was an honest mistake on the part of Mr. Webster we do not question. So far as his fame is concerned, it rests on other foundations than the "compromise measures" of 1850—foundations which are in no danger of crumbling away, and will long outlast the quicksands of partisan passion on which that of many of his detractors was erected.

7.—*Anthropology.* By Dr. Paul Topinard, with Preface by Prof. Paul Broca. Translated by Robert T. H. Bartley, M. D. London: Chapman & Hall. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1878. 12mo, pp. xvi.–548.

This work was written for the "Bibliothèque des Sciences Contemporains," and it fills a gap in the circle: for there was no sufficient *résumé* of anthropology which should be, as Prof. Broca says in his preface, "at the same time a guide for students and a manual of reference for others." This book is made up, in due proportion, of the established facts and the theories, whether partly or fully established, that bear upon the wide range of subjects here discussed. Bernard Palissy said, as quoted by M. Topinard: "I desire to measure the head in order directly to know its dimensions; but the fact is, I can never be sure of my measurements." Since his time, however, this reproach has been removed. Scientists and travelers have made measurements upon nearly all the known races of men; and the results of these observations, including many millions of individuals, and elucidating the proportions of the human frame, its development, the characters of different human families and races, and their relations to the lower animals, have gathered themselves into the science known as anthropology. Of this great

body of research, Dr. Topinard here summarizes the results, gathering into moderate compass the averages of almost countless observations—from those of the earlier anthropologists to the work of Prof. Gould, in which the measurements of more than a million American soldiers have been tabulated. The discussions have the interest that often attaches itself to minute specialties in science. Thus controversy turns upon such points, for instance, as whether the cubic contents of the skull are the most accurately determined by filling it with peas, with rice, with shot, with pearl-barley, with millet-seed, with sand, or with still other incongruous substances; each one of which has its partisans among the facial angles. Again, there is a brisk competition for scientific favors; besides that of Camper, which has enjoyed the most popularity among observers, there are also the angles of Geoffroy and Cuvier, of Jacquart, and of Cloquet, which latter M. Topinard prefers, and justly, before the others, because it posits "the most logical point," namely, the anterior limit of the cranial cavity, for the superior extremity of the facial line. The only point recently disputed among anthropologists, of which we remark the absence in this work, is one of the last, perhaps, which would ever occur as a profitable discussion to any one but a devotee of this science, namely, whether the index or the third finger is commonly the longer one—a question settled, we believe, after some controversy, in favor of the third finger. Among the more important averages here tabulated are those of the stature of different races and peoples; upon which question the results of a vast amount of research are given at page 320. It is interesting to know that the Patagonians, after a hundred years' debate by scientists and navigators respecting their stature, retain the distinction assigned to them by Magalhaens, as the tallest of known races—Humboldt's claim of a yet greater stature for the Caribs of the Orinoco not having been substantiated; while that of the Puelche Patagonian is confirmed by numerous and repeated modern observations. It averages somewhat over 5 feet 10 inches (1^{m}.781). Next follow the Polynesians, with an average height of 5 feet 9.6 inches; that of the Scandinavians is 5 feet 7.7 inches; of the English, 5 feet 7.5 inches; of the Belgians, 5 feet 6.5 inches; of the Germans, 5 feet 6.2 inches; of the Russians, 5 feet 5.6 inches; of the French, 5 feet 5.2 inches; while the list is closed by the Bosjesmans, with an average stature of but 4 feet 7.5 inches. Of about 1,100,000 American soldiers, as stated by Prof. Gould, the average height was nearly 5 feet 7.5 inches; and we may add, as a matter of per-

haps curious interest in this connection, that we have found the average stature of ninety Americans, who have been distinguished in literature or in public life, to be 5 feet 10 inches.

M. Topinard has given ample space to the description of physical and physiological characters; and the complex results that he has presented are classed and tabulated with the skill that distinguishes the scientific work of the French. But we shall hardly expect to get at the vital principles of anthropologic science by means of rule and compass. No method is more alluring, in physiologic studies, than this of accurate measurement and description; none seems to promise more definite results, and yet none oftener disappoints the promise. For it is, after all, the life, and not the stature, or the weight, or the facial angles, that has a final meaning for the student; it is rather the questions of the origin of the races of man, their essential distinctions, their ethnic, linguistic, historical characters, and how "the natural divisions of the human group" were produced, that finally concern the anthropologist. And M. Topinard, while making no claim as a discoverer in these matters, has served a most excellent purpose in putting before us the best results of research from Lamarck to Haeckel; and also in reminding us that to the former discoverer belongs the first and chief honor of the theory of development. A German scientist, Oscar Schmidt, tells us the same thing in words which we will quote in preference to M. Topinard's, as being free from any suspicion of national prejudice in favor of a compatriot. Schmidt says: "Lamarck first formulated the doctrine of descent. In 1804 he actually propounded all the propositions which Darwin has constructed afresh and more completely." When Lamarck said, in his "Philosophie Zoologique" (1809), "A species varies infinitely, and, *considered as regards time, does not exist;*" and, again, "*La fonction fait l'organe*," he spoke the words which were to unlock for our century the greater part of what it knows of life in its development and its transformations. And because he spoke them too early for their right understanding by his time—because, indeed, the chief glory of proving their truth has fallen to a later discoverer, scarcely less great than he—Charles Darwin—it is well that we should not forget in what mind that prolific seed thought of our time germinated; and how, like the sower's seed in the parable, it fell on stony ground.

We need hardly say that M. Topinard adopts the theories of Lamarck and of Darwin as regards the origin of the race and of species. The translator, Dr. Bartley, has, however, told us, in a

body of research, Dr. Topinard here summarizes the results, gathering into moderate compass the averages of almost countless observations—from those of the earlier anthropologists to the work of Prof. Gould, in which the measurements of more than a million American soldiers have been tabulated. The discussions have the interest that often attaches itself to minute specialties in science. Thus controversy turns upon such points, for instance, as whether the cubic contents of the skull are the most accurately determined by filling it with peas, with rice, with shot, with pearl-barley, with millet-seed, with sand, or with still other incongruous substances; each one of which has its partisans among the facial angles. Again, there is a brisk competition for scientific favors; besides that of Camper, which has enjoyed the most popularity among observers, there are also the angles of Geoffroy and Cuvier, of Jacquart, and of Cloquet, which latter M. Topinard prefers, and justly, before the others, because it posits "the most logical point," namely, the anterior limit of the cranial cavity, for the superior extremity of the facial line. The only point recently disputed among anthropologists, of which we remark the absence in this work, is one of the last, perhaps, which would ever occur as a profitable discussion to any one but a devotee of this science, namely, whether the index or the third finger is commonly the longer one—a question settled, we believe, after some controversy, in favor of the third finger. Among the more important averages here tabulated are those of the stature of different races and peoples; upon which question the results of a vast amount of research are given at page 320. It is interesting to know that the Patagonians, after a hundred years' debate by scientists and navigators respecting their stature, retain the distinction assigned to them by Magalhaens, as the tallest of known races—Humboldt's claim of a yet greater stature for the Caribs of the Orinoco not having been substantiated; while that of the Puelche Patagonian is confirmed by numerous and repeated modern observations. It averages somewhat over 5 feet 10 inches ($1^{m}.781$). Next follow the Polynesians, with an average height of 5 feet 9.6 inches; that of the Scandinavians is 5 feet 7.7 inches; of the English, 5 feet 7.5 inches; of the Belgians, 5 feet 6.5 inches; of the Germans, 5 feet 6.2 inches; of the Russians, 5 feet 5.6 inches; of the French, 5 feet 5.2 inches; while the list is closed by the Bosjesmans, with an average stature of but 4 feet 7.5 inches. Of about 1,100,000 American soldiers, as stated by Prof. Gould, the average height was nearly 5 feet 7.5 inches; and we may add, as a matter of per-

haps curious interest in this connection, that we have found the average stature of ninety Americans, who have been distinguished in literature or in public life, to be 5 feet 10 inches.

M. Topinard has given ample space to the description of physical and physiological characters; and the complex results that he has presented are classed and tabulated with the skill that distinguishes the scientific work of the French. But we shall hardly expect to get at the vital principles of anthropologic science by means of rule and compass. No method is more alluring, in physiologic studies, than this of accurate measurement and description; none seems to promise more definite results, and yet none oftener disappoints the promise. For it is, after all, the life, and not the stature, or the weight, or the facial angles, that has a final meaning for the student; it is rather the questions of the origin of the races of man, their essential distinctions, their ethnic, linguistic, historical characters, and how "the natural divisions of the human group" were produced, that finally concern the anthropologist. And M. Topinard, while making no claim as a discoverer in these matters, has served a most excellent purpose in putting before us the best results of research from Lamarck to Haeckel; and also in reminding us that to the former discoverer belongs the first and chief honor of the theory of development. A German scientist, Oscar Schmidt, tells us the same thing in words which we will quote in preference to M. Topinard's, as being free from any suspicion of national prejudice in favor of a compatriot. Schmidt says: "Lamarck first formulated the doctrine of descent. In 1804 he actually propounded all the propositions which Darwin has constructed afresh and more completely." When Lamarck said, in his "Philosophie Zoologique" (1809), "A species varies infinitely, and, *considered as regards time, does not exist;*" and, again, "*La fonction fait l'organe*," he spoke the words which were to unlock for our century the greater part of what it knows of life in its development and its transformations. And because he spoke them too early for their right understanding by his time—because, indeed, the chief glory of proving their truth has fallen to a later discoverer, scarcely less great than he—Charles Darwin—it is well that we should not forget in what mind that prolific seed thought of our time germinated; and how, like the sower's seed in the parable, it fell on stony ground.

We need hardly say that M. Topinard adopts the theories of Lamarck and of Darwin as regards the origin of the race and of species. The translator, Dr. Bartley, has, however, told us, in a

prefatory note, that as for himself, on the contrary, he retains, as a pupil of the illustrious Prichard, "an entire belief in the authenticity of the Mosaic records, which no sophistry on the part of the advocates of polygenism has been able to shake." We cannot be too thankful for this warning voice, made so clearly audible by the translator at the dangerous gate which he throws open. But those who enter will find interesting ground within, and intelligent guidance. It only remains to say that Dr. Bartley's translation, though quite devoid of charm in style, is made in the main with faithfulness; and the only sign of indolence about it is, that he has failed to reduce the metrical measurements of the original to English feet and inches.

8.—*Goethe's Poems.* Translated in the Original Metres by PAUL DYRSEN. New York: F. W. Christern. 1878. 12mo, pp. xx. –378.

OF the twoscore volumes which make up, in the edition of 1840, the tale of Goethe's works, Mr. Dyrsen has translated, in the book that lies before us, the whole of the first, except a few pages, of the "Prophecies of Bakis," and also the "Rhymed Sayings" from the third volume. He has thus given us more of Goethe than what was given us, a few years ago, by the translators with whom he must stand comparison—Messrs. Aytoun and Martin, whose well-known versions included, as their chief contents, the "Poems in Antique Form," the "Ballads and Legends," and the "Songs and Lyrics." Mr. Dyrsen translates, besides these, the remarkable "Roman Elegies" and the "Venetian Epigrams," besides a number of pieces that the earlier translators passed over; and he has attempted, and with fair success, what they thought hopeless, the "absolute prosodical reproduction" of the originals. The "Roman Elegies," they said in their preface, "the translators do not believe can be rendered, by any amount of labor and skill, into corresponding English measures with any assurance of success." But Mr. Dyrsen has handled them, if unequally (which it would take more space than is at our command to show), yet fluently and musically sometimes, as witness these lines:

> "Then of a sudden she drew a Roman five; and before it,
> Quickly, a vertical dash; then, being sure I had seen
> All I should, ran line into circle destroying the letters:
> But an indelible four burned and illumined my eye."—(p. 243.)

On the other hand, he offers us too many hexameters, like the first of the following:

"In the autumnal chill the fire starts up on the hearth and
Crackles, illumines, and shoots up from the copse and the sticks."

But the translation in the main keeps closely to the original in sense as well as in form; it is more literal, if less graceful, than Messrs. Aytoun and Martin's; and it is much more daring in faithfulness to situations and to phrases where the earlier translators were timid; as, notably, in passages of "The Bride of Corinth."

Mr. Dyrsen's brief preliminary essay on the translating of Goethe is interesting, but we turn, after all, to the actual performance, of which a few lines more will fairly show the spirit as contrasted with that of the rival translations, and help us to compare the accuracy of the two. Goethe addresses the Alps at Uri in a passage commencing:

"War doch gestern dein Haupt noch so braun, wie die Locke der Lieben,
Deren holdes Gebild still aus der Ferne mir winkt!"

Mr. Dyrsen renders this as follows:

"Yesterday your summit appeared deep-brown: and my distant
Darling I thought I beheld, looking at me from afar:
Prematurely I see your brown locks changed into white locks,
Changed in a day by the night's snow and tempestuous storm."

Mr. Aytoun translates the same passage thus:

"Yesterday thy head was brown, as are the flowing locks of love;
In the bright blue sky I watched thee, towering giant-like above;
Now thy summit, bright and hoary, glitters all with silver snow,
Which the stormy night hath shaken from its robes upon thy brow."

Mr. Dyrsen's translation, as will be seen, has vigor and a fresh feeling about it; and though it is unequal, and has sadly prosaic spots in it, is done in a faithful and intelligent spirit, and is a real contribution to our knowledge of Goethe.

9.—*Ethnographie von Ungern.* Von PAUL HUNFALDY. Mit Zustimmung des Verfassers ins Deutsche übertragen von Prof. J. H. Schwicker. Buda-Pesth. 1877. 8vo, pp. xvi.–446.

HUNGARY, with its present population of Magyars, Szeklers, Slovaks, Ruthens, Croats, Serbs, Wallachs, Germans, Armenians, Jews, etc., and the ancient and mediæval dwellers on its soil—Agathyrsians, Dacians, Pannonians, Goths, Huns, Avars, Bulgarians, Cumans, and other tribes—presents one of the most checkered fields of inquiry to the ethnographer. Hunfaldy's work embraces the whole ground, entering into the critical examination of every part

of the vast subject which has as yet received no definitive solution. Ethnic affinities, migrations, violent dispossessions, and gradual linguistic developments, are subjected by him to a keen scrutiny, which, while amply drawing from the sources of Germanic, Slavic, and other research, bows before no authority, however strongly supported by age or fame. In his own sphere, the Finno-Ugric division of ethnography and philology, which embraces the Magyar or Hungarian branch, he is himself one of the foremost authorities, and his conclusions concerning the origins of his nation, the Hungarian, may almost be considered as definitive as far as they go; while his opinions as to the ethnic relations of Huns, Khazars, Cumans, and Wallachs, or the earliest abodes of the Slavs, whenever original, will be found worth weighing against those of other writers of renown. The plan of the work is historical, the successive occupants of the land being treated of in almost regular order. The times preceding the conquest by the Hungarians (about 890) are divided into the following periods : the prehistoric, the Roman (in Pannonia and Dacia, or Southwestern Hungary and Transylvania, with adjoining parts), the Germano-Hunnish (Goths, Attila's realm, etc.), the Avar (Bayar's realm, Slavs, Bulgarians), and the Franco-German (Charlemagne and his German successors, Svatopluk). To the Magyars and their kindred most of the space is naturally devoted, but special attention is also given to the origin of the Wallachs, or Roumans. The conclusions of the author are mainly supported by philological evidences. Prof. Schwicker's translation from the Magyar is very carefully executed, and in insertions embodies also some independent research.

The Magyars, according to our author, originally formed a portion of the Finno-Ugrians before their separation. After the separation of the Finns and Ugrians—at an unknown time—they belonged to the latter division of people. The Ugrians formed a less compact aggregate of tribes than the Finns; the Magyars remained in the neighborhood chiefly of the Voguls, Ostiaks, and other tribes dwelling east of the Volga, on both sides of the Ural Mountains. The genetic periods of the Magyars were thus the Finno-Ugrian and the Ugrian proper. In them the individuality both of the nation and the language was formed and established. Hunting and fishing were in those times the occupations of the people ; many Hungarian terms referring to those occupations are Finno-Ugric. Agriculture was not practised; words referring to cattle are not to be found in the common stock. The Magyars occupied a southern portion of

the vast Ugrian territory (Ugra or Yoria), probably near the lower banks of the Irtish, in the present Russian government of Tobolsk. Here, on their southern confines, they came in contact with Turkic tribes, including, perhaps, the Khazars, and from them adopted the names of such animals as the lion (Hung., *oroszlán;* Osmanli Turk., *arslan*), camel (Hung., *teve;* Turk., *deve*), and badger (Hung., *borz;* Turk., *bortch*) ; and a large number of words designating domestic products and animals, such as wheat (Hung., *buza;* Turk., *bogdai*), pea (Hung., *borsó;* Turk., *burtchag*), apple (*alma* in both languages), barley (*árpa* in both languages), ox (Hung., *ökör;* Turk., *öküz*), calf (Hung., *borju;* Turk., *buzagu*), and ram (Hung., *kos;* Turk., *kotch*)—all of which goes to prove that the Magyars received the knowledge of southern products and of agriculture from their Turkic neighbors. From their abodes near the Irtish they migrated westward, traversing the Ural Mountains, and occupying a land designated Lebedia (perhaps corresponding to the government of Viatka). A subsequent abode of the Magyars is known as Atel-Kuzu, which may have been between the Upper Volga and the Upper Dnieper. From there they moved southward toward the northern shores of the Black Sea and the rivers Pruth and Seneth, where they dwelled before crossing the Carpathians and entering the present "land of the Magyars." The Szeklers, occupying its southeastern mountain-borders, our author regards as perfectly identical in race with the Magyars, and their derivation from the Huns as the invention of a chronicler.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

Life Insurance: How to find out what a Company owes You. By GUSTAVUS W. SMITH. 8vo, pp. 28.

Madame Gosselin. From the French of LOUIS ULBACH. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 16mo, pp. 366.

The Establishment of the War Department as one of the Civil Executive Departments of the U. S. Government, with a General View of its Interior Organization and Administration. By WILLIAM A. DE CAINDRY. Washington City. 8vo, pp. 99.

The Voyage of the Paper Canoe: A Geographical Journey of 2,500 Miles, from Quebec to the Gulf of Mexico, during the Years 1874–'75. By NATHANIEL H. BISHOP. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 8vo, pp. 351.

Die englischen Verba des Befehls. Von CARL ABEL. Berlin: Verlag von Leo Liepmannssohn. 8vo, pp. 82.

The Armies of Asia and Europe: Embracing Official Reports on the Armies of Japan, China, India, Persia, Italy, Russia, Austria, Germany, France, and England, accompanied by Letters descriptive of a Journey from Japan to the Caucasus. By EMORY UPTON. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 8vo, pp. 446.

The Elective Franchise in the United States. By D. C. McMILLAN. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 16mo, pp. 181.

Pottery: How it is made; its Shape and Decoration; Practical Instruction for Painting on Porcelain and all Kinds of Pottery, with Veritable Oil-Colors; with a Full Bibliography of Standard Works upon the Ceramic Art. By GEORGE WARD NICHOLS. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 16mo, pp. 142.

Poems. Translated from the Spanish and German. By HENRY PHILLIPS, Jr., 428 Library Street, Philadelphia. 12mo, pp. 76.

Gold and Silver as Standards of Value: The Flagrant Cheat in regard to Them. By LYSANDER SPOONER. Boston: A. Williams & Co. 8vo, pp. 14.

Our Financiers: Their Ignorance, Usurpations, and Frauds. By LYSANDER SPOONER. Boston: A. Williams & Co. 8vo, pp. 19.

The Law of Prices: A Demonstration of the Necessity for an Indefinite Increase of Money. By LYSANDER SPOONER. Boston: A. Williams & Co. 8vo, pp. 14.

Intellect or Character? By J. A. J. KENDIG, A. B., A. M. Chicago: *Chicago Legal News* print. 8vo, pp. 22.

Poke o' Moonshine. By LATHAM CORNELL STRONG. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 16mo, pp. 117.

Hell and Salvation Rationally Considered. By Rev. W. H. PLATT. San Francisco: Bacon & Company. 8vo, pp. 20.

Thoreau: The Poet Naturalist. With Memorial Verses. By WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 16mo, pp. 357.

The Commonwealth Reconstructed. By CHARLES C. P. CLARK, M. D. New York: A. S. Barnes & Co. Crown 8vo, pp. 216.

The Origin of Nations. By GEORGE RAWLINSON. New York: Scribner, Welford & Armstrong. 16mo, pp. 272.

Life and Times of Thomas Becket. By JAMES ANTHONY FROUDE, M. A. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co. 12mo, pp. 150.

The Natural History of Atheism. By JOHN STUART BLACKIE. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co. 12mo, pp. 253.

The Earlier Poems of Elizabeth Barrett Browning, 1826–'33. New York: James Miller. 24mo, pp. 253.

Physiography: An Introduction to the Study of Nature. By T. H. HUXLEY, F. R. S. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 16mo, pp. 384.

The Life of John Milton: Narrated in Connection with the Political, Ecclesiastical, and Literary History of his Time. By DAVID MASSON, M. A., LL. D. London: Macmillan & Co. Vols. IV. and V. 8vo, pp. 642, 707.

French Poets and Novelists. By HENRY JAMES, Jr. London: Macmillan & Co. 12mo, pp. 437.

Stargazing: Past and Present. By J. NORMAN LOCKYER, F. R. S. London: Macmillan & Co. 8vo, pp. 496.

China: A History of its Laws, Manners, and Customs of the People. By JOHN HENRY GRAY, M. A., LL. D. London: Macmillan & Co. 2 vols. 8vo, pp. 397, 374.

The Constitutional History of England: Its Origin and Development. By WILLIAM STUBBS, M. A. Vol. III. 12mo, pp. 653.

Primitive Property. Translated from the French of ÉMILE DE LAVELEYE. By G. R. L. MARRIOTT, B. A., LL. B. With an Intro-

duction by T. E. Cliffe Leslie, LL. B. London: Macmillan & Co. 8vo, pp. 356.

Pascal. By Principal Tulloch. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 16mo, pp. 205.

System of Shakespeare's Dramas. By Denton J. Snider. St. Louis: G. I. Jones & Co. 2 vols. 12mo, pp. 460, 458.

The Epoch of the Mammoth, and the Apparition of Man upon the Earth. By James C. Southall, A. M. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 12mo, pp. 430.

The American Decisions, containing all the Cases of General Value and Authority decided in the Courts of the Several States, from the Earliest Issue of the State Reports to the Year 1869. Compiled and annotated by John Proffatt, LL. B. Vol. II. San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft & Co. 8vo, pp. 763.

Theory of Money and Currency. By Richard B. Pullman. Washington: Solomons & Chapman. 8vo, pp. 176.

INDEX

TO THE

HUNDRED AND TWENTY-SIXTH VOLUME

OF THE

North American Review.

Actors and the Art of Acting. By George Henry Lewes, Notice of, 545.
Adler, Felix, his *Creed and Deed*, 372.
Alliance, The Political, of the South with the West, 309.
American Decisions. By John Proffatt, Notice of, 548.
Amnesty, General, 53.
Anthropology. By Paul Topinard, Notice of, 551.
Aristocracy, The English, 62.
Army, The, of the United States, 193, 442.
Art of Dramatic Composition. I. 40.
Avery, Benjamin Parke, his *Californian Pictures in Prose and Verse*, 179.
Beginnings of Christianity. By George P. Fisher, Notice of, 361.
Bellows, Henry W. Doctrine of Eternal Punishment, 335.
Book of Gold and other Poems. By John Townsend Trowbridge, Notice of, 184.
Boucicault, Dion, The Art of Dramatic Composition, I. 40.
Bowen, Francis, his *Modern Philosophy from Descartes to Schopenhauer and Hartmann*, 178.
Budge and Toddie. By the Author of "Helen's Babies," Notice of, 188.
Californian Pictures in Prose and Verse. By Benjamin Parke Avery, Notice of, 179.
Cameron, Angus. The Irrepressible Conflict undecided, 485.
Capture of Kars and Fall of Plevna (with Maps), 132.
Chambers, T. W. Is Man a Depraved Creature? 466.
Chinese Immigration, 505.
Civil War, Reminiscences of the, 77.
Colleges, Discipline in American, 428.
Commercial Relations with France, 421.
Contemporary Literature, 171, 358, 537.
Cook, Clarence, his *House Beautiful*, 182.
Creed and Deed. By Felix Adler, Notice of, 372.
Crumb for the "Modern Symposium," 27.
Currency Quacks and the Silver Bill, 156.
Curtis, George Ticknor, his *Last Years of Daniel Webster*, 550.
Cyprus, 118.
Death-Struggle of the Republican Party, 262.
Dee, M. J. Chinese Immigration, 506.
Democracy in Europe. By Sir Thomas Erskine May, Notice of, 358.
Discipline in American Colleges, 428.
Doctrine of Eternal Punishment, 323.
Dramatic Composition, The Art of, I. 40.
Dyrsen, Paul, his *Translation of Goethe's Poems*, 554.
Edison, Thomas A. The Phonograph and its Future, 527.
Eliot, Charles W. English and American Universities Compared, 217.
Emerson, R. W. The Sovereignty of Ethics, 404.
English Aristocracy, 62.
Ephesus, Cyprus, and Mycenæ, 111.
Essai sur la langue basque. By François Ribáry, Notice of, 368.
Eternal Punishment, The Doctrine of, 323.
Ethnographie von Ungarn of Paul Hunfaldy, Notice of, 555.
Field-Paths and Green Lanes. By Louis J. Jennings, Notice of, 373.
Fisher, George P., his *Beginnings of Christianity*, 361.
Fiske, John. A Crumb for the "Modern Symposium," 27.
France, Commercial Relations with, 421.
Frothingham, O. B. Doctrine of Eternal Punishment, 329.
Frothingham, O. B., his *Gerrit Smith*, 370.

FROTHINGHAM, O. B. Is Man a Depraved Creature? 466.
GARFIELD, JAMES A. The Army of the United States, 193, 442.
Geikie, Cunningham, his *Life and Words of Christ*, 175.
General Amnesty, 53.
Gerrit Smith: a Biography. By O. B. Frothingham, Notice of, 370.
Goethe's Poems. Translated by Paul Dyrsen, Notice of, 554.
GOTTHEIL, GUSTAV. Position of the Jews in America, 293.
HANCOCK, General, his Views concerning Army Organization, 209.
Harvey, Peter, his *Reminiscences and Anecdotes of Daniel Webster*, 365.
Histoire d'un Crime. By Victor Hugo, Notice of, 180.
History of England in the Eighteenth Century. By W. E. H. Lecky, Notice of, 542.
HOAR, GEORGE F. Charles Sumner, 1.
House Beautiful. By Clarence Cook, Notice of, 182.
HOWE, T. O. Is the Republican Party in its Death-Struggle? 381.
Hunfaldy, Paul, his *Ethnographie von Ungarn*, 555.
Irrepressible Conflict, The, undecided, 485.
Is Man a Depraved Creature? 466.
Italian Language, Origin of the, 97.
Jackson, Stonewall, and the Valley Campaign, 238.
Jennings, Louis J., his *Field-Paths and Green Lanes*, 373.
Jews, Position of the, in America, 293.
JULIAN, GEORGE W. Death-Struggle of the Republican Party, 262.
Kars, Capture of, and Fall of Plevna, 132.
Klunzinger, C. B., his *Upper Egypt*, 185.
Last Years of Daniel Webster. By George Ticknor Curtis, Notice of, 550.
Lecky, W. E. H., his *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, 542.
LECKY, W. E. H. The English Aristocracy, 62.
Lewes, George Henry, his *Actors and the Art of Acting*, 545.
Life and Words of Christ. By Cunningham Geikie, Notice of, 175.
Life of John Milton. By David Masson, Notice of, 537.
Linderman, H. R., his *Money and Legal Tender in the United States*, 180.
Man, is he a Depraved Creature? 466.
MARBLE, MANTON, Currency Quacks and the Silver Bill, 156.
Masson, David, his *Life of John Milton*, 537.
May, Sir Thomas Erskine, his *Democracy in Europe*, 358.
MCCLELLAN, GEORGE B. Capture of Kars and Fall of Plevna, 132.
MCCOSH, JAMES. Discipline in American Colleges, 428.
Modern Philosophy from Descartes to Schopenhauer and Hartmann. By Francis Bowen, Notice of, 178.
"Modern Symposium," A Crumb for the, 27.
Money and Legal Tender in the United States. By H. R. Linderman, Notice of, 180.
MOORE, J. S. Commercial Relations with France, 421.
Moore, Thomas, his *Prose and Verse*, Notice of, 363.
MORGAN, JOHN F., The Political Alliance of the South with the West, 309.
Mycenæ, 124.
Myths and Marvels of Astronomy. By Richard A. Proctor, Notice of, 174.
New Ireland. By A. M. Sullivan, Notice of, 176.
New Republic, Notice of, 369.
Newcomb, Simon, his *Popular Astronomy*, 374.
Origin of the Italian Language, 97.
Page, H. A., his *Life of Thoreau*, 546.
Phonograph, The, and its Future, 527.
Plevna, Fall of, 144.
Political Alliance of the South with the West, 309.
Political Science. By Theodore D. Woolsey, Notice of, 309.
Popular Astronomy. By Simon Newcomb, Notice of, 374.
PORTER, NOAH. The Doctrine of Eternal Punishment, 323.
Position of the Jews in America, 293.
PRESTON, THOMAS S. The Doctrine of Eternal Punishment, 332.
Proctor, Richard A., his *Myths and Marvels of Astronomy*, 174.
Proffatt, John, his *American Decisions*, 548.
Prose and Verse. By Thomas Moore, Notice of, 363.
Publications Received, 189, 377, 558.
Reminiscences and Anecdotes of Daniel Webster. By Peter Harvey, Notice of, 365.
Reminiscences of the Civil War, 77.
Republican Party, Death-Struggle of the, 262.
Republican Party, is it in its Death-Struggle? 381.

Ribáry, François, his *Essai sur la langue basque*, 368.
SAWYER, THOMAS J., Doctrine of Eternal Punishment, 346.
SHERMAN, General, his Letter on Army Reorganization, 198.
Sovereignty of Ethics, 404.
Stonewall Jackson and the Valley Campaign, 238.
STORY, W. W. Origin of the Italian Language, 97.
Sullivan, A. M., his *New Ireland*, 176.
Sumner, Charles, 1.
TAYLOR, BAYARD. Ephesus, Cyprus, and Mycenæ, 111.
TAYLOR, RICHARD. Reminiscences of the Civil War, 17.
TAYLOR, RICHARD. Stonewall Jackson and the Valley Campaign, 238.
Thoreau: His Life and Aims. By H. A. Page, Notice of, 546.
Topinard, Paul, his *Anthropology*, 551.
Trowbridge, John Townsend, his *Book of Gold and other Poems*, 184.
TUCKER, JOHN RANDOLPH. General Amnesty, 53.
Universities, English and American, Compared, 217.
Upper Egypt. By C. B. Klunzinger, Notice of, 185.
WILLIAMS, WILLIAM R. Doctrine of Eternal Punishment, 340.
Woolsey, Theodore D., his *Political Science*, 171.

NEW STANDARD WORKS.

A HISTORY OF FURNITURE. Translated from the French of ALBERT JACQUEMART, author of "History of Ceramic Art," etc., etc. Edited by MRS. BURY PALLISER. 170 Illustrations. 8vo, cloth, extra, gilt top, $10.

*** The English word "furniture" hardly expresses the meaning of the French "mobilier," the former being in ordinary usage restricted to household goods, while the latter is applicable to every article of domestic utility or luxury as well as to objects of personal adornment. In this wider sense it is applied in M. Jacquemart's book, and the reader will find in it the history not only of furniture proper, as buhl and marqueterie-work, etc., but also of embroideries, tissues, hangings, tapestry, statuary, terra-cottas, bronzes, gems, enamels, glassware, ivory carvings, etc., etc.; in short, of every species of work that meets the eye in collections like those of the Musée de Cluny at Paris, or the South Kensington Museum of London.

THE ORIGIN OF NATIONS. In Two Parts. I. ON EARLY CIVILIZATIONS. II. ON ETHNIC AFFINITIES. By GEORGE RAWLINSON, author of "Monarchies of the Ancient World," 5 vols.; "Herodotus," 4 vols,, etc., etc. 1 vol., 12mo, with two Maps. Cloth, $1.50.

"Prof. Rawlinson's previous studies entitle him to be regarded as an authority upon such subjects as this. The work is worthy of a wide reading."—*Boston Journal.*

"The book is written with great clearness and, considering the real importance underlying the topics, with singular moderation."—*N. Y. Times.*

FINE EDITION OF A CLASSIC.

ESSAYS OF MONTAIGNE. Translated by CHARLES COTTON, with some Account of the Life of Montaigne, Notes and a Translation of all the Letters known to be extant. Edited by William Carew Hazlitt. 3 vols., 8vo, large type. With Portrait. Cloth, $10.

THE CERAMIC ART OF GREAT BRITAIN, from Prehistoric Times down to the Present Day. Being a History of the Ancient and Modern Pottery and Porcelain Works of the Kingdom, and of their Productions of Every Class. by LLEWELLYNN JEWITT, F. S. A. Illustrated with nearly 2,000 Engravings. 2 vols., 8vo. Cloth. 1878. $18.

*** This is the only complete work on the History of Pottery and Porcelain in Great Britain that has ever been published. The preparation of the work has extended over a period of many years, and has been done with the greatest care, no trouble having been spared to get at facts and to verify dates.

AN INVALUABLE WORK OF REFERENCE.

TOWNSEND'S MANUAL OF DATES. The Fifth Edition. Entirely re-edited and remodeled by FREDERICK MARTIN, author of "The Statesman's Year-Book." 8vo (1,100 pages), strongly half bound, cloth sides, $9.

"This is a very handy dictionary of reference, embracing the most important facts and events in the history of the world. The information is judiciously condensed; and the articles have the additional merit of being systematically planned and duly proportioned."—*Daily News.*

REVELATIONS FROM THE UNSEEN WORLD. MORE GLIMPSES OF THE WORLD UNSEEN. Edited by the Rev. FREDERICK GEORGE LEE, D. C. L., Vicar of All Saints, Lambeth. 1 vol., post octavo. Cloth, extra, $3.

The author of this remarkable work, Dr. F. G. Lee, is one of the most prominent clergymen of the *High Church Party*, distinguished for his learning, and author of the "Glossary of Liturgical and Ecclesiastical Terms," lately published, and many other elaborate books. He styles himself "*Editor*" of the present volume, because it consists, for the most part, of original communications to him "from people and places near and far off," containing records and revelations so valuable as to warrant his weaving them with some system and order into the present shape. They comprise:

I. WARNINGS OF COMING DANGER OR DEATH, AND DREAMS.
II. APPARITIONS AND SPECTRAL APPEARANCES AT THE TIME OF DEATH.
III. ANGELIC AID AND INTERVENTION.
IV. MODERN NECROMANCY.

SCRIBNER, WELFORD & ARMSTRONG,
743 & 745 BROADWAY, NEW YORK.

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW FOR 1877,

CONTENTS.

JANUARY-FEBRUARY.

ART. I. **Points in American Politics.** RICHARD H. DANA, Jr.
II. **Daniel Deronda.** EDWIN P. WHIPPLE.
III. **Richard Wagner's Theories of Music.** E. GRYZANOWSKI.
IV. **Bret Harte.** E. S. NADAL.
V. **The Triumph of Darwinism.** JOHN FISKE.
VI. **The Eastern Question.** EDWIN L. GODKIN.
VII. **Contemporary Literature.**

MARCH-APRIL.

ART. I. **The Electoral Commission and its Bearings.** Hon. CHARES R. BUCKALEW.
II. **Demonology.** RALPH WALDO EMERSON.
III. **Christian Policy in Turkey.** LAURENCE OLIPHANT.
IV. **William Henry Seward.** RICHARD GRANT WHITE.
V. **English Arctic Expedition** (with Circumpolar Map). Judge CHARLES P. DALY.
VI. **Poetry and Verse-Making.** CHARLES T. CONGDON.
VII. **The Insurance Crisis.** SHEPPARD HOMANS.
VIII. **The Centenary of Spinoza.** SAMUEL OSGOOD, D. D.
IX. **The Silver Question.** J. S. MOORE.
X. **Contemporary Literature.**

MAY-JUNE.

ART. I. **The American Constitution.** Senator MORTON.
II. **Revelations of European Diplomacy.** KARL BLIND.
III. **Abraham Cowley.** WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT.
IV. **African Explorers** (with Maps). LAURENCE OLIPHANT.
V. **Soul and Substance.** THOMAS HITCHCOCK.
VI. **The Relations of Debt and Money.** ELIZUR WRIGHT.
VII. **Harriet Martineau.** JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE.
VIII. **The Progress of Painting in America.** THE EDITOR.
IX. **Political Reflections.** A JAPANESE TRAVELER.
X. **Recent Progress in Physical Science.**
XI. **Contemporary Literature.**

JULY-AUGUST.

ART. I. **The Electoral Conspiracy.** Judge J. S. BLACK.
II. **The War in the East** (with Maps). General G. B. MCCLELLAN.
III. **Fitz-Greene Halleck.** BAYARD TAYLOR.
IV. **The American Constitution.** Part II. Senator O. P. MORTON
V. **Moral Reflections.** A JAPANESE TRAVELER.
VI. **New Russia.** M. W. HAZELTINE.
VII. **How shall the Nation regain Prosperity?** DAVID A. WELLS.
VIII. **Reformed Judaism.** FELIX ADLER.
IX. **America in Africa.** Part I. GILBERT HAVEN.
X. **Contemporary Literature.**

SEPTEMBER-OCTOBER.

ART. I. **The "Electoral Conspiracy" Bubble Exploded.** E. W. STOUGHTON.
II. **The Decline of the Drama.** DION BOUCICAULT.
III. **The War in the East** (with Maps). Part II. General G. B. MCCLELLAN.
IV. **Perpetual Forces.** RALPH WALDO EMERSON.
V. **How shall the Nation regain Prosperity?** Part II. DAVID A. WELLS.
VI. **New American Novels.** EDWARD L. BURLINGAME.
VII. **"Fair Wages."** A "STRIKER."
VIII. **Reformed Judaism.** Conclusion. FELIX ADLER.
IX. **The Recent Strikes.** THOMAS A. SCOTT.
X. **Progress in Astronomical Discovery.**
XI. **Contemporary Literature.**

NOVEMBER-DECEMBER.

ART. I. **Resumption of Specie Payments.** HUGH MCCULLOCH, Judge W. D. KELLEY, DAVID A. WELLS, General THOMAS EWING, JOSEPH S. ROPES, Secretary SHERMAN.
II. **Cavalier de la Salle.** FRANCIS PARKMAN.
III. **The War in the East.** General G. B. MCCLELLAN.
IV. **The Functions of Unbelief.** THOMAS HITCHCOCK.
V. **The Southern Question.** CHARLES GAYARRÉ, of Louisiana.
VI. **Michelangelo and the Buonnarroti Archives.** T. ADOLPHUS TROLLOPE.
VII. **America in Africa.** Part II. Bishop GILBERT HAVEN.
VIII. **The Situation in France.** A PARIS RESIDENT.
IX. **How shall the Nation regain Prosperity?** Part III. DAVID A. WELLS.
X. **The Ultramontane Movement in Canada.** CHARLES LINDSEY, of Toronto.
XI. **Contemporary Literature.**

Furnished unbound for $5.00; bound in cloth, in two vols., $6.00; in half morocco, $8.00.

Orders should be addressed to *THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW*, 551 *Broadway, New York.*

Feb 13 1914